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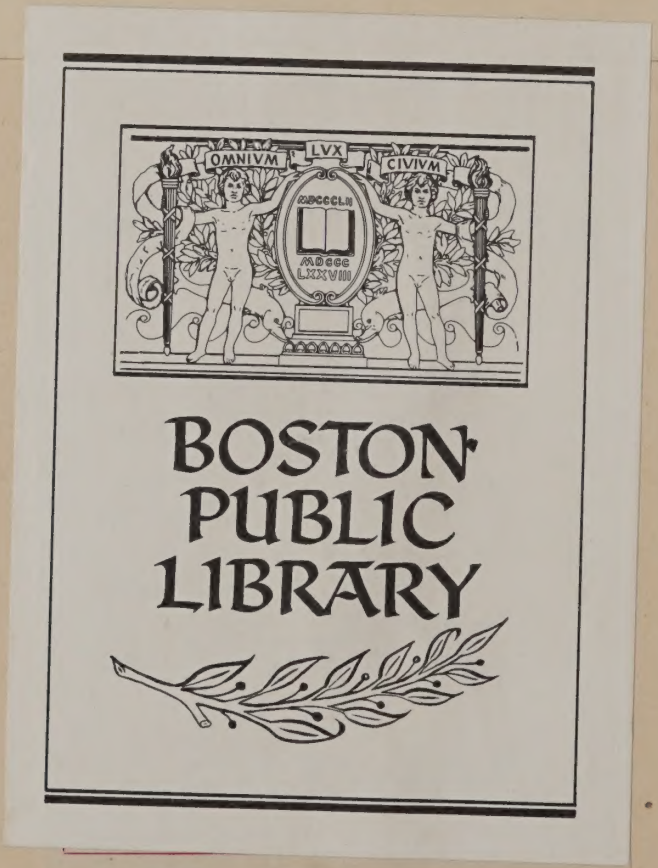

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1876.

The Week.

THE Democratic Convention met at St. Louis on Tuesday week, and, after adopting a platform on Wednesday, proceeded to ballot for a Presidential candidate. The number of votes necessary for a choice was 492, and on the second ballot Mr. Tilden had 535. The platform adopted declares the administration of the Government in need of immediate reform; pledges the party to fidelity to the Union and the Constitution as it is; insists on the separation of Church and State; denounces the frauds and corruptions of the Republican party; demands resumption and currency reform; charges the Republicans with having squandered the public resources by useless expenditures, and with having delayed resumption partly by this extravagance and partly by the Act of 1875; insists upon the repeal of the resumption clause in the Act, and upon a "judicious system of preparation [for resumption] by public economies" "intrusted to competent hands for execution"; demands reform in taxation; denounces the present tariff as a "masterpiece of injustice" which has impoverished many industries for the benefit of a few; charges the Republican party with having thrown away the public lands, and insists on their preservation for the use of actual settlers; denounces the course of the Republican party in making treaties which do not protect adopted citizens; denounces Mongolian immigration; declares in favor of permanent tenure of office in the civil service, and against the present system; sums up in a comprehensive paragraph the facts in the case of Blaine, Babcock, Belknap, Robeson, Delano, Williams, and Schenck, and insists upon a change of measures and men as a necessary means of purifying the Government.

There was a warm struggle in the Committee on Resolutions, and afterwards in the Convention, over the currency plank; the soft-money men insisting not only on a demand for the repeal of the resumption clause in the Act of 1875, but on a plank calling for the repeal of the whole Act. General Ewing, of Ohio, opened the battle by presenting a minority report, signed by eight members of the Committee on Resolutions, and tried to have the platform amended in the inflation interest, but without success. Mr. Dorsheimer, of this State, for the majority, told the Convention plainly that he wanted the issue made as between hard and soft money; and the majority report was, on a call of the States, adopted by a vote of 515 to 219.

The great anti-Tilden leader at St. Louis was "Boss" Kelly, who is reported to have lost his temper, and to have employed minatory language towards several gentlemen. To some of these he went so far as to hint, or rather say quite plainly, that their outrageous conduct in the support of Tilden made it impossible for him any longer to remain on those pleasant terms of familiar intercourse on which co-workers for a great political cause generally meet. But the unpleasantness caused by Mr. Kelly's behavior will all now blow over, as Mr. Kelly, after the nomination, declared that he would do his best for the party ticket. The victory of Tilden will, in fact, probably be a lesson to the "Boss," who had evidently been led astray by the arguments of last year's reformers, who beat him in the municipal election in the city. Last year, it will be remembered, the "Boss" supported Mr. Tilden and all his reforms, purified Tammany Hall, and drove a large number of scalawags out of it, and forced the worst part of the Democrats into a combination with the Republicans, who, amid loud cries for pure government and denunciation of the "one-man power" and "Tammany Hall" and "Bosses," actually elected their ticket. This was all a little confusing and perplexing, and, as Mr. Kelly said at an informal meeting of his fellow-citizens called to consider the situation, it was hard for a boss who had tried to be a good boss to have such things happen. Greater men than Mr. Kelly might fairly have been staggered by such a reform victory, but that, of course, is rather a palliation than an excuse for his subsequent desertion of the paths of virtue. He ought not to have been satisfied with having tried to be a good boss; he ought to have gone on trying to be a good boss to the end. The result shows how fatal to political success is any yielding to temptation. Instead of going on and continuing to be a good "boss," Kelly began to persuade himself that the way to succeed was to do as the reformers had done—unite with all the bad men and support all the bad measures. So he went to St. Louis and assisted the soft-money men and the Canal men and the other corruptionists to defeat Tilden, but all to no purpose. Virtue is the only sure guide for "bosses" as well as for the rest of us.

We must take the liberty of warning the Democrats that Mr. Hendricks, already a heavy load to carry, may readily become heavier by making speeches. He is in some respects a ridiculous nomination, and would be worse than ridiculous if he were to have any political duties. But, such as he is, his speech at Indianapolis denunciatory of the Resumption Act is calculated to make him still more objectionable. The Convention has got itself into an absurd position over the Act. There is no use in pretending that there can be some other kind of resumption than that proposed in the Act, or that resumption can ever take place without diminishing, either suddenly or gradually, the quantity of legal-tender paper afloat; and yet this is what the Democrats are doing. Whenever the Government begins to pay its notes it begins to contract, and it can hardly begin without announcing that it will begin on a certain day, and no state of trade will ever make it possible to begin without the resolute determination to do so. A great deal of the inflationist and semi-inflationist talk on this subject points to the conclusion that a person heavily in debt, by simply living an abstemious and industrious and pure life, and keeping a close eye on the money market, may some fine morning find his notes all taken up without any action whatever on his own part.

We see that some of the shrewd managers of the Republican party have begun to advise Mr. Hayes how to draw his letter of acceptance, and one of the sage suggestions which they have made to him is that he should neither condemn nor approve the present Administration, but should, in fact, make no mention of it at all, and say as little on any topic as possible. We sincerely trust that Mr. Hayes knows better than to listen to talk of this kind. We do not, for our own part, see how he can avoid expressing his opinion about the mode in which the Government has been administered during the past seven years. If he were a man who had figured long and prominently in public life, and with whose character and opinions the country was very familiar, this would perhaps not be necessary. People would infer his opinions about the President and the Senatorial Group from what they knew of his opinions about other things. But in Mr. Hayes's case they have not this resource. The main question with honest men in depositing their ballots next November will be whether they are taking the proper course to get rid of the régime now prevailing in Washington. A man who does not heartily dislike and despise it, and is not determined to get rid of it, will therefore not answer their purpose as President. How Mr. Hayes stands on this point, therefore, is all-important. If he thinks General Grant a great ruler, and Conkling and Morton and Logan and Cameron good counsellors, then we say unhesitatingly he is not the man for the place. If he thinks so, but is afraid to say it, he is not the man for the place either. The time for soft

words and delicate evasions and high-flown compliments, in short, has gone by.

The principal work of Congress during the week has been the passage of a joint resolution providing for the employment of unexpended balances and money not otherwise appropriated for the first ten days of July, in the case of failure of any of the regular appropriation bills. Four bills have now passed: the Pensions, Naval, Fortifications, and Deficiency Bills. Six, viz., the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, the Diplomatic, the Army, the Indian, the Military Academy, and the Postal Bills, are all in the hands of Conference Committees. The River and Harbor Bill has been referred by the Senate to the Committee on Appropriations, and the Sundry Civil Bill has passed the Senate with appropriations much increased. The difference between the two Houses over the Legislative Bill is, in money, about $3,625,000—a sum which is largely made up by reductions of salaries. From the debate which took place on Saturday in the House it appears that, in the first conference which was had, the conferees on the part of the House submitted a proposition leaving the appropriations for salaries at the amounts fixed in the bill until otherwise fixed by Congress, but providing for the appointment of a joint committee to enquire into the salary question generally, with a view to a permanent settlement of it, the committee to sit during the recess, and report on the first Monday in December. This proposal was rejected by the Senate conferees, but was taken back by them to the Senate. Language fails us to characterize the action of the House on Wednesday week, when a majority consisting of 110 members passed a bill instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to coin a standard silver dollar which shall be "a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private," of the same weight and fineness as that in use January 1, 1861. And yet silver has fallen to 49½d. in London!

Mr. Frye, of Maine, abused his privilege on Friday in the House by charging the Mutual Insurance Company with having "subsidized" the *Nation* into defending the cause of the insurance companies in the matter of the Geneva award—his proof being that an article denouncing the Congressional distribution of the money appeared in the same number of the paper with an advertisement of the Mutual Company. The utterance of such an insinuation, under the shelter of parliamentary law, by a person engaged openly in the promotion of one of the grossest and most shameless perversions of a trust ever committed by a Christian nation, need hardly excite surprise, and calls perhaps for comment, but not for an answer. That a man engaged in procuring the diversion of a large sum of money from the object for which it was solemnly adjudged and paid should suspect anybody who opposes him of being "subsidized" is not surprising. But we do not suspect Mr. Frye of being subsidized. He belongs to a class of Congressmen who have, under the corrupting influences of the last fifteen years, had their moral sensibilities so thoroughly blunted that one does not need to subsidize them into support of a job any more than one needs to bribe a duck to take to the water. They back up frauds and corruption because they have learnt, through long use and impunity, to love crooked ways and darkness without seeing the crookedness or the darkness. Were the régime under which they have enjoyed power and importance to be continued many years more, we have little doubt that we should see thieves basing a challenge to the favor on the ground that the juror pursued a lawful calling.

The refusal of Senator Morrill to take the Treasury, or, at any rate, his delay in making up his mind, seems to be leading to a good deal of confusion in the machinery of the office, as it is also leading to a good deal of apprehension as to what may be done with it by the President. The selection of "Don" Cameron as temporary Secretary is an indication how little the President has learned from the past, and how very little he appreciates the danger his party is in of passing out of power altogether in a few months. The dismissal of Yaryan also following, as it does, so close upon the retirement of Bristow, Bluford Wilson, and Mr. New, looks very much as if the President were making up his mind for an active campaign of the good old-fashioned sort.

There has been another civil-service scandal at Washington, which illustrates with curious accuracy nearly all the defects and abuses of the present system. McDonald, the Supervisor at St. Louis, now in the penitentiary, a man of notoriously bad character, is appointed by the President, against the protests of some of the State delegation, of the United States Marshal, and of the President's most intimate friend, under unrevealed influences. McDonald then begins his frauds, and establishes some kind of secret relations which will not bear explanation, and have never been explained, with the President's private secretary. When he is brought to trial, therefore, the pursuit of him, both as the President's favorite and nominee, and the crony of his secretary, looks at every stage like a "blow struck at the White House," and makes the President and Administration circles in general restive, dissatisfied, rather hostile to the Secretary of the Treasury, and eager for an acquittal; but the political situation is such that thoughts of vengeance have to be laid aside. The Secretary of the Treasury, however, guessing that trouble is in store for him, slips out of harness as soon as the nominating convention has adjourned, and his principal subordinate, Mr. Bluford Wilson, slips out with him. Other prominent ones remain, and, notably, Yaryan, a model officer, the head of the special agents, who has borne the principal part in the exposure of the whiskey frauds. An attempt had already been made "to get even with him" by the appearance of one Moore, a Treasury employé, before the House Committee to swear that a detective named Bell had told him that a lawyer named Woodward from St. Louis had told him that Yaryan and another revenue officer named Brasher had brought two distillers to his (Woodward's) office, and then and there in his presence extorted money from them for withholding an exposure of fraud, being apparently unwilling to get the money without having Woodward know all about it. Upon hearing this precious tale, Mr. Bristow dismissed Moore, but the President peremptorily ordered his restoration and subsequently his promotion. At this point, Spencer, the eminent Senator from Alabama, appears on the scene, and also Sargent, the eminent Senator from California, both of whom have grudges against Yaryan for having accused some of their henchmen in the above States of complicity in frauds on the revenue. The dismissal of the henchmen Yaryan cannot secure in any way; but as soon as Mr. Bristow is gone the Commissioner of the Revenue receives a peremptory order from the President directing Yaryan's own dismissal, which the Commissioner carries out with loud expressions of regret. Mark you, all this occurs within a week of the appearance of the civil-service reform plank in the Republican platform, and it is not the first nor the tenth thing of the kind which has occurred. Moreover, the chief actor in it is "the Old Man," as Tom Murphy affectionately calls him, at the White House, whose administration was eulogized in the platform aforesaid.

Most of the revelations about the inner working of the civil service—the above-mentioned case not excepted—read very like one's idea of a combination of the gossip of a third-class hotel kitchen and that of a county jail. The actors accuse each other of crimes, or of telling stories about crimes; then the stories get to each other's ears, and they are confronted with each other, and give each other the lie, and threaten each other, and the favorite mode of revenge seems to be to charge somebody with having said that the President shared the stolen money with some thief; whereupon the President "gets mad," and makes out notes of dismissal, which, on the persuasion of some "good man," he withholds for the present, owing to the critical condition of politics in Wisconsin or New Hampshire or some other remote region—all parties agreeing that the voters at this important crisis in our history ought to be kept

in the dark as to what he is up to. Then the bad men go to work again to poison the President's mind as soon as the election is over and the country has been saved from the wicked Democrats, and tell him that the chief of the Soap Bureau told a grocer named Smith, who told it to a miller named Jones, that the President never paid his washerwomen; whereupon the dismissal of the chief is ordered, the Senator from Alabama backing it up with the concurrence of the Senator from Oregon, because the chief had accused a supervisor named Brown in Alabama, who was the Senator's right-hand man, of horse stealing, but had refused to have the case examined by the district-attorney, who was the Senator's father-in-law by his first wife, and had received his appointment from him—and so on, and so on. And yet we laugh at and pity the poor Turks!

The race rowed at Springfield on Friday was an important event in the history of athletic sports in this country, as being an attempt to introduce eight-oar boats with coxswains, and a longer course than has been hitherto customary in this country. The race, however, was so easily won by Yale that it can hardly be said to have been exciting. Fortunately, there was not any row between the two colleges, or accusations of wilful fouls, "selling-out," and other frauds which have made the Harvard and Yale races of late years seem more like a political election in a sharply-contested ward, than a trial of strength, endurance, and manliness between two institutions for the education of the youth of the country. The easy victory of Yale will probably induce the Harvard rowing-men to look more closely into the causes of their frequent defeats than they have been hitherto willing to do; and if their researches should lead to the conclusion that the root of the difficulty lay in their unwillingness to adopt the English stroke, it would not surprise anybody. The Yale boating-men have, for four or five years, been devoting themselves to learning the stroke which is in use in England; and England is the country which has for the past forty years devoted herself most assiduously and perseveringly to the development of the art of rowing. On general principles, it is antecedently probable that all the details of the sport have been pushed to the highest perfection in England, and the notion that we have nothing to learn in these matters from them is probably a profound mistake.

The Vance Law, which was adopted by the Wisconsin Legislature as a substitute for the Potter Law, passed in the Granger interest, works so well that no complaints from the honest farmer are heard any longer. This law gives the railroad commissioner simply a right of inspection and examination, and provides for an annual report of the operations of every road in the State. The bill still retains, however, the principle of the State's right to fix the rates of transportation, and nothing will dispose of this short of a decision of the Supreme Court at Washington. The investigation into the peculations of Taylor, the old Granger governor, seems to have turned out poorly, the thefts (consisting of such acts as the abstraction of a map worth $15 and a few rolls of postage-stamps) having been too petty for political purposes. But the anti-monopoly craze is over and done with now, and it is as difficult to find a Granger in Wisconsin as Artemus Ward found it to discover a rebel among the starving population of Richmond after the capitulation of that city. Instead of denouncing Vanderbilt and the "money-kings," they go about begging to be allowed to issue bonds and to subscribe for stock again.

The Centennial Fourth of July festivities, including those on the evening of that date, appear to have done credit both to the patriotism and the sobriety of the people. There was more taste, less extravagance—in many quarters, we suspect, less noise—than commonly. Historical addresses were the order of the day as much as torchlight processions and fireworks. In Philadelphia the exercises naturally possessed the highest interest, and were as fine as the crowds in that small-large city and, above all, the intense heat would permit. In this city there was a remarkable decorative display of bunting, and it was strikingly, and we may add pleasingly, exuberant in the foreign quarters. And, in fact, the day was nobody's festival if not the German's and the Irishman's.

The news from Turkey has, as we ventured to anticipate last week, grown more warlike. The Servian Government has finally avowed its inability or unwillingness to stem the tide, and on Thursday or Friday last Prince Milan took the field, at the head of an army said to number over 100,000 men, with over thirty guns. The Prince will be the nominal commander, but Tchernaieff, a Russian general, will probably be the real chief, and a good many other officers, both from the Austrian and Russian service, are under his orders, while supplies in money and stores have been for some time past coming freely from Russia, and probably from Croatia. The Turks have gunboats at Widin, with which they threaten to go up and bombard Belgrade, but in this case the Servians give notice they will put torpedoes in the river, and the question is raised whether the Powers will allow the stream to be used for hostile purposes in a conflict in which only one bank is involved in the fray. Plans of campaign for the Servian army have already begun to be published by the newspapers, which, we need hardly say, ought to be received with great caution. The addition of such a force as Servia can put in the field would, if it were well drilled and well handled, be fatal to the Turks in Bosnia and Herzegovina; but it ought to be observed that it contains only a very small nucleus of regular troops, that the bulk of it is composed of raw peasant militia, summoned hastily from their farms, and officered by their friends and neighbors, and that, even supposing the Turkish force to be also ill-disciplined and ill-equipped, the Turks bear these deficiencies better than any other troops in Europe. If, however, the Servians pass successfully through the first collisions, and force the Turks into anything like a retreat, we fear that we shall witness a *débâcle* all over the European provinces of the most horrible kind, and which will probably necessitate foreign interference as a measure of humanity. A Turkish army retiring on Constantinople, with the Christians rising behind it, would be literally a terrible spectacle, and yet it is one which the present summer is not unlikely to offer us. As we go to press, we have news that the Servians have crossed their frontier in three places, and have had as many engagements. The western force, after passing the Drina into Bosnia, encountered the Turks before Bjelina, with a result not indicated; the eastern was heavily defeated by the Turks, who pursued them to Saitshar and captured all the neighboring positions; the south-eastern, under Tchernaieff, was engaged near Nissa, and captured a fortified camp. The Montenegrins are said to have entered Herzegovina in force, and evidently the ball has opened.

The conclusion to which public opinion in Europe seems to be settling down is that Russia has borne a prominent part in fomenting the late and present disturbances in Turkey; that the refusal of England to join in the late memorandum, and her accompanying naval demonstration in the Mediterranean, were not unwelcome to Germany, which accounts for the friendly and even cordial spirit with which, according to Mr. Disraeli, the refusal was received; that, however, in spite of all that has happened, Russia still counts on a break-up at Constantinople as among the probable contingencies of the year and is trying to be prepared for it, and this notion is so strongly held in England and on the Continent that Russian five per cent. bonds, which used to stand at 103, have gradually dropped down to 85. In England the uneasiness about the future has, in spite of Mr. Disraeli's pacific declarations, by no means disappeared, owing to the by no means unwarranted opinion that there is in the Cabinet a radical difference of view on questions of foreign policy, which accounts for the great cry and little wool of some of the recent performances of the Foreign Office, such as the bold beginning and lame ending of the Egyptian business, and the peaceable ending of the late naval demonstrations—Mr. Disraeli being supposed somewhat eager to have England play a more spectacular rôle in European affairs, and Lord Derby loving best a safe and comfortable adhesion to the policy of non-intervention.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION.

THE nomination of Mr. Tilden at St. Louis surprises only those who were satisfied that the Democratic party had lost all shrewdness and capacity. Its course ever since 1860 has been marked by such a steady series of blunders that it was undoubtedly hard to believe that it would now make a display of sagacity or even common-sense; that, after having nominated Horace Greeley in 1872, it would be ready to nominate its ablest man in 1876. And yet this is what it has done, and done apparently without much difficulty. No other candidate has seemed to have any chance from the beginning, and Mr. Tilden's success has not been the result of accident, but of steady political work, such as he knows how to do and such as hardly anybody else can rival him in. He had, before the Convention met, made his nomination absolutely necessary to the party. That of anybody else would have made the contest with Hayes hopeless. The Democratic Convention has, therefore, done what conventions so rarely do—nominated for the Presidency the person plainly marked out beforehand by public opinion as the one most likely to draw to its ticket all the support a Democratic ticket can, under the most favorable circumstances, hope to get from any quarter.

What effect his nomination will have on the fortunes of the Republican candidates it is yet too early to predict. Indeed, we hardly feel competent to form an opinion of any kind on the subject until we have seen Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance, for that letter must be considered the platform on which he goes to the country. To judge him by the Cincinnati resolutions would be unfair, the more particularly as these resolutions were evidently the result of the want of positive party convictions on any leading questions of the day. Mr. Hayes, with these resolutions in his hand, is one kind of candidate; Mr. Hayes, with his own letter in his hand, may be a much stronger one. There is nothing sufficiently clear and distinct in his political career to enable us to dispense with the production of a political programme of his own. His antecedents, as we remarked a fortnight ago, give us an assurance that he will be personally pure, that his cabinet will be composed of prominent and able men, and that he will not tolerate fraud or jobbery within the range of his sight or knowledge; and that "big dinners" and bosses and political adventurers will not be any longer among the influences which shape the policy of the Executive. But they do not give us the assurance that he has the force and energy and determination which the crisis calls for. It may be that he knows what now needs to be done, and that he is the man to do it. But the Republican platform and his nomination are not of themselves sufficient to satisfy us of this. We need to hear from him personally on this subject, and we have little doubt that until we do, large numbers of those who have hitherto voted the Republican ticket will, in view of Mr. Tilden's nomination, suspend their judgment.

As regards Mr. Tilden himself, we have little to add to what we have heretofore said of him in these columns. If the question before the country, on which the popular verdict is about to be asked, were whether slavery ought to be abolished, or whether it is possible to subdue the South by force of arms, or whether the Constitutional Amendments were the best mode of reconstructing the States lately in rebellion, there would be little difficulty in deciding that he is *not* the man for the Presidency. But when the questions before the country are the reform of the Administration, of the currency, and of the system of taxation, and the restoration of the supremacy of the law over all officers of the Government, there would, if he were not the nominee of the Democratic party and had not been one of its leaders since 1860, be in our minds little difficulty in deciding that he *is* the man for the Presidency. Of his ability to fight the prevailing forms of corruption, of his courage and determination in doing it, even when the offenders are men of his own political faith, he has given an excellent example in the governorship of New York. That he is fully master of the currency question, and is a consummate man of business, and a lawyer of no ordinary talent, and especially of that sort of talent which shows itself best in dealing with the knotty and intricate problems of affairs, are things well-known to all who are at all familiar with his character or career. The belief which has widely prevailed that he would, in any political place of great power or profit, be surrounded by the worst element of the Democratic party, seems to have been sufficiently refuted by the fact that this element is nowhere so strong as in his own State, and that there, nevertheless, he has not hesitated to engage in bitter warfare with it, and to incur its unrelenting hostility. Its adherence will probably never be so valuable to him again as it would have been at St. Louis, and there, nevertheless, it was arrayed against him. In short, conceding that a man may work for the Presidential nomination for himself, nothing can well be more honorable than the means by which Mr. Tilden has secured it. He has been, in the position which he fills, the resolute pursuer of the rings by which the knaves of both parties have made fortunes out of the canals; he has been the firm supporter of hard-money in the teeth of the inflationist views of a large proportion of the Democratic party; and he has sought neither favor nor accommodation from the New York faction which has brought so much discredit on the party. Finally, he has brought the party to speak out boldly, even if obscurely, in its platform in favor of specie payments and of civil-service reform, and to nominate its ablest and least objectionable candidate. These are not services to himself or to his party simply; they are services to the whole country. Whether Mr. Tilden be elected or not, we are indebted to him for having raised politics to a higher level, and for having wiped out, as far as it can be wiped out by mere utterance, the national reproach that a party containing nearly half the voters was avowedly given over to obstruction or mischief, and occupied itself solely with lamenting the irretrievable and proposing the impracticable.

As regards the platform, we feel bound to say that it seems to us greatly superior to that drawn up at Cincinnati. In fact, to us, who believe that the great curses of the politics of the day are cant and insincerity, and its great needs, honesty and directness in speech and action, it is difficult to avoid placing the Democratic Convention, judged by its speech and action, on a higher moral plane altogether than the Republican. We say this while recognizing fully the higher average of character of the latter, and while acknowledging that the platform, being prepared by a small knot of men and adopted without or with but little discussion, cannot be surely taken to express even the average opinion of any convention. But it must be admitted that the small knot which prepared the platform at St. Louis had apparently more sharply defined convictions about public questions, and a deeper appreciation of the needs of the hour, than the small knot which prepared the platform at Cincinnati. We, for our part, consider the Democratic declaration in favor of civil-service reform, while as full as that of the Republicans, more creditable, as made by a party which is out of office, and which has not, like the Republican party, made one such declaration already, and then, with the means of carrying it into execution in its hands, not only falsified it, but through its leading men ridiculed it. As regards the demand in the St. Louis platform for the repeal of the Resumption Act, we think it cannot be too severely condemned, even when coupled with a promise to return to specie payments by some other process; but this demand, objectionable as it is, has nevertheless an honest ring about it compared with the deliberate evasion by the Cincinnati Convention of any mention of the Act at all, when it was known to be the object of much attack, and was put on the statute-book by the Republican party itself. So, also, we will say frankly that, in these days of deceit and tergiversation, we think an outspoken anti-Mongolian plank, such as the Democrats have produced, is a better evidence of a generally sound moral condition than the evasive utterance by which the Republican party—with its devotion to equal rights—has sought to produce the impression, while promising nothing, that it thought Mongolian immigration injurious to the state, and would do something to stop it. And, unless platforms are to be accepted as un-

meaning bits of verbiage, to which we trust the people will never agree, we must contrast, to the heavy disadvantage of the Republicans, their endorsement of the present scandalous Administration of General Grant with the indictment of it presented by the Democrats. Whatever be the character or antecedents of the Democrats, and however unlikely they may be to do better themselves, what they say of General Grant's Administration is true, or the language which honest men ought to use; while what the Republicans say of it is false, and lays anybody who says it, however pure or respectable, open to just and grave suspicion. In short, it is not unfair to hold that any party which openly approves of that Administration is unfit at this crisis to rule the country. If the Republican candidate in his letter of acceptance reproduces the utterances of the platform on this subject, he will place reformers in a position of great difficulty; for if the Administration of General Grant be a creditable one, and the condition to which it has brought our affairs be unobjectionable, or only slightly objectionable, most of the current talk of reform is idle or mischievous.

The situation may be summed up by saying, that while Mr. Tilden's official antecedents and his training and opinions on the leading questions of the day are all in his favor, and while the Democratic platform, *quâ* platform, is a more creditable and plain-spoken document than that of the Republican, the history of the Democratic party and of those with whom Mr. Tilden has acted in politics during the last fifteen years has been such that it will be difficult for the great body of Republicans, however much dissatisfied they may be with the Republican policy, platform, or candidate, to entrust the large and delicate interests which have grown up since the war to Democratic hands. There is a wide margin given under all constitutional governments, and it is particularly large under ours, for the free play of executive sympathy and executive notions of proportion, and on this account, however scrupulously Democrats might obey the law, the best portion of the Republican party still dread to see them armed with authority and discretion. Nor can it be doubted that a large and most respectable body of voters have been alienated beyond recall by the nomination of Hendricks, and will, being forced to choose, make the hard-money issue paramount to any and all considerations of administrative reform. They will say, with undeniable cogency, that the diversity of opinion about the currency which prevails in both parties and is reflected in both platforms, does not appear in the Republican nominations, while in the Democratic the second place on the ticket is conceded without opposition to the foremost advocate of dishonest money. On the other hand, the impression made on the public mind by the recent exposures of corruption and by the inability of the Republican party to deal with any of the leading problems left by the war, have produced a readiness or widespread desire for change, which will tell against the Republicans and will probably grow during the canvass. It has been somewhat quieted by the goodness of Mr. Hayes's character; but, on the other hand, it has been stimulated by the exhibition of blunted moral perceptions and of lowered standards of political integrity at the Cincinnati Convention, in the selection, as the favorite candidate, of a gentleman against whom there was strong evidence of participation in jobs, whose nomination came near being made, and whose successful opponent was picked out by an accident. Thousands of voters will say that nothing thoroughly or permanently good can come from a party in this condition, and that a complete change and clearing-out are absolutely necessary, and that, although the immediate results of Democratic success might be bad, it would lead the way eventually to a purification of which, under the ascendancy of the Republican party in its present debauched condition, we can have no hope.

In any event, the contest is sure to be close; and we may heartily congratulate the country upon the fact that both candidates are men worthy of a majority of the votes, that both platforms promise with more or less distinctness solid improvement, and that, if the righteous indignation of the country has as yet accomplished nothing else, it has undoubtedly this time saved the electors from a choice of evils.

"EDUCATED MEN" IN CENTENNIAL POLITICS.

THE return of the college anniversaries has brought up once more for discussion the old and now vexed question of the value of university education as a preparation for the work of active life, and, in connection with this, the question whether the influence of the class of persons called "educated men" on public affairs is growing or declining. The despondent view of the matter was put forth last year in the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge by ex-President Woolsey; the hopeful view has this year been produced in the same place, and on the same occasion, by Professor Diman of Brown University. The statistics may be said to favor the former rather than the latter—that is, it appears to be true that the proportion of college graduates filling official positions is now smaller than it was one hundred or fifty years ago and is falling off, and the control of our politics and legislation is passing more and more into the hands of the class known as "self-educated" or "self-made men"—that is, men who have had no formal teaching except what they have received in the common schools, or who have had no formal teaching at all, but have, by a sort of scrambling process, secured as much information as was necessary, in conjunction with native shrewdness and pertinacity, to accumulate a fortune. In fact, the control of this class on public affairs is now so strong that, as we have seen in a recent case, the appearance of a regularly educated man on the scene as a candidate for a high place is resented as a sort of intrusion, and the whole class to which he belonged denied the *jus honoris*, under the contemptuous designation, to use the words of a prominent American senator, of "dam literary fellers." The optimistic way of meeting these facts is something of this kind—that, though it is true the active participation of educated men in the administration of public affairs is doubtless much smaller than it used to be, office-holding is by no means necessary to the exercise by them of great influence in political and social life; that if they mingle freely with plain people, and avoid arrogance of demeanor or any irritating assumption of superiority, they will always find, whether in the primary meeting or at the convention or the mass-meeting, that they are listened to with respect and attention; that their opinions have great weight, and do furnish a really potent contribution to the political thought of the day, while their character is constantly and in all the ordinary concerns of life furnishing them with the means of retaining a steady hold on the confidence of their neighbors, and, through this, of silently and imperceptibly moulding public opinion. This is a brief and rough summary of Professor Diman's position, and it also describes the position of nearly all those writers who care about the matter at all, and have enough traditional or other respect for mental culture and enough patriotic hopefulness to be anxious to make it appear that, whatever figures may say, the higher education has not, after one hundred years of national existence, lost its political virtue in the eyes of the bulk of the American people, and that the exclusion of the educated class from public office means little, or does not mean what some people take it to mean.

The defect in this view, and it is a serious one, lies in the fact that it treats educated men as a class separate from the rest of the community—a kind of sacerdotal order, whose business it is to offer sacrifices, examine omens, and utter oracles for the benefit of the community, and to which the community may give ear or not as it feels inclined; a position, in short, somewhat like that of the Greek kings after they were deprived of their political power and relegated to purely religious functions. It is assumed that if educated men get a respectful hearing in the primary meeting, and now and then in the convention, and even find place for a letter or article in the newspapers at decent intervals, or are listened to decorously in the pulpit, they have no solid ground for complaint. But the truth is that educated men are not a separate order apart, and we trust they never will be. The only thing that distinguishes them from the rest of the community, as educated men, is that they

probably know more upon certain subjects, probably have their minds in a more manageable and receptive condition, and have higher standards of excellence in certain fields of activity. Their principal value for political purposes lies in the fact that they generally have in their possession or within their reach a much larger store of human experience than the common run of their neighbors; or, in other words, are much more familiar with the history and result of the thousands of experiments, both social and political, which the race has tried in various ages and countries, and are, therefore, apt to be better able to calculate the probable result of any proposed measure in their own country. In saying this, we of course leave out of view the large class of scientific specialists, soldiers, engineers, mathematicians, astronomers, with whose assistance no civilized community can dispense. We are talking simply of the great body of those, whether college graduates or not, whose youth has been passed in some process of intellectual training and in the systematic acquisition of more than one branch of knowledge, and who have got the habit of reflection on subjects not purely personal and the power of reasoning with fair accuracy.

Now, these men, though they may differ from the mass of their countrymen, do not differ greatly. The main features of their character are much the same, and so are their springs of action. They have about the same hopes and ambition. They like money and distinction just as do the rest of the world. A good office, and high pay, and power, and general respect, have as much attraction for a "dam literary feller" as for a corrupt and ignorant politician. Men get no special unction or consecration or change of heart from a college degree, or from "ripe scholarship," or "profound and varied culture," and it is not desirable that they should. What is above all things to be wished for in this and every other community, is that its educated men should enter the arena like other people to contend for the prizes for which all others are contending, and glow with the ambition by which others are stimulated. We know very well that Mr. Emerson has painted a picture of the educated man which makes him out a being entirely independent of such toys as money and distinction, and puts within himself all that is necessary to his happiness and growth; but Mr. Emerson's scholar is a philosopher, and is too rarely met with to have any importance for the purposes of the present discussion, though we have no doubt whatever that the Emersonian type of the scholar has done us harm politically, in spreading the notion, which the politicians have eagerly embraced, that the educated man's proper place was a library in some remote village, without other connection with affairs than came from voting once a year for "the regular ticket of the party of human rights." When educated men are told that, even if they cannot have office, and must resign all share in the work of legislation and administration, they ought not to feel troubled, as their knowledge and training will be found useful at primary meetings and nominating conventions, and their presence act as a benediction as they go about in the discharge of their ordinary duties; that their proper function is preaching and living a blameless life; and that they ought to be above looking for any direct or palpable result from their sermons or example, they are asked to accept a position which it is not in human nature to accept, and which no body of men of superior intelligence has ever accepted anywhere without some special sanctification. If they did accept it, they would be an order of priests and not a body of unusually capable citizens. Few trained men have ever yet, in any age or country, felt and retained a strong interest in politics without feeling a strong desire to legislate or administer, and though it is not necessary to the maintenance of this interest that every trained man should get an office or even a chance of office, or feel himself fitted for office, it is necessary that he should see the men of his kind, with whose views and aims he sympathized, getting office, or at least know that it was within their reach if they chose to seek it. The remark of Pascal, that it is not contemplation but action that leads to self-knowledge, is as true in politics as in other fields. Men who occupy themselves with public affairs will continue to occupy themselves with them with zest and energy only so long as they see a fair chance that their views will be embodied in legislation, or that their way of doing things will be adopted in administration. Once convince them, however, that neither they nor any persons of their antecedents or opinions or views have much or any chance of submitting their ideas to the test of practice, and neither religion nor patriotism nor honor will keep them long in the political arena. The story is as old as civilization. As soon as any large and active-minded class, who claim no divine commission, are shut out from active co-operation in the public business, they become a selfish and secluded faction or coterie devoted to the advancement of their own fortunes, the pursuit of sensual pleasures, or of a feeble and soulless æsthetic culture. Preachers you cannot make them, and improving examples of conjugal and fraternal virtue they will not be content to remain.

As this year, besides being the Centennial year, is a year of widespread purification and of considerable and not unwholesome retraction, apology, and self-condemnation, we would suggest as the best, because truest and most candid, explanation of the diminished participation of educated men in public life in America the following facts, for such we take them to be: (1) The unprecedentedly rapid growth of population within fifty years, through the accretion of great masses of uneducated persons; (2) the rapid spread among these masses of the Jeffersonian democratic philosophy, with its doctrine of equality, its contempt for accumulated experience, and its strong conviction of the exceeding simplicity of the work of government; (3) the adoption of the "spoils" system in the administration, and the diffusion through it of the belief that special acquirements or training were not necessary for any office, and that one man could, if his opinions were sound, fill it as well as another; (4) the filling even of such offices as those of judges and attorney-generals and State engineers by popular election, thus making even specialists seem to derive their fitness for high places rather from a majority vote than from their education and experience; (5) the extraordinary national prosperity of the country in spite of the passage of the Government into the hands of the ignorant and untrained, creating the belief that the necessity of high intelligence for public affairs was an Old-World delusion; (6) the general success of our foreign policy, owing possibly to the exceptional committal of important negotiations to trained hands, and possibly to the high tone which our distance, strength, resources, and unattackableness have enabled us to assume; and (7) though last, not least, to the low quality of the instruction which, down to a recent period, passed as "university education." The truth is that, through all these causes, the tradition of government by the educated has been lost, and it is a serious loss. We have for forty years being trying to govern without education, and the experiment is now, we hope, in its last stage. But we believe the best way to end it is to be perfectly frank about it, and to say not that the higher education fits a man to be a conscientious voter, or a powerful exhorter, or devoted husband, or trusty lawyer, but that it is the best possible training for nearly all offices of Government, and that in so far as anything in our machinery either of election or administration helps to keep those who have it out of public life, it is bad and ought to be removed. This is the plain truth of the case; and we earnestly urge all those who have been trying not to believe it, and been pretending that on the whole it was best for a President or Secretary of the Treasury to begin life in a small store or pass his youth in an engine-house, to make 1876 the opening of a course of absolute truthfulness and candor in all political matters, and of a habit of seeing things as they are and describing them as they see them. It is in this that political as well as moral salvation lies.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—VII.

AMERICAN ART.

PHILADELPHIA, July 1.

THE American art-display, with all its shortcomings, is by far the best illustration that has ever been made of this country's talent in its completeness, the range being from Boston to San Francisco, in geographical

source, and, in time, from Smybert's day to our own. An art we once had, and have now pretty well lost, historical painting, is almost completely absent; Trumbull's creditable groups remain in the Capitol, and there is little or nothing of their kind in the Exhibition. But the history of our painting back to the time when it was homogeneous with that of England is represented in portraiture, and the successes that have become legendary are revived to the sight among fresher and more heavy-looking works. John Smybert's bust-portrait of Bishop Berkeley, which must have been executed about 1730, is not bad; it has much more life and blood in it than the prim waxwork likeness of West made in his American 'prentice epoch; it is a lively, speaking head, relieved with vigor against the background, and only inferior in interest to the family symposion of Berkeley and seven other persons which is so carefully preserved at New Haven as Smybert's masterpiece. The loans of works by Copley, Allston, West, Wertmuller, Vanderlyn, Neagle, Dunlap, Peale, and Sully recall, to our shame, the day when we had a whole race of portraitists perfectly capable of discriminating and portraying dignity of character: our late war gave perhaps as good a chance for this sort of effigy-making as that of Independence, but it found the proper interpreters conspicuously absent. The dowagers, the flimsy fashionables, and the truculent brigadiers which our Bakers and Huntingtons are constantly sending forth from their studios, are styleless and characterless in comparison with the heroes and heroines of most of that Revolutionary group of delineators. True, Stuart was not much more of a draughtsman than was Reynolds; West could not hit a likeness, Peale could not color, Trumbull could not group, Sully could not give solidity, and, if we go back to Smybert, the piteous rheumatic hand he has given to the worthy Bishop of Cloyne would, if a fact, require a medicament stronger than Berkeley's favorite tar-water to mend it. But the worst of these painters was able to distinguish the fact that his age had a peculiar social tone, a certain massive self-confidence and staying-power, and to get it expressed on his canvas. Our own portraiture, spoiled by the photograph, usually expresses but the grimace of the hour.

The great Lansdowne picture of Washington by Stuart, which accidentally came over with the works of British artists, is probably the most valuable painting in the country, an art-education in itself, and a singular example of a noble chance nobly met. Stuart returned to his native country in 1793, as he declared with the special design of painting Washington, though Lawrence's sneer, quoted in the Autobiography of Leslie, would intimate that some less voluntary motive induced the brusque artist to forsake his splendid London practice. This picture is the only full-length in existence painted by the artist from Washington, and is the source of the innumerable replicas scattered about the land by Stuart, a good specimen of which has been usually on view at the Pennsylvania Academy. The present picture divides with the Boston Athenæum's sketch the suffrages of the curious; there is a sort of appeal, a degree of human pathos about an imperfect, vignetted trial-piece with plenty of bare canvas around it, which usually takes away our sympathy captive. A hasty view will be apt to result in a vote for the Boston *ébauche*. But on fair examination it will be impossible to maintain that there is less felicity about the head alone, merely as a head, in this great and elaborate work, while the full figure, giving the General's proper pose and bearing at the hands of an acute character-reader, adds vastly to the value. The simplicity and the decorum, the dignity felt to be worn in a kind of sacerdotal way, not for the President's own sake but for the nation, the grave urbanity as in greeting an honored guest, all are most perfectly and definitively rendered. We feel that here, in the delineation of the spirit of the stout Hanoverian age, Reynolds and Romney and Gainsborough are defeated on their own ground; the soldiers and admirals of Reynolds are seldom quite free from seeming to strike an attitude, they have a suspicion of the vicious posturing of Kneller. Here, in Stuart, we have a true heroic simplicity and direct grace almost worthy of a Roman portrait-statue. The color, too, is chaste, reserved, and manly. There is little or none of that florid unreality, that mixture of varnish and red, which in Stuart's less happy portraits makes the complexion look, so to speak, like the melting of something waxy in a bottle. This flesh is as solid as a marble bust, while it is tingling with the circulation, and realizes in the best sense the pet epithet of Stuart's day, "juicy." The Lansdowne "Washington," it will be recollected, was painted for the Marquis at his own request, the sitting being procured through the instances of that society queen, Mrs. Bingham, whose husband settled the painter's bill. At the sale of the Lansdowne gallery of paintings it was bought by Mr. Samuel Williams, and from his collection passed to the possession of J. Delaware Lewis, Esq., who kindly sends it over to this country.

We think that, next to the Washington, more attention is attracted by Sully's sitting figure of an old lady than by any of the other old-time likenesses. It is portraiture in its sweetest refinement and most winning home-feeling. A view is suddenly opened upon some quaint parlor of 1830, and we see the stiffly-arranged bow-pot, the table, the high-backed chair, and the happy, aged occupant, whose intellect has been nourished on Cowper and Shenstone, and who never heard of Tennyson. She is a lean-faced, genteel-looking old lady, feeding her large pet hound with confectionery, and clothed in laced cap and black gown of formal cut. The look of goodness and innate refinement takes the place of intellect, and the highly polished transparency of Sully's style—like the style of Lawrence etherealized into a vapor—suits somehow capitally with the fragile elegance of the image.

Washington Allston's "Rosalie" and "Spalatro" show him respectively as a graceful painter of sentiment and a nervous sufferer from the spell of Anne Radcliffe; in both pictures his gift of colour is evident, but the design is too far from nature in both cases to teach us much; we see the scrupulous, intensely-careful, fastidious, hectic seeker; the solid repose of attainment is wanting. Stuart Newton's portrait of Irving is an interesting document. The exhibition of Copley comprises three of his works—his valuable portrait of John Adams, and the expressive and laboriously-enriched ones of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Boylston. There are characteristic game-subjects by Audubon, a good deal blackened by time and a false method of color. A whole side of a room is tapestried with Catlin's sanguineous heroes, making us think of Charles Baudelaire's perfunctory frenzy of delight at the sight of the same artist's portraits of "Petit Loup" and "Graisse du dos de buffle" when exhibited at Paris. "The color has something mysterious which pleases me more than I can tell. Red, the color of Blood, the color of Life, so abounds in the sombre museum that it is an intoxication!" Furness, the early-lost and acutely-missed portraitist, is shown in a selection of his works which deepens the regret at his premature removal; each likeness is a tender and penetrating bit of scalpel-work, analyzing form and character to the last limit, yet so lovingly that not the incisiveness, but the flexibility, of the touch is felt. Here, too, saddest of monuments of hope deceived, is Vanderlyn's "Ariadne," which sixty years ago was thought to include all possible beauties of what was called in that day the "female shape." While his careful model-work—not much more impressive nowadays than the wax Cleopatra—was hidden, and perhaps sanctimoniously veiled, in the gallery of a millionaire, the painter was begging a shilling to get to his home to die.

Besides the painters who are dead, there are the painters whose art is dead, or whose phases of work are changed, leaving them to watch at a resurrection of their own past activities. Not only Morse is shown as a portraitist, but Huntington, who culminated in the "Mercy's Dream" and the "Christian Martyrs"—paintings seemingly of some twilight remoteness of time, when Cole made allegorical landscapes and Greenough made allegorical Washingtons—exhibits recent work, such as "Sowing the Word"—a sort of modern rendering of Da Vinci's "Modesty and Vanity." The sweet Guido-grace of the "Christian Martyrs" ought to have earned it the privilege of extraction from the private collection where it reposes—the same gallery that contains the "Ariadne" of poor Vanderlyn. It would then be seen how completely a respectable painter may lose the promise of his youth by success, and become a painter of opaque and pomaded portraiture.

E. S.

M. DOUDAN.

PARIS, June 16.

IN the correspondence of Mr. Ticknor, which has just been published, and which I have read with much interest, you will find frequent mention of the salon of the late Duc de Broglie. This salon has been for a long time one of the luminous centres of French sociability. During forty years, one of its constant *habitués* was M. Doudan, a name which has no European reputation, and which was hardly known out of Paris till the recent publication of two huge volumes of correspondence, which have a great literary and sometimes an historical importance. I don't know whether I ought to recommend these two volumes to any but the most *raffiné* reader. When you have eaten an English mutton-chop or a beef-steak you know that you are nourished and how you are nourished. Sometimes the French cook places before you a dish which is agreeable to all your senses, but after you have eaten it you could hardly tell what it was made of. So it is with the letters of M. Doudan: there are so many ingredients in his talent, such delicate and evanescent graces in his style, that the book evaporates in your mind like some perfume. It is next to impossible to give even an approximate idea

of this work. You cannot analyze Mme. de Sévigné, but still you can show what were the dominant passions and preoccupations of her life. M. Doudan's life itself was, so to speak, a mere reflection of other lives; his individuality was sunk in the Broglie family; he had ceased to be subjective—he had become objective.

M. de Sacy has given us some details concerning the youth of M. Doudan. He began life as a *repétiteur*, a sub-teacher, in the Grammar School of the Collége Henry IV. He lived in a small room in the street "des Sept Voies," now destroyed; among his friends of the time were Saint-Marc Girardin and M. de Sacy. "If you only knew," writes M. de Sacy, "how little we were then preoccupied with what is called a future, a career, a fortune! The poorest among us, Doudan, surpassed us in his indifference to the *lendemain*. Lodged as I have said, taking his meals in the college, dressed in a blue redingote with a worn-out velvet collar, he had no sooner received his monthly salary than he bought one of the good books which appeared in that glorious and fertile epoch. Joy then beamed on his visage; for a week he would not have parted with his new book for a fortune. After a week, if anybody had the effrontery to ask for it, which happened more than once, he gave it with a readiness which surprised me." Doudan remained to the end of his life what he was at eighteen, a book-eater, an intellectual devourer. His literary passion grew up in the times when the great *romantiques* appeared. The young men who discussed in their garrets the merits of Victor Hugo, of Lamartine, of Schiller, of Goethe, of Byron, of Walter Scott, were not as practical as our modern students, who compare the merits of an English and a French race-horse.

M. Villemain, in 1826, was looking for a private tutor for the son whom Madame de Staël had borne to M. de Rocca. M. Doudan was chosen by him at the suggestion of Saint-Marc Girardin. He entered the Broglie family in the capacity of a teacher, but such were his intellectual and moral qualities that he soon became a friend, almost a member of the family. The contrast was very great for him: he had left a life of misery, a squalid room in the Latin Quarter: he found himself in one of the most charming houses in Paris, spent the summer months at the beautiful Broglie estate, or at Coppet on the Lake of Geneva. Doudan sold his liberty not for the material advantages of such a life, but for the delicate pleasures of the society of the Duc de Broglie, his household, and his guests. It would probably have been better for him if he had remained in the "Rue des Sept Voies"; if he had entered journalism, like Sacy and Saint-Marc Girardin; if he had felt longer the spur of necessity. The house of Broglie became for him the garden of Armida. Let us do justice, however, to the old Duc de Broglie: he did not try to keep Doudan down, to smother him under the delicate and lazy pleasures of an inferior position; he had some ambition for him; he understood better than Doudan did himself that a man must not live always in abstractions but ought to touch the hard and concrete world of facts. When he himself became Minister of Public Instruction, he chose M. Doudan as what we call here his *chef du cabinet*, a very important post, as all the affairs of the Ministry go through the hands of this lieutenant. M. Doudan filled the same post at the Foreign Office when the Duc de Broglie became the head of it. The *chef du cabinet* of the Minister of Foreign Affairs is in constant and almost intimate relations with all the foreign ministers. The Duc de Broglie had unlimited confidance in Doudan, and this confidence was well deserved. In 1836, the Duke left the Cabinet, and Doudan went away with him; the Duke offered him a post in the Council of State; but, as the Duchesse de Broglie died soon afterwards, Doudan declined the offer, and remained with the Duke in a sort of undefined position—a secretary, an adviser, a friend. He and the old Duke had become, as it were, a person with two heads; the Duke was a gentleman, and always considered that Doudan was doing him a favor by remaining with him. In the last century such associations were more common than they are in our day, and people did not attach as much importance to considerations which now are all-powerful. Doudan was treated as a friend not only by all the Broglies, but by Guizot, by Duchâtel, by Cousin, by Remusat; he knew everybody; he became a sort of philosophical witness of politics. He had himself no ambition; he was always more fond of a book than of a newspaper; there was something of a dreamer in him; he believed in the heroes of a novel more than in the heroes of constitutional government. His health was delicate, and he was, to a high degree, a *malade imaginaire*.

Let us, therefore, imagine this highly-cultivated, sensitive, delicate man as a sort of dilettante who takes his stall every evening at the opera. His theatre is the world itself; he sees all the great comedians and the great tragedians, the kings and king-makers, the revolution-makers. His taste becomes more and more refined, but he never becomes morbid, for his innate honesty preserves him from that dangerous corruption of the mind which has attacked many brilliant thinkers. Even in a house like that of the Duc de Broglie, which was always rather severe, worldly frivolity has its rights. Doudan is never frivolous. Let us see, for instance, how he speaks of Lincoln at the time when he was so ill judged, not only in Europe, but in America: "One sees in Lincoln moral greatness without the *attirail* of our Eastern charlatanism and all the tatters of the *garde meuble* and the *menus-plaisirs*. One sees in him a peasant of a truly royal nature, mild, bold, generous, disinterested, ready for everything for the triumph of right, upright, modest, simple, accessible to all." On the 29th August, 1861 (observe the date), M. Doudan wrote to his friend M. Poirson: "Do you not pity these poor Americans of the North who are defeated though they fight the good cause? I understand why England should be glad of it, as the American Union is the only enemy she is afraid of. For this reason it is important for us that the principles of the Confederacy should not triumph. If Europe still had a policy, France would already have a squadron, and perhaps an army, in sight of the shores of the United States to protect those who wish to maintain the Union; but our business is now in China, Cochin-China, and Japan, where we have no business."

Would you like to have the judgment of M. Doudan on some of the most eminent writers in France? They are interesting, as his taste was really sharpened by constant reading, by his intimacy with the most brilliant minds of his time. "Do you follow Taine," he asks of a friend, "in the *Revue des Deux Mondes?* He has written two or three pretty pages in the last number on Leonardo da Vinci; but how red, blue, green, orange, black, *nacré*, opal, iris, and purple it all is! It is the shop of a dealer in colors. One might say with Mirabeau: 'What a noise of colors.'" His judgment on Renan is very amusing (letter of April 6, 1863):

"M. Renan is a great coquette in the order of the theologians and of the savants. His coquetting is mixed with impertinence, but he gives the men of his generation what they desire in everything, sugar-plums which smell of the infinite. He is like some chemists who have turned cod-liver oil into a very agreeable beverage; only the active principles of the cod-liver are gone, and the children remain as lymphatic as they were before. When I read him I sometimes get angry at the thought that he can make me take what he says for real reasoning. . . . Music has this superiority over the other arts and even over literature: it still says something to the soul when words expire, as it were; but on the other hand it has this inherent defect: it is perforce vague, it is half physical and half moral. Well, our time is excessively fond of this mixture of physical and moral: it wishes to be moved rather than to reflect; to be rocked in music, forward, backward, without ever advancing, and without using its will. Renan gives his readers this rocking sensation, with his dreamy style, which is soft, insinuating, which handles the difficulties without much pressing them, like small serpents. It is music, the kind of music which Plato did not admit for the education of youth. At the sound of this music we resign ourselves to be amused with everything, we support despotism while we dream of liberty; we forget to move our oars, and we are led down the insensible current of the waters, thinking agreeably of the energetic souls who once changed the world and made it better, 'because,' says M. Renan in his insolent pride, 'these souls were narrow and did not understand the complexity of the world.'"

This is in the best style of M. Doudan, and will give you a fair idea of the man. You will perceive that there is not much worldly indulgence in him, though he was eminently a man of the world; in fact, he became at times extremely bitter, as one who has seen too many things. This is all he has to say on a book of Cousin's (July 18, 1853): "I wonder what possessed M. Cousin to publish a book under this title—'Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien'? In his place, I would have written something with this title—'Du faux, du laid, du mal.' We must write for our contemporaries." The irony of M. Doudan is extremely pungent. He has short and unexpected sentences of this kind: "It is said that trout can ascend a current; it is not so with men." His irony is often directed against himself, and then it becomes even more bitter. After Sadowa, he anticipates the great war between Germany and France; he is full of fears. "I cannot," he says, "look towards Alsace and Lorraine without great alarm." His serious and patriotic preconceptions are interrupted by this remark: "I am like the poor *marmiton* of whom Voltaire said: 'There was once a pastry-cook's boy who took on the air of loving his country.'"

The two volumes are full of such things. M. Doudan's *esprit* flies on every subject, in every direction. He occasionally makes mistakes; he is never vulgar, low-minded. There remains in the old man, in the last years of his life, something fresh, noble, and chivalrous, which reminds the reader of the golden age of the beginning of the correspondence. It is only when he speaks of the Empire that Doudan is quite disconsolate. He did not, however, much enjoy the fall of the Empire; he saw the Commune, and it seemed to him that France was indeed returning to barbarism: "Our end is come; we are like poor Poland. *Finis Poloniæ!*" His last letters are very sad: "Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos." Doudan died

in 1872, and his death was hardly remarked at the time. His correspondence will be read by all the lovers of good literature, and some of his letters will be cited among the best specimens of the epistolary art.

Correspondence.

THE GENEVA AWARD AGAIN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your comments on the matter of the Geneva award seem to be based on a misapprehension of some of the facts in the case which I trust you will allow me to correct.

It was agreed at Geneva that the British Government should pay to our Government the amount of damage done to the people of the United States by cruisers for whose acts the British Government was held responsible. It was then agreed that the measure of such damage should be the value of the property destroyed by said cruisers. The amount of this damage was decided to be fifteen and a half millions of dollars. Any addition to this sum would have been so much more than the loss caused by the acts for which Great Britain was held responsible. It was therefore agreed that the amount of war premiums should not be added to the value of the property destroyed. War premiums were not otherwise rejected. The direct losses and the war premiums together would represent not only the damage inflicted on us by the cruisers, but also the profits of the insurance companies on their war risks. Obviously, both could not have been allowed without making the damage more than it really was. It is no new doctrine in international claims that insurance companies are not losers by a business in which their profits are greater than their losses. Such, for many years previous to the last war, if not always, has been the practice of our Government. When the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty was rejected by our Senate, some of the largest insurance companies applied to Washington for redress against Great Britain for their losses by the rebel cruisers fitted out in England. But when it was ascertained that their war premiums exceeded their war losses, the Cabinet refused to treat them as losers, and declined to present such claims. Moreover, the United States Commissioners at Geneva were specially instructed to bind their Government to no class of claims. The amount of the award was accordingly received by our Government entirely free from any condition, excepting that it should be distributed among those whom it considered equitably losers by the acts in question. It bound itself only not to keep the money; and so it stands, as it has always stood, a trust-fund not merged into the Treasury. Uninsured owners of property destroyed are unquestionably losers. So also are insurance companies whose losses were larger than their profits; and they are accordingly indemnified under the existing Act of Congress.

Congress is now considering who are the losers of the rest of the fund. The insurance companies whose gains were more than their losses, claim that they are losers. Those who paid war premiums claim that they are losers to the amount of such premiums, less the amount returned to them as profits from mutual insurance companies. They claim that what they paid for war premiums was a positive loss, as goods imported by American vessels, subject to that premium, could be sold for no more than similar goods imported by neutral vessels, free from such additional cost, so that they lost the difference. With them the payment of war premium was compulsory. Their goods were bought almost wholly on London credits, for which they had contracted to provide insurance against all risks, including, of course, the unexpected one of war.

These views are honestly held by the claimants for war premiums. They do not propose to assail or impugn the motives of those who hold other views. You are mistaken in asserting that General Butler originated these claims. Long before the award was made these views were held by those who suffered, and, after consultation with gentlemen whose character and motives you will not question, and whose official position during the events entitle their opinion to the highest consideration, a movement was organized to seek the requisite legislation long before General Butler had—as I believe, honestly, and, having charge of nearly all the Boston claims, I can add, disinterestedly—framed a bill for the same purpose.

I do not encumber your columns by the proof of the facts I recite; but every point I have taken is susceptible of unquestionable proof, and I am unwilling to accept in silence your very pungent and comprehensive denunciation. We can all agree that further delay in the discharge of the trust it has assumed is discreditable to the Government, and cannot fail to provoke the severest censure both at home and abroad. B.

Boston, June 20, 1876.

[We print the above letter as a curious illustration of the state of mind into which a certain part of the public has worked itself over the Geneva award. It is written by a gentleman of intelligence and good standing, who has reason to be familiar by actual experience with the history of the *Alabama* claims. His "facts" have been entirely drawn from his imagination. In the first place, his whole argument rests on the assumed fact that it was "agreed" at Geneva that the British Government should pay to our Government for damage done to "the people of the United States" by the *Alabama* and other cruisers. No such agreement was ever made by anybody. The United States put in a claim for damages of this kind—viz., for "losses in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag," and for "the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion"; and these claims were ruled out of the case by the arbitrators at Geneva, in an opinion delivered on the 19th of June, 1872, in which they declared that they had arrived "individually and collectively" at the conclusion that these claims did not constitute, "upon principles of international law," "good foundation for an award of compensation or computation of damages between nations." On the 25th of June, all these three classes of claims were formally withdrawn by the United States. Finally, this decision was accepted, after the award had been rendered, by the Government, through the Secretary of State, who, in a letter dated October 22, 1872, to Mr. Bancroft Davis, spoke of the conclusion of the arbitrators as "decisive of the non-admissibility of such claims." In the second place, the history of the exclusion of the war premiums given by our correspondent is totally without foundation. They were ruled out together with the "national claims" just referred to under the same rule, as having no foundation in international law, and on the same day. By what process "B." has persuaded himself that the war premiums were excluded on the ground that any addition to the sum of $15,500,000 would have been "so much more than the loss caused by the acts for which Great Britain was held responsible," we cannot imagine. Third: We are happy to say that it *is* a "new doctrine" in international law that "insurance companies are not losers by a business in which their profits are greater than their losses." The business of insuring is done, as our correspondent, we should think, must know, on the understanding, enforced in every court of England and the United States, that in case of total loss the insurer shall be subrogated to the rights of the insured in any damage recovered for the destruction. The United States acted on this principle from the first, and presented every insurer's claim to the court for adjudication. What "B." means by saying that the Cabinet rejected any of these claims we do not know, for they certainly, as a matter of fact, were all presented, the Secretary of State having issued a circular, which "B." will find referred to in Mr. Bancroft Davis's report, informing claimants that *all* claims growing out of the acts of the cruisers would be presented to the Tribunal, leaving that body to determine on their merits. The "instructions" to the "United States Commissioners at Geneva" had nothing to do with the distribution of the fund under the award. The proposition that the United States received the money "entirely free from any condition," "excepting that it should be distributed among those whom it considered equitably losers," is entirely novel. Nobody ever dreamt of maintaining such a position at Geneva, and it makes nonsense of the whole arbitration. What "B." says about the "war-premium" claims shows that he totally misunderstands the reason why they were ruled out. The ground was that it was impossible to determine how far premiums were enhanced by the *Florida*, *Alabama*, and *Shenandoah*, and how far by other causes.—Ed. Nation.]

THE JUSTICE OF APPRECIATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is quite plain to see that it is an act of injustice for any Governmen to change the value of money by depreciating it, but it does puzzle some of us to understand why it is not likewise an act of injustice to change

the value of money by *appreciating* it. But, of course, this must be clear to such political economists as the editor of the *Nation*, Carl Schurz, and Mr. Wells, or they would not so sincerely advocate it; and a clear explanation of the difficulty would be gratifying to certain of your subscribers.

A. J. W.

MARIETTA, OHIO, June 10, 1876.

[It is quite true that it is as unjust for a Government to appreciate the legal tender as to depreciate it, and it is because a legal tender of irredeemable paper puts it in the power of the Government to do either of these things that Carl Schurz and Mr. Wells are anxious for a prompt return to specie payments. For, be it remembered by "A. J. W." that the chief recommendation of gold or silver as currency is, that rulers cannot change their value by increasing or diminishing the supply of them. The supply of them *may* increase or diminish, and their value thus be changed as the mines yield little or much, but this cause of variation acts for the most part slowly, and is independent of the will of any particular body of men. Therefore, although a change in the value of gold and silver may occur, and when it occurs rapidly is a great public calamity, it is never the result of human knavery or ignorance, as a change in the value of irredeemable paper-money *always* is. Those who hold it to be unjust, as we do, and as our correspondent evidently does, for a Government to appreciate or depreciate the instrument of exchange, ought, then, to do what in them lies to bring back into use that instrument of exchange which varies least in value, and over the value of which the Government has no power.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to do this without appreciating to some degree the legal tender now in use; we regret this as much as anybody, but we see no help for it. One of the shocking consequences of arbitrary legislative interference with the money of the country is, that it always produces two distinct frauds on a great scale. When irredeemable paper is first issued and made legal-tender, it enables the debtors to cheat their creditors; when it is redeemed after a long period, it enables creditors to cheat their debtors; or, if cheat be a hard word, we will substitute for it—get the better of. The Government, it is true, might redeem its notes at their present gold value—that is, retain fourteen or fifteen per cent. discount in paying them, but this would none the less substitute gold for paper, or, in other words, appreciate the legal-tender. The Government would make by the swindle, but it would not help the debtor when he came to pay in gold his debts contracted in greenbacks. Nor, we confess, do we see any way of helping him. It is not possible by any legislation to settle all existing interests on an equitable basis. We might authorize all debtors who settled in gold on a certain day—though we do not see who would have the constitutional power to do this—to withhold a certain discount when the debt was contracted under the paper standard; but then, how are all debtors to settle on a day certain? How could any rule fix the equities of each transaction? The fact is, that getting back to specie payments is, like abandoning specie payments, a process attended with more or less suffering, inconvenience, and injustice. But the difference between the two processes is, that one lands you on firm ground, the other plunges you in a bottomless slough. The difference between the way in which an intelligent or highly civilized people and that in which a barbarous and ignorant one passes through this process, is that the one says, "This slough is horrible; the longer we stay in it, the worse we shall be off and the deeper we shall sink. Firm ground we must reach, by hook or by crook, and no toil or endeavor is too great, if only we thereby do so." The other says, "The slough is soft and warm. If we do sink in it, we sink very slowly; and when one is big and strong, one can always do as the elephants do in like circumstances—take the little and weak fellows and put them under one's feet. To reach firm ground would involve great exertion, and possibly a strain of some kind, so we will stay where we are; and who knows but somebody will come along and haul us out some day with ropes? In the meantime, let us have a game of poker and a 'swig of whiskey.'" The simplest solution of the difficulty presented by our correspondent would seem to be the repeal of the Legal-tender Act as to all contracts made after a certain future date. This would give everybody fair notice, and no one would then bind himself to pay in an appreciated currency obligations contracted in a depreciated currency, and those who had already contracted in paper would have the right to pay paper. But the first and plainest duty in the whole matter is that of the Government to redeem its notes. Those who think that this would cause some inconvenience must remember that the currency at one time stood at 200, and fell to 150, and so on down to 115, and nobody cried out. This uproar about getting rid of the last little fifteen per cent. of discount is therefore somewhat absurd.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

ROBERT CLARKE & CO., Cincinnati, are first in the field with 'The Life, Public Services, and Select Speeches of Rutherford B. Hayes,' by J. Q. Howard, which is promised immediately. Mr. Howard was lately the Washington correspondent of the *Ohio State Journal*.——Jos. H. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, announce that the *Penn Monthly* will henceforth be published by them, without change of editors or proprietors. They have also transferred to their list, from that of J. R. Osgood & Co., the works of Mrs. Leonowens, and have in preparation a new one by the same author, called 'Life and Travel in India.'——J. W. Scott & Co., 146 Fulton St., the well-known dealers in stamps, have had the happy thought to photograph by the Woodbury process the proof-sheets of the odious stamps of 1765—viz., for the tax on newspapers and papers and for that on almanacs. The originals were engraved on copper and were by no means inartistic. The Woodburytype sheets of fifty can now be had in any quantity of Messrs. Scott & Co.——Prof. Karl Knortz, having compiled an 'American Shakespeare-Bibliography' for his own use, has been induced to publish it (Boston: Schoenhof & Moeller). It fills sixteen duodecimo pages, and embraces not only original works or articles on Shakspere published in this country, but also American editions of English works and even engravings. Prof. Knortz asks for corrections and additions; and since he has referred to one or two notes on Shakspere in the *Nation*, we may without impropriety say that our files will show a much larger number of original contributions to Shaksperian commentary, most of which are deserving of mention. We may instance the "Apology for Leontes" (II., 401), "Juliet's Runaway" (XII., 337, 381, 448; XIII., 40), "Lime in the sack" (XV., 408), "Deck of cards" (XVI., 134), "A black ouzel" (XXII., 9), etc., etc.——We have received the Catalogue of the Austrian Exhibit at the Centennial, and a very excellent manual it is. The text is in two parallel columns, German and English; and the catalogue proper is prefaced by a summary account of the constitution of Austria-Hungary, its population, government, industries, institutions, etc., etc. Here and there an illustration is allowed, but the advertising is mostly kept by itself at the end without display.

—The slip made by our correspondent, writing from Cincinnati about the Convention, in confounding Colonel Ingersoll, who nominated Mr. Blaine, with one of his clients, which we deeply regret, has been copied, we see, by some papers in a way that may prove injurious to Colonel Ingersoll. We trust they will now copy the correction which appeared in our last week's issue, in justice both to him and to us. We wish we could more effectually make amends for any pain or annoyance it may have caused him.

—'The Invention of Printing,' by Theo. L. De Vinne (New York: Francis Hart & Co.) is publishing in parts, and, when completed, will make a work of about 550 pages—"a collection of facts and opinions descriptive of early prints and playing-cards, the block-books of the fifteenth century, the legend of Lourens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, and the work of John Gutenburg and his associates." We have received Parts I., II., and III., and have read them with considerable care, for the subject, even if it is not new, will be always interesting. Mr. De Vinne draws largely from the standard works on material bibliography, and this was to be expected—his intention being to "present, in a compact form, the substance of modern knowledge concerning the invention of printing." Some of his statements, however, have the ring of a "popular lecture" rather than of a serious history, and, being merely irrelevant matter, might well have been omitted. Thus, on page 44, he says: "During the year 649, Amri the Saracen fed the baths of Alexandria for six months with the 500,000 books that had

been accumulating for seven centuries in its famous library of the Serapion." We have all read this marvellous story, how that Amrou, at the solicitation of old Philoponus, would fain have spared the library, and applied to the Caliph Omar for his consent; and that Omar answered, "If the books agree with the Koran, they are useless, and if they disagree with the Koran, they are pernicious," and so ordered their destruction. But Omar's death happened in 644, and history (while throwing doubt over the event) does not date the destruction of the books later than 642. On page 46 we read: "The first printing-press brought to the New World was set up in the city of Mexico in the year 1540, eighty years before a printing-office was founded in the old colony of Massachusetts." No less an authority than Mr. J. R. Bartlett finds "strong evidence that printing was really introduced in Mexico" in 1535—(Thomas's 'History of Printing,' vol. i., page 365)—but whether in 1535 or 1540, eighty years added would bring us to a period several years anterior to the first settlement of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Mr. De Vinne refers to "the Wat Tyler revolt of 1385" [1381 ?]; he tells us that "Charlemagne could not write," and makes many bewildering statements which can have only a very remote connection with the invention of printing. The engravings—facsimiles of specimens of early printing—are well executed, and give the work a very attractive appearance.

—A new poem fifteen pages long is not readily undertaken in hot weather, but that is what the readers of *Lippincott's* for July have to face in Mr. Sidney Lanier's Fourth-of-July "Psalm of the West." Whoever struggles through the Swinburnian prelude, in which the sound so often outstrips the sense that the baffled mind has to return upon a verse to get its meaning, will find plainer sailing, with fewer assonances and alliterations and capital letters; and here and there, amid a mass of conceits, he will find a stanza which does not require to be defended against critics ignorant of the relations between genuine poetry and the number of pieces in the modern orchestra. In this category we place the better part of the Columbus soliloquy. On the other hand, the fraternal reconciliation of North and South can never be so hollow a thing as to make either party to the civil war regard as anything but puerile Mr. Lanier's "Song from out the Air" about

> "The Tournament under the ladies' eyes
> Where jousted Heart and Brain."

It is a relief to return from this labored effort to the happy prose of Mr. Robert Wilson, whose pictures of the South have already graced the pages of *Lippincott's*, and who now gives us his first paper on the curious peninsula lying between the Chesapeake and the ocean, which three States have divided amongst them, and which in time, Mr. Wilson thinks, may be united under one government, presumably that of Delaware. Just at present, indeed, "nowhere is the feeling of State pride stronger than among the inhabitants of the Eastern Shore, and they look upon the proposition to attach themselves to Delaware much in the same way in which New Yorkers would regard the idea of becoming Jerseymen." Everybody knows that that is not the worst thing that could happen to New Yorkers, and that sundry fluvial and riparian difficulties would speedily disappear as a consequence of such a union. In like manner, the oyster wars of the Virginia and Maryland counties on the Eastern Shore would yield to a salutary agreement, and some internal improvements, such as railroads and canals, would be greatly promoted. How this almost *terra incognita* looks as one approaches it from the side of the Bay; what glimpses one has of "ducks and pungies, tong-boats and dredgers, broad-mouthed creeks and rivers, and white sails gleaming against the inland horizon, far away across orchards and clover-fields"; how healthful the Eastern Shore is; how it abounds in fish, game, and all grains and fruits for the easy sustenance of life; what "quaint, old-time farm-houses and substantial ancient churches" dot the country; and how the half-maritime, half-agricultural population is being mixed with speculative immigrants from a more northern latitude—for all this we must refer the curious to Mr. Wilson's paper, with the assurance that they will be as much surprised as pleased by what he has to tell. In the "Monthly Gossip" Mr. Trollope asserts with great positiveness that the recent discovery at Rome of a *basso relievo* has "satisfactorily and irrefutably decided" the question as to the proper restoration of the Apollo Belvedere. The Italians, he says, have maintained that the left hand held a bow, and so it does in this bas-relief. The sceptical Germans have wished it to hold the head of Medusa; "but what has not a German *savant* doubted?" Mr. Trollope does not mention the fact that the French Pouqueville led the way to the German theory, and that it rests not on "inner consciousness" but on statuettes, seemingly copies of the Apollo, found in ancient Greece, and certainly safer guides than gems or bas-reliefs. Moreover, whether advisedly or not, the Germans have argued that the action of the limbs of the Apollo was inconsistent with those of an archer who had let fly his shaft.

—In 1871, M. Émile Campardon published five previously unknown documents relating to Molière, which he had discovered in the judicial section of the National Archives when searching there for materials for a history of the theatres, of the boulevards, and suburban fairs of Paris. Although of but slight importance in themselves, they served to complete in part the more valuable 'Recherches sur Molière' of M. Eud. Soulié, published eight years before. M. Campardon has since been successful in discovering eighteen more documents, which he has just made public ('Nouvelles Pièces sur Molière. Paris: Berger-Levrault & Cie.; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876, pp. vii.–191). The volume, besides the documents on Molière himself, contains others relating to various members of his company. Each one is preceded by what lawyers term a head-note, and there are also foot-notes for references and citations. The only defects of the beautifully printed volume are the thinness of the paper and the absence of an index, an omission the more incomprehensible as there was an excellent one in M. Campardon's former volume. There can be gleaned from these two little books the particulars of one of the earliest French copyright cases, resembling in certain points an American *cause célèbre* (Wallack *v.* Barney Williams), best known, perhaps, as the "memory case." In 1660, apparently about July, a certain Sieur de Neuf-Villenaine finding that from frequent hearing he had got by heart Molière's 'Sganarelle, ou le Cocu imaginaire,' put pen to paper, wrote it out in full, and had it published. Now, Molière himself, with a view of protecting his own interests, had obtained from the king, on the previous May 30, letters "according to him permission to have his plays printed for the space of five years," and forbidding "all publishers, printers, and others from printing, selling, or distributing the said plays upon any pretext whatever." Secured by these royal letters, Molière at once set to work to get his wrongs redressed. At first the publisher, Ribou by name, laughed at him; but finally, after various legal proceedings, the text of which can be found in M. Campardon's volumes, a decree of the Council was rendered November 16, 1660, setting forth Molière's rights, forbidding any trespass upon them, and ordering the immediate surrender to him of all the twelve hundred and fifty copies which were known to have been printed of the play, or in default of any copy the payment of "the sum of xxx sols." It is characteristic of Molière that this same Ribou, who had in this case added insult to injury, became afterwards his own publisher, and that in the inventory of assets taken after the death of the poet there should be found a note, "dated November 16, 1672, and signed by Jean Ribou and Anne David his wife, for seven hundred livres, value received."

—In the past dozen years, ever since the appearance of his account of his travels in the Nile Valley with the Freiherr von Barnim, Dr. Robert Hartmann has repeatedly given to the world valuable monographs concerning the natives of Africa, from many points of view. He has now begun to work over his studies in a systematic form, and has just published Part I. of 'Die Nigritier—eine anthropologisch-ethnologische Monographie' (Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel & Parey; New York: B. Westermann & Co.) This consists of 525 pages of text, grand-octavo, and of 52 plates, single and double, of which hereafter. "Nigritier" is a name invented by the author to designate the blacks of Sudan and of the adjoining belt of the continent from Zanzibar to the mouths of the Niger and the Congo, or in general the dusky inhabitants of eastern and inner Africa. In his third chapter Dr. Hartmann treats of the architectural remains of a prehistoric civilization in the region under discussion, and has some interesting pages, including liberal extracts from English works, on Karl Mauch's Zimbabye—Solomon's Ophir, as some would identify it. The fourth chapter sums up with much learning the information which the ancient writers have bequeathed us concerning the tribes and the geography of Africa; the fifth, what modern writers have imparted on the same subjects. Chapter seven discusses the agriculture, chapter nine the industries and commerce of the Africans, from the earliest times. The ninth chapter occupies nearly three-quarters of the book, and deals with the movements of population and with race and caste systems; for scientific students of ethnology this will naturally have the greatest attraction. Chapter six has a more popular interest, its subject being the pictorial representations of Africans, and of "Nigritier" in particular. The delineations both of themselves and of their congeners which the Egyptians have left us are highly praised for their accuracy, and so are those of Ethiopian artists. Dr. Hartmann does not overlook the portraits of blacks to be found in paintings by the old masters, *e.g.*, in Paul Veronese's

"Feast of the Levite," and he is unreserved in his praise of Horace Vernet's characterizations, and regards Gérôme as a not unworthy successor. The illustrations with which recent travellers have seen fit to embellish their works are too often pronounced worthless; Capt. Burton's are set down as caricatures. This chapter is enlivened by an incidental allusion to the Turcos, who found themselves at and near Berlin "(zu Spandau, u. s. w.)" quite otherwise than "Friend Edmond About and the rest of the chauvinistic crew" had imagined them; by passing remarks on the ethnological absurdities in the sacred paintings of Titian, Raphael, Correggio, and other masters, in contrast with the scrupulous truthfulness of Schopin's Biblical pictures; by a "little dig" at the usual stage make-up of Othello the Moor; and by the author's account of the forcible measures he had to resort to in order to sketch the superstitious Mohammedan—a process not unlike that by which the rogues' gallery is now maintained. Of the lithographic plates we have left ourselves little room to speak, though they are the distinctive feature of the work. So large and varied a collection of African types was, we suppose, never before brought together. Most of them are from photographs, and a large number of the subjects are in a state of nature. At the end we have double plates of torsos only, both male and female, put to the severe test of comparison with the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus of Milo. On the whole, the "Nigritier" come off not badly.

—The perplexing question of the etiology of cholera has received a recent and careful study, under peculiarly auspicious circumstances, by Professor Pettenkofer, an English translation of whose paper (printed in Berlin) we have received. As president of the German Cholera Commission, he personally investigated the outbreak among convicts in the Laufen prison in 1873, and made this detailed report. As this is the first of a series of such papers, he defers discussing the conclusions that may be drawn; but he frankly publishes what seems a complete history of a typical epidemic occurring in a community whose surroundings admitted of rigorous, intelligent scrutiny and comparison. The facts recited singularly fail, viewed positively and negatively, to sustain the views of man-to-man infection, the direct influence of the excreta, and the preponderating value of drinking-water, which modern medicine has subtantially accepted as settled. But their tenor is that infected localities, more than infected individuals, have to do with the influence and spread of the disease, although in what this peculiarity exists is not obvious. Pettenkofer is well known as teaching the influence of ground-water in cholera, but nowhere here does he appear as the advocate, but always as the careful and candid observer, examining the facts on every side, and following to its remotest trace every clue. The only barely possible factor that may not have been exhaustively discussed is the intra-mural ventilation; that of the cesspools is described. The completeness with which this study has been made erects it as a model, and the remarkable and unexpected nature of the disclosures invests the scientific aspect of the disease with new interest. It and its successors, if of the same style, will mark an epoch in cholera-study. This report fills a hundred and four well-printed quarto pages, including many statistical tables, and there are appended eight lithographic plans. It does not appear by whom or why the translation was made.

WALKER ON THE WAGES QUESTION.*

THE present work is unique in American literature, for two reasons: Among us the labor question has never assumed the importance which it has in most countries in Europe, where it sometimes seems to threaten the foundations of society itself; and the genius of our people is not favorable to the production of extended and formal treatises on subjects of immediate interest. The daily and weekly newspapers have absorbed the functions not only of the quarterly reviewer, but of the investigator and of the author. It is, therefore, very interesting to find that an American writer has produced, and an American house given to the world, the most complete and exhaustive treatise on the wages question with which we are acquainted. Although we find in it serious faults, especially of omission, its tone of philosophic calmness leaves nothing to be desired, while the general correctness of its line of argument is in striking contrast to much that has been written on the subject, and especially to the similar work which in recent times has attracted most attention—that of Thornton on 'Labor.' Very much of what has hitherto been written on the subject has belonged to a discussion in which the advocates of labor were pitted against the economists, so that on one side we found for the most part those who did not understand the subject, or understood it very imperfectly, and on the other side those who were fully acquainted with it. Mr. Walker shows a decided bias toward the labor side of the question, so that in their relations to him the labor advocates may be compared to a litigant who has for the first time found an advocate to present the strong points of his case, however weak that case may be as a whole. Still, it is not merely as an advocate that he writes, for we must concede to him a great deal of the impartiality of the judge. Indeed, the most striking feature of the whole treatise is its eclecticism; there is no school, sect, or party with which we can classify it. He shows to what extent the Malthusian theory of population is true, and he also shows what foundation there really is for Mr. Carey's law of the occupation of the soil—something which that gentleman never did for himself. He is a free-trader in commodities, but not in labor. He does not attempt to prove that all economists of the English school are victims of the grossest fallacies, and have lent their talents to the support of an aristocracy in an attempt to grind down the laboring classes, nor does he deny any well-established principle of political economy.

In a work of the present kind, the duties both of author and critic are rendered embarrassing and difficult from the necessity of distinguishing between the investigation of the subject as a purely scientific problem and the attainment of conclusions for guiding legislative or social action. Until economical questions are considered and answered from a purely scientific standpoint, without respect to any considerations of policy, it is vain to hope for any decided advance in our means of judging them. If an author attempts to do this, it would be the grossest partisanship to complain that he did not come to correct conclusions on questions of policy. Is it, then, allowable to complain of a work in which there are no strikingly false assumptions, in which the arguments are mainly sound so far as they go, and which presents many new truths and considerations eminently worthy the attention both of the socialist and of the economist, but in which those social laws which would decide the question of policy in one direction are almost entirely ignored? Let us imagine a speaker addressing a crowd of people very fond of whiskey, but prevented from indulging by the "moral suasion" of their wives and children, on the physiological and medical use of alcohol. We can easily imagine him confining himself strictly within the bounds of truth and yet, by confining himself to the uses of the drug and ignoring its abuses, producing an effect on his audience which would be injurious in the highest degree. Indeed, that side of the laborer's character which Mr. Walker most strongly brings out is that which renders him most liable to be led astray by one-sided teachings.

Next to its general impartiality of commission, if we may use the expression, the feature of the present work which has most struck us is the completeness with which it ignores the interest of the laborer in everything except his wages. The main question with him is one of distribution; the wages of the laborer represent his share of the product, the rest is the share of the employer or the capitalist; and the laborer must know, or society must know for him, how to make his share as large as possible. We have looked carefully to see what the author had to say on the difficult and mooted question of the interest of the laborer in the share of the employer and the capitalist, but can find next to nothing, the few paragraphs in Chapter XIII. which bear on the subject being among the weakest in the whole work. Apparently, the author is disposed to ridicule the idea that the laborer has any interest at all, or derives any benefit whatever from that share of the product which he does not get as wages. The little attack which he here makes upon the economists is the harder to parry that we cannot make out whether he joins issue on the question of principle or on that of fact. The purely economic interest of the laborer in the profits of the capitalist rests on the hypothesis that these profits are, in great part, applied to the increase of capital, the principle claimed by the economists being that every increase of capital is equally a benefit to the community at large, laborers included, no matter who may be its owner. That share of the rich man's income, be he employé or capitalist, which he spends benefits no one but himself, but that which he saves, as long as it is invested so as to produce interest, benefits the community at large to the same extent as if the community owned it in fee-simple; and this because it is only by employing it for the benefit of the community that any interest can be gained upon it. Such is the general principle of political economy. The correlated proposition of fact which the economists tacitly assume is that a larger proportion of the income of the rich man is saved than of the laborer. Now, Mr. Walker seemingly makes a somewhat wild attack on both the principle and the fact here enunciated. We say seemingly, because he does not make it fully clear what he really is attacking, and it seems hardly credible that he should have failed to learn what ought to be regarded as the fundamental lesson of political economy—a

* 'The Wages Question: A Treatise on Wages and the Wages Class. By Francis A. Walker.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.

lesson the understanding of which is the first and best test of the economist.

The most definite attack which he makes upon the proposition of fact is found in the statement that "in this age of refinement and of artificial wants the impulse to spend luxuriously acquires force, after the comforts and decencies of life are once provided for, faster than the impulse to save, . . . that the rich expend their revenues with a lavishness, a capriciousness, and a heedlessness which are unknown to men of smaller means." There is, perhaps, no one living with whom it would be more rash to join issue on a question of social statistics than the Superintendent of the Ninth Census, yet we must challenge his statement in so far as it traverses the doctrine of the economists. That doctrine is that a larger proportion of the income of the rich is saved and applied to the increase of capital than of the wages class, insomuch that while this class gains the largest aggregate income, much the larger proportion of the capital of the country has been saved by and is therefore owned by the few. This can be met only by showing that, on the average, the richer one gets, the smaller the proportion of his income which he saves, and the larger his ratio of expenditure to income—a proposition the mere statement of which seems to us to carry its own refutation, Professor Walker to the contrary notwithstanding. Can it seriously be maintained that the rich man rents his house, or borrows money to build it because he is not able to build it himself, oftener in proportion than the laborer does? Surely not. And yet, the house is perhaps the strongest example of the opposite view which we could take, because it is that on which the conscience of society permits the most lavish expenditure. Perhaps clothing is near the other extreme. The mechanic, with an income of six hundred dollars, goes to church in a sixty-dollar suit and to his work in a thirty-dollar one. In the same proportion, Stewart or Vanderbilt should go to church with two hundred thousand dollars' worth of clothing on, and appear daily in business suits worth twenty, thirty, or forty thousand dollars.

It is not merely the economic interest of the laborer in society which is thus ignored, but his much larger and wider interest in those features of our modern civilization to which wealth has given rise. We should be less disposed to criticise the author on this ground if he were not himself an advocate of a liberal extension of the ground of political economy, so as to include a wider interest than that felt by the celebrated ideal man of Mr. John Stuart Mill. His whole view of the relations of the laborer to society is as sombre in its general coloring as if the condition of the latter had not improved since the days of Hengist and Horsa. He is a strong advocate of sympathy for the laborer, and in this we are not disposed to differ with him, provided the sympathy does not lead to the support of the so-called labor-reformers. But he does not find it necessary to show that this sympathy is possible only in a state of society and of public opinion which are the direct results of that inequality in the distribution of the products of labor which is one of the great complaints of the sentimental reformer. It is only men who have attained a certain moral and intellectual elevation, the fruit of exemption from severe bodily labor on their own part or of intercourse with others who have been thus elevated, who have any real sympathy with "the down-trodden laborer."

No stronger example of this can be found than the fact that the most cruel enemy of unskilled labor at the present day is found in the organization known as trades-unions, which presents itself to society as one designed to elevate labor. The most important economic object of this organization is to prevent all but a fraction of the laboring class from becoming skilled mechanics, and thus to confine the larger mass to the comparatively degraded position of the unskilled laborer. Nothing in Mr. Walker's whole treatise surprises us more than his presentation of three arguments by which the advocates of trades-unions sustain this policy, with an assertion that there is enough of truth in them to entitle them to somewhat more respectful treatment than has been accorded them. The first two arguments are too inane to be either cited or refuted; the third is sufficiently near the ludicrous to offer some interest. It is, in brief, that there is no reason why "every branch of industry, even to the day-laboring class," should not protect itself in the same way, and, when all are thus restricted, "none will be at advantage or disadvantage relatively to another, but all will be at an advantage with respect to the employing class." But will the learning and acumen of our first statistician suffice to tell us what is to become of the excess of the population above the limited number which are allowed to labor at all, even as day-laborers? Unless the restrictions exclude some one, they are inoperative; and if some are excluded from each separate employment, then many must be excluded from all employment whatever. The argument of a burglar, that every one had the same right to break into his neighbor's house that he claimed for himself, strikes us as one which it would be less embarrassing to maintain.

In making these criticisms we have no desire to depreciate the really valuable contributions to the political economy of labor which the work contains. The influence of the multitude of causes by which man is surrounded upon the character and well-being of the laborer are traced with a minuteness of detail, a philosophic breadth of comprehension, and an absence of prejudice which call for our highest commendation. Especially worthy of attention is all that the author says of the influence of social causes upon the character and efficiency of the laborer himself—an influence which economists in general have neglected. Whether the consideration of such causes belongs to political economy or to some allied and hitherto little-cultivated branch of the science of human nature, is an open question; but there can be no question that wherever we choose to classify these causes, they cannot be ignored in any complete discussion of the wages question. On the other hand, neither can we ignore the many other causes at work in our civilization which the author almost entirely neglects, though a consideration of them is absolutely necessary to enable us to draw any practical conclusions from his own reasoning. The reader must therefore be well fortified in political economy, and must frequently refer to the side of the shield which the author does not present to him, if he would form the best possible judgment on the various questions involved.

SANITARY DRAINAGE.*

IT is a fact now generally accepted among scientific men that disease in almost every instance is the effect of poison. In the comparatively rare cases of personal contagion, this poison consists of diseased elements directly transferred from one individual to another. In a vast majority of cases the poison is unconsciously taken in the air we breathe, the water we drink, or the food we eat. It may have come indirectly from a sick person, or it may be the decaying product of a substance previously harmless; its origin may be difficult to trace, and its action may be very subtle; it is usually gaseous or liquid, and it is almost always some form of decaying organic matter. To confine these poisons within limits where they cannot reach the human system; to convey them away in the most innocuous manner; and, finally, to destroy them before they have had an opportunity to act, is the function of sanitary engineering, which may be regarded as one of the most advanced departments of the profession, and unfortunately one to which attention has been directed only for a comparatively short time. There is no one thing in which our American civilization is more deficient than in this. The mechanical improvements which serve to cheapen manufacture, to facilitate transportation, and generally to aid commercial enterprises of all varieties, we have accepted and advanced, and nowhere has this progress been more marked than in the newer parts of our country at the West. On the other hand, the same communities which have been so alert in watching for everything which promised to increase their wealth, have shown an almost absolute indifference to the conditions requisite to ensure their health. It is only in some of the oldest sections of our country that even moderate attention is paid to sanitary engineering. It is not pretended that the most perfect drainage and ventilation would entirely relieve the race of its invalids. Hereditary constitutional weakness, imprudent habits of life, and a multitude of accidental causes would remain; but it is safe to say that epidemics and the violent diseases which now destroy so large a part of our population before they have attained their prime, can be almost entirely prevented, and that the average death-rate can be reduced at least one-half. The picture of a community which allows one-half of its number to die through its mere neglect of proper sanitary precautions, is truly appalling.

No publications deserve a heartier welcome than those which aim to open the eyes of the public to this state of affairs, and which furnish, in a manner which can be understood by the popular mind, the instruction needed for its cure. Colonel Waring's work on 'The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns' is addressed, as he states in his preface, to the average citizen and householder, but in some points is especially intended for the information of town authorities. The first chapter discusses at considerable length the Sanitary Relations of Drainage, and illustrates the subject by pointed examples of the dangers of defective drainage, among which many people will be surprised to find Newport, the popular watering-place, instanced, where, despite its magnificent natural sanitary conditions, the death-rate is more than double that of the adjoining rural town, and exceeds that of

* 'The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns. By George E. Waring, jr., Consulting Engineer for Architectural and Sanitary Works.' New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1876.
'Defects in House Drainage and their Remedies. By Edward S. Philbrick, Civil Engineer.' Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1876.

some of our largest cities. The Drainage of Houses is next considered; formerly the problem of domestic drainage consisted in little more than keeping the cellar dry and disposing of refuse matter where it would be inoffensive and would not contaminate the water-supply, and even these simple demands were often entirely neglected; but the introduction of "modern conveniences" has placed in every house all the elements of a complicated sewerage system, necessitating an abundant water-supply, good workmanship, and thorough ventilation. It is in the last respect that the system is most universally defective: poisonous sewer-gas is necessarily formed in every sewer and soil-pipe, and in some way will manage to escape. If a proper ventilating pipe be provided, extending from the soil-pipe to above the roof of the house, the poisonous gas will escape through this pipe and, mixing with the free oxygen of out-door air, will become harmless; if ventilation be not provided, no system of water-traps can be trusted—they will either be drained as syphons or forced by air pressure, in either case poisoning the air of the house by direct communication with vaults or drains. The want of ventilation is usually the most glaring defect, but other details might be mentioned, among them the common pan water-closet, which a high authority (Latham) has described as a "cumbrous appliance which cannot be introduced into a house without creating a nuisance," and for which very superior substitutes can now be had at a slight increase of cost. The Drainage of Towns is next briefly considered, and the remainder of the volume devoted to practical directions for the proper drainage of houses and towns.

Three systems have been introduced for the disposal of sewage matters—the water system, which washes it away; the dry-earth system, which absorbs it; and the atmospheric system, which transports it in pneumatic tubes. The first is the one in common use in nearly all modern cities, and which, with an abundant supply of water, good construction, thorough ventilation, and a proper place of discharge, may always be expected to give good results. Here it might be wished that the author could have considered especially the case of the city of New York. Apparently, it would be hard to instance a city in which better results can be expected from the water system, or in which greater dangers can result from defective plans. The hills of Putnam and northern Westchester counties furnish an abundant supply of the finest water; sewers with a convenient fall carry the waste from the central divide of the island to the salt water on each side, while the current of either river is enough to sweep away the sewage matter before it has time to produce injurious effects; on the other hand, the same sewers which drain the finest residences near the summits drain tenement-houses crowded with the poorest population near the rivers, while the tide rises and falls in every sewer. With perfect ventilation, no harm could result from either tenement-house or tide, but without ventilation the light gases whose origin is in the tenement-house drains will seek an outlet through the highest parts of the sewers into the residences near Fifth Avenue, and the rising tide will compress the air in the closed sewers till it forces the shallow-water traps which form the only obstacle to its escape. The dry-earth system has been employed on a limited scale, especially in the private closet, with the most satisfactory results. It requires more personal attention than the water system, and its general application to a town where a sufficient water-supply can be had is not yet recommended; for private houses in the country it is without an equal. The atmospheric system, devised by Capt. Liernur, is in use at Amsterdam and other points in Holland; the matter is conveyed in pneumatic pipes to an air-tight reservoir, and from thence to a station provided with suitable machinery for its desiccation; its principles are novel and ingenious; while it cannot now be recommended for general use, it may prove the true system for cities whose peculiar situation is similar to that of the towns in the low countries of Europe.

Mr. Philbrick's pamphlet on 'Defects in House Drainage and their Remedies' was originally written for the Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health. It is an instructive pamphlet of about forty pages, and while the author has occasionally allowed himself to use an inflated style, not very appropriate to the subject, it affords more practical instruction on this subject than we have yet seen in so small a space. It covers only a limited field, but enters into many details which Col. Waring passes over rapidly, and will be found a valuable accompaniment to the latter's more extended work.

Chiushingura; or, The Loyal League. A Japanese Romance. Translated by F. V. Dickins. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.)—The present volume is, we believe, the first attempt made by an American house to introduce the literature of Japan among us, although the substance of the story here narrated may be familiar to some of our readers as corresponding to the 'Forty-seven Ronin' in Mitford's 'Tales of Old Japan.' The main theme is extremely simple and direct, but in the side-issues there is a fair diversity of character and incident. Two high noblemen or *samurai*, Yenya and Wakasanoske, have incurred the displeasure of the Shogun's Prime Councillor, Lord Moronawo, by their neglect to pay him the appropriate gifts. Moronawo, who has also made improper advances to the wife of Yenya, which are repelled, thereupon quarrels with both noblemen, but having been secretly bribed by Wakasanoske's chief steward, Honzo, he is appeased, and apologizes for his previous rudeness. The quarrel between Moronawo and Yenya reaches such a pitch that the latter draws his sword upon the Councillor within the palace grounds. For this offence he is sentenced to commit *seppuku*. His clan, so to speak, having thus lost their chieftain, become by Japanese custom *Ronin*, or outlaws, at least outcasts. Ohoboshi Yuranoske, chief steward of Yenya, who was absent at the time, returns only to witness the *seppuku*. He resolves to have revenge upon Moronawo, and forms a conspiracy with his fellow *Ronin;* the faithful band, after various narrow escapes from detection, succeed in surprising and slaying Moronawo in his castle; whereupon they themselves commit *seppuku*. The subordinate episodes of the story are the loves of Yuranoske's son, Rikiya, and Konami, the daughter of Honzo, and of Kampei, an unfortunate follower of Yenya, and Okaru, maid to the Lady Yenya. As an offset to the thirty-seven faithful *Ronin* are two, Kudain and his son, Sadakuro, who are false to the memory of their lord. The latter becomes a veritable highway robber and murderer, the former plays the part of spy and endeavors to betray Yuranoske's plot to Bannai, the steward of Moronawo. In general, the style is extremely plain and devoid of ornament; only here and there does the author indulge in a reflection upon human character, or borrow a simile from external nature. The story, we are informed by the translator in his Appendix, is based upon facts which took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but which the author, out of regard for the press laws, probably thought best to represent as occurring in the fourteenth. The text from which the translation is made is that of the *joruri*, or dramatized version of the story, made by one Chikatsu Monzayemon in the eighteenth century. Book (or chapter) eight is omitted from the text, and given separately in the Appendix. It is a metrical description of a journey made by Konami and her mother in quest of Rikiya, and is not entirely wanting in poetic spirit. The dramatic cast of the story is evident throughout, and there are several scenes whose effectiveness will not appear unless the reader imagines them acted or recited on the stage.

In estimating such a work, we have to disregard our usual criteria of literary excellence. Being the product of so remote and so peculiar a type of national life, it must be judged by its own standards. While we do not find, therefore, in the 'Chiushingura' the graces of style, the sharp individualization, or the skilful elaboration of plot that we should naturally look for in a European romance, we cannot deny it a certain merit of its own. It has a definite purpose, clearly conceived and vigorously set forth. This purpose is nothing less than the glorification of the old *chiushin*, or sentiment of allegiance, characteristic of the now extinct feudal system of Japan. The heroes of the book, for they were heroes in their own eyes and in the eyes of those who saw them in counterfeit presentment on the stage, shrink neither from danger nor degradation nor cruelty in the prosecution of their high design. Kampei, who deserted inadvertently his master, Yenya, at the critical scene in the palace, is disgraced thereby and spurned by his late comrades. His efforts to regain their confidence and be received into the conspiracy against Moronawo are frantic, and when they fail there is nothing left to him but to commit *seppuku*. Okaru, his betrothed, sells herself to be a waiter-girl in a tea-shop, in the hope that the wages of her infamy may enable Kampei to purchase his restitution. Honzo immolates himself in the effort to conciliate Rikiya's parents, who consider his, Honzo's, bribery of Moronawo an act of trickery towards Yenya. And Yuranoske himself, the chief figure in the conspiracy of revenge, and a man well on in years, gives himself up to revelry and *sake*, in order that Moronawo and Bannai may regard him as lost to all sense of honor and therefore harmless. It would be superfluous, of course, to pass judgment upon such a code of morals. We are concerned solely with the ethnic fact that it was the accepted code for centuries among the ruling classes of Japan, and that it is depicted for us here in most unmistakable colors. On this ground, then, if on no other, we venture to commend the 'Chiushingura' to the attention of our readers.

We must add in conclusion that the appearance of the book is no less unique than its character. It is bound in the Japanese or album shape. The covers are of Japanese leather, stamped in the usual Japanese style.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1876.

The Week.

THE country was shocked on Thursday by the news of a terrible disaster which had overtaken a portion of the forces engaged in punishing the wild Sioux. In an attack, on the 25th of June, made by General Custer on a vast Indian village along the left bank of the Little Big Horn River, Montana Territory, he himself and his entire command, consisting of five companies of cavalry, were overwhelmed and destroyed. Major Reno, who, acting under his instructions, had crossed the stream some three miles higher up with three companies, barely escaped sharing the same fate. Recrossing with difficulty, and entrenching himself as well as he was able on a height commanded by the savages, he, together with four other companies which had joined him, barely succeeded in maintaining himself against incessant attacks, lasting from two o'clock on the 25th to six o'clock of the following day. The Indians withdrew on the approach of Colonel Gibbon's command. General Terry, who accompanied the latter, estimates the number of killed at 250, the number of wounded at 51; the losses of the Indians must, as General Sheridan has remarked, have been at least as great. Besides General Custer, his brother and nephew and a large number of gallant officers, whose places will not readily be filled, were slain at one or other of the two points of attack.

The question of the responsibility for the great calamity has been freely discussed since the first news of it arrived. Custer's operations were part of a combined movement under Gen. Terry, and it does not appear that the total force was inadequate to the object in view, so that it seems unnecessary to allege as even the remote cause of the defeat the pennywise policy of Congress in reducing the regular army below the point of efficiency. On the other hand, it appears certain that if Custer's advance had been delayed till it was possible to act in concert with Col. Gibbon, who was ascending the Little Big Horn to fall upon Sitting Bull and his warriors in the rear, the Sioux would have been either beaten or broken up. That Custer was too hot in following up the trail may be granted, as well as too precipitate in ordering an attack against odds which the trail enabled him to estimate closely, in a country not favoring a simple, powerful dash of cavalry, but broken and cut up by difficult ravines, in which the Sioux had concealed themselves, and from which they poured a merciless fire upon the devoted band. Gen. Custer made an ineffectual attempt to cross the river and attack the lodges, and on returning to the right bank found himself surrounded. Though he had had much experience of Indian fighting ever since the close of the war, it will hardly be thought disgraceful that he allowed himself to be entrapped. His personal bravery was very exceptional, and his successes, especially in the last year of the war, when he was our model executive cavalry officer, were so great and so uniform, that to dare and to do naturally came to seem to him all one. For fifteen years he had freely exposed his life in the service of his country against her foes, both white and red, while protesting in season and out of season against the nondescript policy of the Government towards the Indians.

Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance will be, and is, generally accepted as satisfactory. His language with regard to civil-service reform and the currency is certainly as strong and frank as any one could desire. His rebuke to the policy known as "Grantism," though only implied, is sufficiently apparent in his observations on the civil service, and in his emphatic promise not to be a candidate for a second term, which will probably infuriate the President, already in no very amiable mood. The only portion of his letter which seems to us unsatisfactory is his treatment of the Southern question. His language here is too vague to be reassuring. The Southern people have a right to know, either expressly or impliedly, what he thinks of the policy pursued by the Federal Government in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, because this policy was pursued ostensibly for the promotion of that "hearty recognition of the rights of all" to which Mr. Hayes justly attaches so much importance. This, indeed, is what Scott, and Parker, and Moses, and Kellogg, and Casey, and Packard, and Durell have always said they were after. If Mr. Hayes has the strength and courage, however, to live up to those parts of his letter which are explicit, we think he may be safely trusted as to the part which is obscure, and, from all we hear and can learn, we think he may be relied on to do what he says, though we do not in saying this conceal from ourselves the possibility that he underestimates the difficulty of his task. Still, the circumstances are such that we must trust somebody, and we are forced to the conclusion that he is more likely, taking all things into account, to meet the crisis in the way reformers wish to see it met than Mr. Tilden. We have little doubt that his bold utterances with regard to civil-service reform will alienate from him secretly a considerable body of the regular politicians, and indeed we see already, in the election of the notorious "Zach." Chandler as Chairman of the National Committee, a sign, which will influence thousands, that the "managers of the party" have not yet wholly learned the error of their ways, and probably still hope to make the platform once more a mockery and the President a corrupt tool. We fear this disregard of public opinion, even in such small matters as this, will swell the number of those who think that, let the Democrats be what they may, the first step in reform is to kick the Republicans out, bag and baggage. As regards the political chances, the adhesion of such men as Judge Stallo of Cincinnati to Tilden will undoubtedly, by its influence on the Germans, endanger Mr. Hayes's chances in Ohio, and Mr. Koerner will carry thousands with him in the same direction in Illinois, and the contest will most probably turn on New York, which is the same as saying that it will be very close. But against these defections has to be set the hearty support of Mr. Schurz, which Hayes will have.

Judge Hoar and Mr. John M. Forbes, of the Massachusetts delegation at Cincinnati, have been giving some account of their mission at a ratification meeting in Boston, in speeches which brought out strongly the fact that the idea of civil-service reform is at last taking hold of the minds of leading Republicans who have been hitherto mainly occupied with Reconstruction, but now acknowledge that the mode of appointing and managing Government employés is the foremost question of the day. Judge Hoar declared that the election of Hayes was to "establish" a reform in administration which should in the first place "resist and discontinue the usurpation of the Senate of the United States in attempting to deprive the President of his civil power in the appointment of executive officers"; but how the election of Hayes and Wheeler would effect this reform he did not explain. Mr. Forbes dwelt strongly on a point to which we drew attention three weeks ago, and which cannot be dwelt on too often, and that is the curious way in which the public has forgotten that before Jackson's time the Government was administered in the American way on business principles, and that Jackson's introduction of the "spoils" system astounded and shocked the better portion of the community. He recalled, too, most aptly, to the recollection of the Boston "practical men," who think civil-service reform a sentimental thing, that when, in 1848, it was proposed, at a small local meeting of young Whigs in Boston, that the Whigs should adopt the Wilmot Proviso, it was received with a huge laugh, and the

idea was turned over to the "dam literary fellers" as too superfine for this world. The reminiscence may be of some use to the Civil Service Reform Club which has been formed in Boston, as well as to the Reform League in this city, which propose to take the question up in detail. But if they are going to make any impression on the public mind, they must do what the anti-slavery men did —when they hear of an abuse, examine it, and lay it before the world in an authentic shape, with such details as may be necessary to make its danger and mischievousness and dishonesty plain. By the way, Judge Hoar spoke at the meeting of Mr. Blaine as if he had done nothing wrong, and Mr. Forbes referred to much of the recent talk about reform as having degenerated into slander, and as "being used to shake the confidence of the people" in Republican institutions. Now, we think both these gentlemen, and all others who at this crisis say this sort of thing, ought to assist the people by a detailed examination of the facts, showing, for instance, why Mr. Blaine's conduct was harmless, and by giving us an instance of reform talk which has "degenerated into slander" and excited an unwholesome influence on public opinion. The great trouble in Mr. Blaine's case is that not one of his friends has ventured to deal with the evidence produced against him.

The news from Washington shows pretty conclusively that the "Old Man," as he is playfully or affectionately called by his friends, has "got his back up." Having got rid of Bristow, New, and Yaryan, and so deepened the attachment of McKee and McDonald to the party, he has followed this up by the decapitation of Dyer, the District-Attorney, who has been blocking the wheels of Government, first by prosecuting the leading Republicans of Missouri, and then by refusing to approve their applications for pardon. Having thus made reasonably sure of carrying one of the principal Western States, the "Old Man" has now begun to turn his attention to another, and, in order to "carry Indiana," has first turned out Mr. Jewell, who has made himself disgusting to some of the most experienced statesmen of the country by his idealism in disapproving of the practice of securing post-office contracts by a felonious abstraction and examination of competing bids, and has put in his place Mr. Tyner, Second Assistant Postmaster-General, a strong supporter of the Morton policy in the South, who got his present office for voting for the Force Bill last year. He is particularly opposed to the habeas corpus, and thinks the President ought to have the right to suspend it when he pleases, and will not be likely to tolerate any nonsense from "rebels" along the postal routes in the South. Mr. Pratt, the Internal Revenue Commissioner, has been got rid of for giving Yaryan a letter of recommendation and regret on the latter's dismissal, which shows that General Grant means his employés shall not only be faithful themselves but shall frown upon unfaithfulness in others. The monstrous character of the whole proceeding becomes more glaring when we reflect that it follows close upon Hayes's letter, in which, announcing himself as a candidate for office, he promises to break up the very system by which "Zach." Chandler and the "Old Man" are now working tooth and nail to elect him.

The Senate has been mainly occupied with the trial of General Belknap, and the case against him seems to get clearer and clearer as it goes on. Marsh has taken the stand, and sworn positively to all the important facts—to his application for a post-tradership, to Belknap's direction to him to "see Evans," and, if not to the subsequent bargain between Evans, Marsh, and Belknap, to the direct payment of money under it into Belknap's hands. This is, of course, the evidence of an accomplice, but not of a willing witness, and, accompanied as it is with evidence showing that Belknap's attention had been called to the condition of affairs at Fort Sill long before the final exposure, let alone his guilty behavior, confession, and resignation after the exposure, ought to ensure his conviction. The Senate has also passed resolutions to pay Pinchback for contested election expenses and for the assumption by the Government of the Washington Monument. Both Houses have adopted the report of the Conference Committee on the Post-office Appropriations Bill, but the dead-lock on the Legislative Bill still continues, and the House has appointed a new committee, while both Senate and House have passed another Temporary Deficiency Bill for ten days. Mr. Lawrence's Pacific Railroad Sinking-fund Bill has also passed by a surprisingly large vote of 159 to 9. This measure requires the companies to pay a fixed sum semi-annually into the Treasury as a sinking-fund for the redemption of the subsidy bonds. This act would not stand with the courts if the companies chose to resist it, and therefore may be considered as merely an announcement of an intention on the part of the House that the companies shall make some provision for their debt. Mr. Holman on Monday made an attempt upon the Resumption Act by introducing a resolution directing the Banking and Currency Committee to report a bill repealing the redemption clause, but, under the two-thirds rule, the attempt failed by a vote of 107 to 96. The Geneva Award Bill has also been passed by a vote of 107 to 94, after an unsuccessful effort by the minority of the Committee to have a substitute adopted letting in the insurance companies on the same footing with the other claimants, as should have been done under the old bill.

The peculiar disease to which we have heretofore referred as affecting the moral perceptions of our public educators, finds new victims in unexpected quarters. When Professor Seelye was elected to Congress by a thoroughly blue-blood Massachusetts community, there was considerable rejoicing throughout the State that a high-toned scholar and gentleman would fill the place left vacant by Alvah Crocker. As a public educator, Professor Seelye performs a twofold function—of Christian minister and college professor—and is generally regarded as the probable successor of the late President Stearns of Amherst. Although his position and attainments might be supposed to insure him against obliquity of moral vision more certainly than vaccination insures against small-pox, we find him, nevertheless, in his recent speech upon the Geneva award, affirming that "Congress should dispose of the balance of the fund just as it might deem wise and equitable," that "the House is not responsible to Great Britain or to the Geneva Tribunal, but to the August Tribunal of History," and that "equity, justice, and wisdom demand the acceptance of the majority report of the Committee." That the above sentences should have been uttered by one of Professor Seelye's reputation is a fact to be looked upon almost as a national calamity. The man who should have exposed the humbug and immorality of the speeches of Frye, Hale, and others follows their leadership into the slough; and the horde of repudiators, Emma Mine operators, Indian swindlers, and all others who wish to justify their peculations by some pretence of moral or legal argument, have gained a "Christian statesman" for a defender. It remains to be seen whether after this exhibition of his qualifications as a public teacher Amherst College will now choose him for its president or the people of his district return him to Congress.

On reading Professor Seelye's speech, one feels as if the study of applied ethics—or casuistry, as it is called—ought, in spite of its dangers, to be revived in all colleges, and especially in divinity schools. He quotes a letter of instruction from Mr. Fish to Mr. Evarts, the counsel of one of the parties, warning him "in the discussion of the question, and in the treatment of the entire case, not to commit the Government as to the disposition of what may be awarded," and saying that "the Government wished to hold itself free to decide, etc., on the termination of the case," and therefore "all committal was to be avoided in the argument of counsel." Professor Seelye actually holds that this instruction of one of the litigants to his lawyer overrules the award of the Court, and covers the fraud of demanding judgment for damage done to A., and, on getting the money, turning round and denying that A. suffered any damage at all, and giving the money to B. Surely a minister of the Gospel

ought to be able to tell a quibbling politician that this is obtaining money under false pretences; that when you accept an award by a court of arbitration, you are bound by the terms of the award and not by what you said to your counsel; and that if you take the money, you are bound to apply it to the cases for which the court allowed it, and not to cases for which the court said you were entitled to nothing; and that to say, when people cry shame, that you don't care what they think, that you are only responsible to the "Tribunal of History," as Professor Seelye does, is simply an audacious attempt to escape the well-established obligations of civilized morality under cover of a blatherskite phrase. Will Professor Seelye tell the persons who think his plan of distribution is fraudulent where they will find his "Tribunal of History," and by what process they can bring their claim before it? We have heard before now of a man's being referred to the "Tribunal of History" for the vindication of his fame, but we never before have heard of one's being referred to it for the recovery of a thousand dollars. Professor Seelye's doctrines would not stand for five minutes in any court in the United States or England, and he knows it, or ought to know it; the original promoters of this scheme of distribution did know it well. Nor would it stand before any tribunal of honorable men of the world. To refer people under these circumstances for satisfaction to the Muse of History reminds one of the South Carolina colored minister who was charged with hen-theft, but declined to answer before his church or the Freedmen's Aid Society, which employed him, on the ground that it would all be enquired into at the day of judgment.

The downward movement in silver continues, the price in London having fallen to 46¾*d.* per ounce, and with the market so thoroughly unsettled that bankers here have at times been willing to bid only one dollar per ounce (1,000 fine). The decline in the past week has created almost a panic in the market, and it would not be strange if there should be an upward reaction even if the price should ultimately go much lower. It has already been made apparent that the production of the American mines is not, by any means, a controlling influence in determining the market price of the metal. It is evident, however, that if our Government could be brought to re-establish the double standard, the demand here would be so enlarged as to have a steadying and strengthening influence on the European markets. It is, therefore, to be expected that the Bonanza efforts to secure a re-establishment of the double standard will be desperate. The inflationists begin to see that their purposes will be served by supporting the movement of the Bonanza mine-owners, and they are now as clamorous for "the silver dollar of our fathers" as they were for the adoption of the Pendletonian plan of redeeming the bonds in greenbacks. On account of the heavy decline in the metal, the old silver dollar would now be worth in gold less than 79 cents, while the greenback dollar is now worth about 89½ cents. The only silver dollar now authorized is the "trade dollar," and these sell at 99 cents paper, but as there is a large profit in converting bullion into them even at this figure (since they are worth less than 81 cents gold), they are coming into circulation. Of course every one of them adds to the depreciated currency and inflates its volume. Small change continues scarce, and the subsidiary coins, while worth in gold less than 74 cents to the dollar, sell at 101 paper, whereas the trade dollar, which is worth 80½ gold, sells at only 99 paper.

The Royal Commission in England appointed to enquire into the law and practice of various nations with regard to the reception to be accorded to fugitive slaves by naval commanding officers, find that there is no general rule in the matter, and that the practice is very varied. Portugal and Holland surrender on demand; Italy considers the fugitive free; the United States do not surrender him; France and Russia leave the officer to exercise his discretion. The Commission find that there is no stipulation on the subject in any British treaty except that of 1865 with Madagascar, which provides that no Madegassy subject shall be received on board any British ship without a passport; and that the Admiralty instructions issued from time to time have generally left officers to use their discretion. The recommendations of the Commission, which are nine in number, advise that some discretion should be left to naval officers, who should deal with each case, to a certain degree, on its own merits, being governed before all things by considerations of humanity. A slave should be retained, for instance, when he desires to escape, if he has been recently reduced to slavery, or if there is reason to believe he will be cruelly treated when released; but if compelled to leave the ship, he is always to be put ashore where he is likely to be best off. Most of the recommendations, however, read like solemn trifling, and the public will be disposed to agree with Sir George Campbell's minority report, which advises that slavery should be treated as if it did not exist; and the rule laid down that "while no naval officer was bound to receive slaves on board his ship, if he did receive them they were free."

Strange names of places, to be interpreted through several languages; imperfect maps; and the usual contradictions of war bulletins, make it very difficult to evolve from the week's reports the actual occurrences of the contest now going on in Turkey. We are still so near the commencement of it that it is worth while to recapitulate a little, beginning with the topographical situation. The Servian frontier towards the enemy consists, on the west, of the river Drina; on the east, of the river Timok; and on the south, of mountain ranges. The simultaneous crossing at several points took place on the 2d or 3d inst., and was immediately followed on the latter day by engagements which we reported last week. The force under Gen. Olimpics passed the Drina successfully, not far from its mouth, and attacked the Turkish position at Bjelina. There appears to be no question that he was defeated by Mukhtar Pasha (who had hastened from Herzegovina for the purpose), and was obliged to entrench himself, with the river at his rear; and it is asserted that the Turks, assuming the offensive, crossed the river in turn and assailed the Servian camp at Ratsha, at the junction of the Drina and the Save. On the east the Servian division which threatened Widin fared equally ill, and the victorious Turks under Osman and Kerim Pashas drove it back to Saitshar, which was besieged and has probably been captured. The Servians, however, have crossed the Timok at Bregovatz, below Saitshar, into Bulgaria, with a shorter line of march upon Widin. The main strength of the combination was entrusted to Gen. Tchernaieff, who, after some fighting before Nissa, turned the Turkish flank and pursued his march on Sofia. On the 4th or 5th inst. he occupied Akpalanka, whence he proceeded to Pirot, and here a great battle is said to have been fought on the 10th inst. The prize is one of the great highways of the empire, from Constantinople to Belgrade, and a commanding position at the base of the Balkans to support a rising in Bulgaria. If this movement shall prove to have failed, it would appear to be all up with the Servians, for General Zack, who crossed the mountainous frontier of Javor, was badly beaten, July 6, by the Turks under Mehemet Ali near Tchnebinatz, and driven back towards Novibazar, a Turkish stronghold.

What the Servian division at once accomplished was the practical evacuation of Herzegovina by all the mobilized Turkish forces. The Montenegrin advance into it—said to be 19,000 strong, under Gen. Viskotitich—has therefore been almost unopposed, except by the fortresses. The objective point is apparently Mostar, and we hear of the army at Nevesinje and before Gatshko, as well as interrupting the route for Turkish reinforcements from Klek to Stolatz. The possible junction with Gen. Olimpics appears to be indefinitely delayed by the latter's failure to get away from the Drina. Meantime, the southern border of Montenegro itself is menaced by Dervish Pasha, and some skirmishing, favorable to the Turks, is reported in the neighborhood of Podgoritza. Outside support for Turkey at this crisis seems to be safe to count upon from Tunis and from the Khedive, whose auxiliaries are likely to be commanded by one or more American officers.

THE CELEBRATION.

TUESDAY week was probably the proudest day in the history of Demonstrative Oratory—that is, the species of oratory which has for its object narration and exposition rather than persuasion. It has stood as high as, or perhaps higher than, any other in the estimation of the American public, and has been cultivated with a painstaking elaboration which began to recall in an unpleasant way the declining rather than the great days of the rhetorical art among the ancients. Of late the younger generation have been turning away from it as a means of entertainment, often light and sometimes tedious, rather than an instrument of work; as better fitted, in short, to amuse or instruct than to effect any immediate practical result. It is, unfortunately for the continuance of its hold on the popular mind, brought by its very nature into fatal competition with the book and the pamphlet, and indeed has to be converted into a book or pamphlet in order to achieve full success and currency. The care needed in its preparation, the conscientious qualifications and reserves with which its propositions have to be surrounded, inevitably give it an air of cold premeditation, and make the result an essay rather than a speech. It is literally sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. It has not, and cannot have, the fire and vehemence and directness to which oratory, in the strict and best sense of the word, has owed nearly all its great triumphs, through which it touches those hidden chords of human emotion and kindles the noble rage in which great designs are conceived and great deeds are wrought.

The various addresses which constituted the intellectual part, or what we might call the articulate part, of the festivities on the Fourth were, therefore, in spite of the literary excellence of some of them, a very inadequate expression of the deep feeling of joy and triumph which plainly showed in the vast assemblages, the processions, the fireworks, and illuminations. In reading over those of Mr. Evarts, Dr. Storrs, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Beecher, each of which had its own merits, and, indeed, may be said to have taken its own view, one could not help feeling that the theme had grown too vast to be successfully dealt with by any of the old methods. No skill in arrangement or condensation in thought, or eagerness of interest, seemed to enable any of the orators to do more than suggest the magnitude of the occasion. Mr. Evarts, as the Centennial orator at Philadelphia, more fully than any of the others, surveyed the whole field, and expounded with a masterly hand the extent to which the American Revolution had introduced new powers and forces and aims into the political world, and how the daring conceptions of the founders of the Government had been justified by the actual working of their experiment. Dr. Storrs traced in American history the growth of the great principles of English liberty; and Mr. Winthrop sketched and eulogized the chief authors and promoters of the national independence; while Mr. Adams showed by specific instances the value of the contributions which the working out of the principle of personal freedom as maintained in the Revolution had made to the happiness of the civilized world in our day, in leading to the present condition of France, in securing the freedom of the seas, in abolishing piracy, and in bringing about the abolition of the slave-trade, and then of slavery itself. It was noteworthy, too, and perhaps the most noteworthy illustration of the beneficence of the Revolution, that in none of the addresses is there a single expression of vindictive or arrogant feeling, a single note of barbarous triumph, or a single attempt to glorify force or war, or to preach the gospel of selfishness. They all tell the nations of the world the story of joys and hopes in which Englishmen, Germans, Russians, and Frenchmen may share without finding their pride or their patriotism wounded, or anything in which they glory belittled. "We fought because we could not help it, knowing well the dangers and horrors of fighting, not to bring about any one's misery, but that we might pursue our own happiness in our own way. We were successful; and we are free and industrious, and invite all the earth to share our freedom and industry. We sow, we reap, we spin, we weave; we wish no man and no nation ill. We have our share of failures and shortcomings, and we have our sorrows and trials. We have our triumphs, too; but the triumph which most delights us is the feeling that in one hundred years we have raised the general estimate of human nature, have widened and brightened the political and social outlook of the Western world, and have converted into pleasant realities many of the fond dreams of the last century, and have, all things considered, and after taking into account our infirmities as well as our virtues, made the earth a more cheerful and hopeful place of abode." This is the message of all the addresses, and it is the most creditable message which any people in the world has been able to extract from one hundred years of its history.

The occasion was, of course, one in which panegyric only was in order. The work of analysis, which played so large a part in all the speeches, was directed to discovering the causes of success of the Republic in so far as it has succeeded, rather than those of its failure in so far as it has failed; and this was right and proper. When a man gives a party to celebrate his birthday, the guest who proposes his health naturally dwells on his good qualities and on the circumstances which have contributed to the happiness of his life. It would be a sorry sacrifice to truth to reveal all the occasions on which he had made a fool of himself or disappointed the just expectations of his friends. There is a time for everything; and the Fourth of July is not in any year, and much less in the Centennial year, a time for criticism or for self-reproach, or even for repentance. These may fairly be put off until to-morrow, and the day after, but the nation is not in the mood just now to put them off indefinitely or to forget them altogether. In fact, we have no doubt that the work of self-examination will be carried on all the more unsparingly during the next ten or twenty years, or longer if necessary, for the very splendor of the success which has attended the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the national existence, and for the unanimity with which good wishes and congratulations have come in from all quarters of the globe. With none to envy or to upbraid us or impede us, the task of reform and improvement ought to be doubly attractive. And the suggestion made by Dr. Storrs, in a fine passage of his address—that it was not the living alone that rejoiced on Tuesday, "that the air was thick with shapes we could not see, and glowed with faces whose light serene we might not catch," that "the great, the beloved, the heroic," who had toiled in the council or died in the field to bring to pass this great national jubilee, "were glad in our joy, and shared and led our grateful praise"—gave a deep significance to his prayer that "our doings might not be unworthy of such spectators, that our spirits might be sympathetic with theirs, from whom all selfish passion and pride had now passed away for ever." For the hope and aim, secret or open, of all who have passionately and fruitfully labored and endured for public ends has always been not so much that any one form of government should succeed as that good government should endure; and if this generation is to prove worthy of those who have prepared the way for it, and faithful to those who are to come after, it will not be satisfied with "government of the people, for the people, by the people," unless that government is a really progressive and improving government. And a progressive and improving government is not one which every year covers a wider area with its laws and makes large additions to its population. Nor is it even a government under which each generation clings to its nationality with a more passionate and proud affection. These things have all been seen under governments whose subjects paid for the glory of their flag and the spread of their sway by the sacrifice of their highest ideals, the blunting of their moral perceptions, and the increase of public misery. Government is not an emblem, or a name, or an army with banners It is a bundle of mutual services; and its goodness or badness, and the value of its contributions to the moral growth of the world, depend on the efficiency with which they are rendered. Unless we are supplying the poor and rich with better justice; unless we

are striving to make taxation lighter and its collection simpler and easier; unless we are discovering modes of making the execution of all the laws more efficient and more certain—of taking better care of the poor and insane—of giving the young a better education—of bringing the highest intelligence of the community to bear on its legislation and administration—of enabling the weak and unlearned to feel surer about the future—of making firmer the hold of the frugal on their savings—of making marriage a more honorable and sacred relation and children a more solemn responsibility,—all that we heard on Tuesday of the novelty or the success of our political system was reproach and not glory. It will seem, after all, a small thing, three hundred years hence, to have founded a government without kings or aristocracy. The question the world will then ask will be, not where did we lodge the sovereignty, or what new hopes did we kindle, but what valuable additions did we make to the art of living in society. That we have made many there is no denying; but there have been signs of late that some among us think we may rest and be thankful, and that we have done enough for the world in making a durable republic. The truth is that no nation is under such weighty obligations as ours to make constant and steady improvement in every branch of political machinery.

OUR INDIAN WARDS.

THE news of the slaughter of General Custer and his force by Sitting Bull and his Indians recalls vividly the discussion excited in 1868 by the murderous onslaught of the same officer on Black Kettle and *his* Indians, and is not by any means pleasant Centennial reading. When Black Kettle supplied the text of the frequent sermon on the "Indian problem," we urged most earnestly in these columns the abandonment of our present system of dealing with the Indians, and the incorporation of the whole body of them, as far and as fast as practicable, with the nation. Everything which has since occurred lends fresh force to what was then said. Congress made a step in the right direction by forbidding the making of any more treaties with the Indian tribes, but it ought to have gone further, and have reduced the Indians to subjection to the laws, and have compelled the adults to earn their food and clothing by labor, and have provided for the education of the young in the arts of civilized life. The system which we now pursue of making distributions of food and clothing in return for the surrender of lands which they really never owned, in any sense in which the word is used in civilized jurisprudence, is a system of legalized pauperism, containing all the evils of pauperism in its worst form. It would not be possible for a civilized government to do a band of savages a worse injury than to collect them in a camp around a storehouse, and give them provisions and coarse clothing for nothing through employés of little character or education, and treat their crimes and outrages as corporate and not individual offences, and send an army against the tribe when one member of it commits a murder or "lifts cattle." There is in this ruin for both body and soul. It would debauch white men of any race; no wonder it debauches savages. The one redeeming feature of savage life is that the savage has to avoid starvation by energy, activity, and courage. If he is nothing else, he is at least a hunter—that is, a man who has to take thought of the morrow, encounter great hardships, and display great sagacity in pursuit of his dinner. To make such a man anything but a tiller of the soil is pretty sure to degrade him. If we cannot do that for him, it is better to let him alone. But though we have tried to do this in a small, half-hearted way, our main expenditure of funds has been in making him a lazy vagabond, subsisting by alms which he takes for tribute, eating meat he has not worked for, and acquiring the morals of the tramp in lieu of those of the warrior. The peaceable, quiet Indian of our agencies is now a repulsive creature, who does not compare favorably with Sitting Bull or any "wild Indian," or with any branch of the human family; and his squabbles with the agents over his flour, tobacco, and scraggy beef are a disgrace to our civilization. Not an ounce of provisions ought to enter his stomach for which he has not paid in honest labor, and he ought not to be allowed, in sight of a United States fort, to bring up his children as idle, vicious, ignorant, filthy, and dependent as himself. The whole system is shocking. There is nothing in our religion, or manners, or laws, or traditions, or polity to give it any countenance or support.

It may be said that any attempt to break up the tribes and make citizens of the savages would be met with desperate resistance, and involve the destruction of a large proportion of the Indian population. Even if this be true, it is also true of our present system. What we now do is to degrade the tame Indians into lazy and filthy paupers, preparatory to their extinction through disease, drunkenness, and the loss of vital power which results from total lack of occupation and the disuse of the observing and inferring faculties, while we pursue and kill the wild Indians at great loss of life to ourselves. In fact, our philanthropy and our hostility tend to about the same end, and that is the destruction of the Indian race, and there is nothing in our experience to settle which is the more rapid process. The improvements which we have endeavored to make in the philanthropic enterprise have been curiously characteristic of our politics during the last forty years, and are a valuable illustration of the moral bearings of our civil service. It is now a settled maxim in the administration of the more highly civilized countries of Christendom that in dealing with conquered populations, or populations occupying for any reason the position of wards or clients, the representatives of the government ought to be persons of peculiarly careful training and high character—that is, that the best side of the nation ought to be presented to its dependents; that if harsh measures are called for, they should at least see the justice and probity of its officers; if measures of relief or regeneration, that they should encounter its men of science and its ablest administrators and most experienced philanthropists. We have had this kind of work devolve on us only twice in our history—in dealing with the Indians and in dealing with the South; and in both cases, where England, France, and Prussia would have used the flower of their educated youth, their most honored soldiers, and wisest lawyers and scientific men, we collected a large horde of broken-down men of all trades and callings, and men of none, the riff-raff of caucuses and nominating conventions—in fact, the very refuse of our busy and prosperous society—and made them the medium through which the Government came in contact with its vassals and wards. The attempt to do better made by General Grant—though it ought, in justice to him, to be said that he first tried to get the services of the army—by committing the wild tribes to the care of the missionaries and like pious persons in search of employment of any kind at small wages, was worthy in all respects of the ruler who, thinking our foreign consulates needed inspection, selected for the task his own pastor, a Methodist divine. The missionary expedient may be said to have failed. Its most prominent representative, Mr. E. P. Smith, fell a victim to "cunning and unprincipled men," and was removed, and with his removal the experiment ought to have come to an end. The necessity under which the Commission has since found itself of handing over Sitting Bull and his men to the secular arm, marks with painful emphasis the inadequacy of its machinery, particularly when we find that our troops are shot down with the newest breech-loaders furnished at the agencies, and that it is not unusual for the warriors to leave their women and children to the care of the missionaries while they go off for a summer's fighting with the soldiers. If anything can deepen the absurdity of our Indian system in the eyes of the public, this fact surely should do so.

The Custer tragedy has nothing new or unusual about it, and its main value, politically, lies in the fact that it will probably call public attention with more than usual earnestness to the treatment of the Indians. There is among some of the more rabid of the country papers just now a loud demand for their "extermination"

—a course for which there is something to be said, if by extermination is meant their rapid slaughter. But if they are to be exterminated, why any longer pauperize them, and then arm them? What would be said if the city of New York, after lodging its thousand tramps in comfortable idleness during the winter, were to arm them on leaving the almshouse in the spring with a good revolver and knife, and a tinder-box for firing barns, and were to bring up all the youngsters in total idleness and ignorance, and to deliver to them alive the animals they were to eat, and were to allow them to kill them themselves in mock chase with lances? But why should it be worse to do this thing to savage whites than to savage Indians? If the Indians on the Plains require to be removed or shut up within certain limits, they ought to be hunted down persistently, like any other malefactors, with as much force as may be necessary to kill or capture them. But, when caught, the agency abomination should come to an end. The tribal organization ought to be broken up, and the people scattered in such a way as to make them easily amenable to the ordinary civilizing influences of our society, and, let us add, to make it easy for the sheriff to get at them. They ought to have no "ponies" which they have bought. Fancy our tramps starting on their spring journey not only armed, but mounted, with saddle-bags for their provisions and flowers in their button-holes!

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—VIII.

THE RESTAURANTS.

PHILADELPHIA, July 8, 1876.

FOR an epicurean trip to Philadelphia the month of July is not exactly the time of year one would choose above all others, either on the score of fitness or comfort. In the dead waste and middle of the summer many delicacies which the gastronomic specialist feels ought to be represented in a Centennial Exposition are conspicuous by their absence, while many others, whether in season or out, hardly tempt the most determined palate Despite all proverbs, appetite at this time of year will not come with eating, especially not with eating the oysters that some Centennial restaurants advertise; and even the boasted Philadelphia terrapin—if it is not altogether out of season—loses many of its charms with the thermometer at 98 degrees in the shade. In fact, the heat has been so great during the past week that, with the best intentions, the most conscientious investigator could only eat a limited quantity of food, and that frequently with less earnestness and zest than could be desired. Drinking is, of course, another matter. The raging and consuming thirst which seizes the specialist upon his arrival at Philadelphia increases in a direct, or rather geometrical, ratio with the amount of liquid consumed. An intelligent foreigner, determined to study our institutions exhaustively, might, by the aid of this unquenchable thirst, make himself in a fortnight fairly acquainted with the leading genera of American "drinks," though it would be unsafe to recommend the experiment, for in the present condition of the weather the result would probably be fatal, and the experimenter's rashly-acquired knowledge would perish with him. The safe plan for the visitor—notwithstanding the warnings that tradition compels our temperate race to give him in strange places against dangers lurking in "the water," and notwithstanding the terrible stories that are told of its effects upon the human constitution—the safest plan for him is to neglect the warnings, and to quench his thirst in the national beverage, prescribed alike by natural inclination and patriotic impulse—I mean ice-water. On this subject I feel that I may speak with authority, having witnessed and been a party to the beneficial consumption of an amount of water in six days by three adult males which would have been considered sufficient in time past for one of those ingenious tortures with which our forefathers delighted to test the capacities of the human frame. Perhaps it should be added, however, that the beneficial effect of the water is much enhanced by the addition of frequent draughts of lemonade, which is to be had at all prices throughout the Exhibition grounds and on the street-corners, but nowhere so deliciously compounded as in what may be euphemistically called the Lemonade Annex of the Globe Hotel. Indeed, throwing all reserve aside, I do not hesitate to advise any one about to visit the Centennial restaurants that if his object is the comfortable eating of comfortable meals, he had better not go at all, but rather put up at the Globe Hotel and stay there. In this case he will have the advantage of eating the meals he pays for, and also, if he is in search of "institutions," of being in a genuine American watering-place caravanserai, with its daily dress-parade of African waiters, its panorama of clerks, its fans, its wisp-brooms, bar, barber-shop, telegraph-office, cigar and newspaper stands, and its full equipment of Bibles.

Inside the grounds the restaurants are numerous, the most noticeable ones being the Trois Frères, the Lafayette, Lauber's, the Vienna Bakery, the Turkish Café, the Tunisian Café, the Great Southern and the Great American, and the Lunch-Counter. Of these, several require little description. Lauber's has the advantage of being near the picturesque Horticultural Hall, and has German waiters, but inasmuch as it came out of Philadelphia, being merely transplanted for the occasion a distance of three or four miles, it cannot be said to have a distinctively national character, though, according to one of the waiters who described to us another smaller German restaurant near George's Hill, there was much to choose between the two, for at the smaller place, as he assured us with ineffable contempt, "for waiters they have negroes." This statement I had not time to verify, and was informed elsewhere that it was a gross, though ingenious libel, invented in the interest of his own establishment. The Lafayette is a good French restaurant, provided with an open second story or roof, on which tables are set, and through which of course a breeze is generally blowing. Is it not possible, by the way, in this age of elevators, that cities can be furnished with such conveniences? Must we go on for ever making up parties of pleasure to come off in rooms in which it is barely possible to breathe, when the introduction of steam into buildings has really made it possible for us to get up to the roof more easily than we formerly could to the second story? A little dearer than the Lafayette is the so-called Trois Frères Provençaux, which is, of course, no more the late Trois Frères of Paris than the Fifth-Avenue Hotel is. The building is low and warm, surrounded by a tent, under which the little tables are spread. A fair meal is to be had there, but there is nothing very distinctive about it, except perhaps the *dames de comptoir*, and the incredible luck, which we enjoyed, of hearing one of our countrywomen ask a most undeniably imported *garçon*, "Do you like America better than France?" The *garçon's* reply was not understood. In all three restaurants, it should be observed, the kind of meal you get and the service depend more than is usual in such places upon the number of people who may be together in them at once. The varying size of the crowds makes the numbers difficult to calculate, and in the middle of the day manners, service, and food are all apt to be at a low ebb. This fact explains the extremely various accounts given of the different restaurants by different people. On going to Philadelphia, I got the impression that the Trois Frères was the crack restaurant of the place, and was astonished, on the name being mentioned in the presence of an enlightened and progressive American boy of some twelve or fourteen summers who had been there, at hearing him tersely express his opinion of the place in a picturesque though recondite French idiom, first brought into use, if I remember aright, in the camp of the first Napoleon at Boulogne. But a good meal may be had at the Trois Frères, nevertheless. Mercer's Grand Southern Restaurant, the American Lunch-Counter, and the Great American Restaurant, are the chief representatives of our own gastronomic progress. It requires no sign to inform you that the crumbling monarchies of Europe had nothing to do with their production. The excessive liberality of the bill-of-fare as compared with the actual resources of the kitchen, the negro or nondescript waiters, the unlimited pickles, the desperate ignorance of everybody connected with the establishment of the monarchical institution of "portions," the red, white, and blue decorations, the coats-of-arms of the States, the long tables covered with a white cloth beneath which blushes the red post-prandial substitute—one or more of these features would betray the nationality of any of the three American restaurants if there was any attempt to conceal it, which there certainly is not.

But, after all, there is nothing very interesting or picturesque about any of the restaurants I have mentioned. You may dine far better at Delmonico's or the Hotel Brunswick than at either the Trois Frères or the Lafayette; and Lauber's, though there is no imposition about the nationality of the waiters, is not any better than half-a-dozen German restaurants which may be discovered within the limits of New York. Even the superior expensiveness of the Trois Frères was not, so far as I could discover, a reality. There are, to be sure, swindling charges for bread and butter and service which serve to give the place some local color; but the sum total of a bill for three or four persons is not more than might be expected of a place which has appropriated such a high-sounding name. The first café which really strikes the visitor as distinctly novel and foreign is the Viennese Bakery, where you can not only eat your cake, but also see it made.

For any one accustomed to foreign ways of life, I can imagine no pleasanter or more enlightened manner of beginning the day at Philadelphia than to go for his morning coffee to this restaurant. There he will find, in the early morning, an attentive and well-trained Viennese waiter, who will bring him, after he is seated at a neat table, not a simple republican tumbler, to be separately filled, *more nostro*, first with ice and then with warm water, but, besides the tumbler, a delightful *carafe*, the contents of which has been frozen in the bottle, and therefore immediately suggests to thoughtful minds a question analogous to that of the historic apple and dumplings. There is also to be had the Vienna bread in the form of *croissants*, which it may not be unpatriotic to say compares favorably with Graham or even with rye, and delicious coffee and chocolate. It is a pity that this bakery could not have been made a male annex of the Woman's Pavilion, an edifice which Woman, with unusual sagacity, has made attractive by the total absence of all articles or processes useful or pleasing to Man. The Vienna Bakery would be, in itself, a liberal education to any docile woman, and might be made the means of banishing chicory from many thousands of American homes. The boiled milk, to descend to details, is in itself a remarkable achievement of the human invention, capped as it is with a wonderful climax, which looks like a "whip" of some kind, but the precise nature of which I could not determine.

A person provident enough to get his morning coffee at the Vienna Bakery will lunch or breakfast at one of the regular restaurants, and will then, if he is still wise, go for a cup of black coffee and a pipe to the Turkish establishment. This is chiefly a small central room filled with tables, and a counter covered with candies and sweetmeats, behind which stand a picturesque couple richly dressed in Oriental costume, the woman looking rather troubled at the noise and confusion about her, the man—a handsome fellow—with a sharp eye to business, and looking exactly like Byron's Giaour. Those Turks are, in fact, as they are very willing to explain, not Turks at all, but, in the eyes of the faithful, accursed infidels, being actually Protestant Christians, and, indeed, for all they say to the contrary, Unitarians at that. Among them they have the command of a vast number of languages, including an extraordinary variety of restaurant-English, one branch of which (to judge by a Turk who explained his inability to execute some order by exclaiming in a loud voice "Me no sabe") is Spanish-American. Near the counter stands the coffee-boiler, a venerable and silent man who smiles benignly as the tumult gets greater and greater, and in dumb-show lets us into the secrets of coffee-making, which is certainly not very mysterious as practised by him: the process consisting of putting a certain amount of coffee and sugar into a diminutive brass saucepan, filling it up with boiling water, and then pouring it off into cups. The end, however, justifies the means, for the coffee, grounds and all, is excellent. So also are the sweet and aromatic Samian and Cyprian wines, and so, too, the beaker of lemonade, though here the East has still, if I am not mistaken, something to learn from the West. The scene in the café on a crowded day is indescribably comical. The little room, filled with Americans of every kind—West Point cadets; militiamen come on to celebrate the glorious Fourth; single women rushing about with enquiring faces of the New England type; family parties doing the Exhibition, all shouting at the top of their voices for chibouks, narghilés, and coffee; the Giaour clapping his hands for slaves, who immediately rush in the opposite direction; a perpetual procession of waiters in costume rushing at double-quick out from the kitchen and past the sedate coffee-boiler, their arms full of burdens, projecting three or four feet in front and rear, part of which is generally a live coal placed with extreme insecurity on top of a heaping pipe of tobacco, and giving utterance to outlandish cries in all tongues, which when translated appeared in their English equivalents as "Place! Place!" "Room! Room!"—the whole makes a scene that beggars description. The building is of course very pretty; but perhaps the most singular feeling the place gives you, after contrasting the urbanity and affability of those in charge with the general rudeness and brutality of the crowd is, that they are really the civilized people and we the barbarians. This feeling was, I regret to say, shared by the Giaour, whose expressions with regard to Philadelphia were far from flattering.

Those who, after their coffee, are fond of music, and not particular as to the scale, will find the Tunisian Café worth visiting after the Turkish. Here also are coffee and chibouks, but the coffee is not good, and the great feature of the place is a sort of divan at the end of the room, on which recline, in picturesque African undress, three musicians, one with an instrument something like a mandolin and guitar combined, another extremely like a combination of a banjo and a tambourine, and a third, the precise form of which I have forgotten. On these they play a barbaric music which reminds one, in a confused way, of the "Ruins of Athens," of the Turkish march in "Giroflé-Girofla," and the genuine African songs of the slave States. I can imagine it being very disagreeable to some ears, and indeed it requires no imagination to know that it must be, inasmuch as you are sure to hear vigorous protests from your companions; but to me it was strangely pleasing—the place, the picturesque, sleepy figures of the musicians on the divans, and the monotonous simplicity of the strains, all combining to make Philadelphia, and the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, and the nominations of Hayes and Tilden, and other ephemeral matters, seem remote and unreal, and to bring me face to face with the "splendor and havoc of the East."

When evening comes the grounds, of course, are closed, but that need not hinder the enquirer from pursuing his researches. The great heat and weariness, however, which just now comes over most people at the end of a day in the Exhibition, prevent them from going to what is one of the pleasantest, in fact, decidedly the most pleasant outside place —Operti's Garden—where ices and music are given together. It is on a small scale, but in excellent taste, and provided with a cascade, which is to that monstrosity constructed in this city by the proprietors of Gilmore's Garden what reality is to a sham. The instrumental music is not remarkable, but the garden is furnished with a charming young woman who sings every night two or three ballads in the most ravishing manner imaginable, and which are, for one fond of music not too intellectual or classical, alone worth the trip to Philadelphia, even when accompanied, as everybody's trip was last week, by the loss of his trunk during most of his visit. Shameful as it is to relate, however, Operti's pretty garden, its wine, its ices, its band, and its cascade, do not seem to attract the wary traveller further than the piazza of the Globe Hotel, where, economically avoiding the payment of any entrance fee, he languidly listens to the strains which float out of the windows, and congratulates himself, to his eternal dishonor be it said, upon the simplicity of the less wary foreigner in placing his open-windowed garden next door to a crowded hotel inhabited by a free and "forehanded" people.

A. G. S.

RENAN'S LATEST WORK.

PARIS, June 27, 1876.

M. RENAN has just published a volume of 'Philosophical Dialogues.' He informs us that these dialogues were written during the Commune, while he had taken refuge in Versailles and found himself away from his books and his manuscripts. He employed, he says, his forced leisure in returning upon himself and in forming a sort of summary catalogue of his philosophical views. Renan certainly must be singularly master of himself to have given the feverish hours of the Commune to such a quiet occupation. Did he not hear constantly the distant noise of the shells, the clatter of horses, the rumbling of the artillery? Did he not go about for news, to the Assembly, to the railway stations? Did he not devour the papers, which appeared irregularly at all hours of the day? No; he shut himself up, he waited till the consummation was come, and wrote these dialogues. I think, however, that even in these I see some trace of the Commune; they have not the magnificent and simple *ordonnance* of the dialogues of Plato; there is a disorder in them which is not to be found in the other books of Renan. The three personages cross each other; they don't seem to have any real individuality. The dialogues are, in reality, the long monologues of an agitated mind which looks alternately at all sides of a question. I must confess that I do not like, as a rule, this form of dialogue for the expression of a system. I would rather have a complete *exposé* of it; objections can be introduced subjectively as well as objectively; in Plato's dialogues there is never but one important rôle, and the secondary actors merely take the place of headings of paragraphs or of chapters.

These 'Dialogues' of Renan are dedicated to Berthelot, a great savant, who has always been the intimate friend of the author of the 'Life of Jesus.' Berthelot has been the scientific teacher of Renan, not so much by his books as by his conversation. It will not be useless here to give a résumé of Berthelot's scientific work. Chemistry has hitherto been principally a science of analysis: compound bodies have been decomposed into their natural elements. Berthelot has tried to use the inverse process: starting from the simple atoms, he has combined them, and has succeeded in reproducing by this synthetic method some of the substances which are called organic and which are among the necessary elements of life. What his object was is very clear. He has tried to prove that the organic world knows no other forces than the inorganic world; that there is no reality in what we call *life*, considered as a special force or substance. To an idealist like

Renan (for his Catholic education has made him an idealist) the lessons of Berthelot must have been very suggestive. Not that Berthelot is a materialist, in the common sense of the word; he is destroying, as well as he can, the theories of *vitalism*, but he is not so narrow-minded as to believe that there is nothing in the world but atoms; he knows that these atoms are subjected to laws, and that all their combinations have an unknowable end. Renan sometimes regrets that he did not study science instead of history. What is history, after all? what are three or four thousand years in the infinite of time?

The 'Dialogues' are divided into three parts, under the names of "Certainties," "Probabilities," "Dreams." Severe critics could find in the "Certainties" much that is improbable or even dreamy. In all the dialogues we may distinguish a negative part and a positive part; it is in the first that M. Renan finds himself more at ease, when he attacks the vulgar notions of all the philosophical or religious schools; when he attempts to be what I call positive, he is often merely hypothetical. His criticism of miracles is terrible: "The pretended god of armies is always on the side of the best artillery and of the best generals. Nature shows in her government an absolute indifference to good or to evil. The sun rises for the wicked as well as for the good." Still, while he holds that no caprice, no particular will, intervenes in the conduct of the universe, he considers as certain that the world has an end and works for a mysterious object. "There is something which is developed by an inner necessity, by an unconscious instinct, analogous to the movement of the plants towards water or light, to the blind efforts of the embryos, to the needs which preside over the metamorphosis of the insect. *Omnis creatura ingemiscit et parturit.* The great agent in the development of the world is suffering, discontent. . . . From the asteria, a digesting pentagon, to the most complete man, everything aspires to be and to become more and more. All possibility would be realized; all reality aspires to conscience; all obscure conscience aspires to light. Like a great heart which overflows with vague and impotent love, the universe is always in the suffering of transformations." Renan considers the world as in process of constant development; the laws of this *fieri* are the objects of science; the end of this *fieri*, if it can have an end, is unknown, unknowable. This is a very different view from the materialist's, who believes in the insolence and indifference of nature.

The power which works in nature uses man as a mere tool. "We are the puppets of a superior egotism, which pursues an end through us. . . . We are duped by nature with a view to transcendent ends which completely surpass us." Renan often insists on this cunning character of nature. We cannot get rid of our instincts, and our instincts "will always be voluntary victims ready to serve for the ends of the universe. Our good instincts, our pity, our abnegation, our religious tendencies, are as much a part of us as the organs of maternity are a part of a woman. The professed egotist does constantly things which are not egotistical. We are all like gladiators, willing to fight for a cause which is not our cause." Renan gives too paradoxical an expression to these truths. "The great man," he says, "must take a share in the fraud which is the basis of the universe; genius must be an accomplice of God, connive with the policy of the Eternal, help to throw the complicated nets of nature, help her to deceive individuals for the universal good, be the instrument of the great illusion, preach virtue to men, though knowing that they will draw no personal profit from it, as the military chief takes poor fellows to a battle to die for a cause which they cannot understand. We work for God as the bee makes honey for man."

In the dialogue called "Probabilities," Renan asks himself what can be the end of nature. For the materialists, everything is in matter; there is no edifice without stone, no music without strings or brass, no thought without nervous matter. But, after all, the fiddle is not the sonata; the nerves, the brain, do not constitute the thought. There are two things—one is the thought of a Beethoven, the other the orchestra which realizes it. What really *is*, is the thought which looks for material means to find its own realization. What is an atom? It is probably eternal, it is incorruptible, and it is uniform; but it is merely the instrument of the changing thoughts of nature. Thought is the true beginning of all and the true finality. The end of the world is consciousness of thought. Thought is sometimes centralized in some superior man, and the production of this superior man is the only end of our planet.

Renan considers humanity like a great tree, which bears very small fruit; it is necessary that millions of men should suffer, live, work, and die, in order that some great man should appear. At first sight, he says, Descartes, Newton, Galileo ought to have been the princes or millionaires of their time; but it is better that things should be as they are. "We don't know how much we owe to those who consent to be rich in our place. Very few brains are capable of philosophizing. Dress, promenades, equipages, the opera, the races, consume an activity which otherwise would be obnoxious, and relieve the good lobes of the brain of humanity of bad elements. All this noisy train of the world is necessary, in order that a Cuvier, a Bopp should be quiet in their rooms, should have good libraries, and should not be obliged or tempted to spend their time in such vanities. This is why the countries where there are marked classes are the best for the savants; in such countries they have neither political nor social duties. It is also why the savant bows willingly (not without some irony) before the soldier and the man of the world."

This is aristocratic insolence: Renan's savant makes himself the spider of the universe, throwing its net over all things, and taking all the adventurous flies. He imagines, in his "Probabilities," a time when the men of science will be the new despots, the invincible Cæsars, when chemistry will invent artificial ways to procure us food, when man "will be disposed to kill in order to live," when the law will be found which shall determine the sexuality of the embryo, when, instead of *natural se'e-tion*, there will be a constant selection of the best men for every function, when the instincts themselves will be controlled, when for myriads of homunculi there will be a few *homines*, masters and lords of the planet. He does not believe in equality; high culture is not the lot of the many. "The ideal of American society is perhaps further than any other from the ideal of a society governed by science. The principle in virtue of which society only exists for the good and the liberty of individuals does not seem in conformity with the plans of nature, which takes only the species into consideration and sacrifices the individuals. It is much to be feared that the last word of democracy will be a social state in which the degenerate masses will care for nothing but the ignoble pleasures of vulgarity." I must cite Renan again, when he says that "the end of humanity is the production of great men; the great work will be accomplished by science, not by democracy." Renan believes that there will be some day two classes of men, the man who will live for the senses, and those whose cerebral development will only allow them to live by and for the brain; the unthinking and the thinkers. He imagines a time when the differences which were once the fantastic work of opinion and prejudice will be the work of reason; when the spiritual power, the monarchy, the aristocracy, will be reconciled by a new process. "If such a solution ever takes place on our planet, it will probably begin in Germany."

Renan has a very singular theory as to the immortality of the soul. If we lose our consciousness, the ideas of which we have been the agents and the exponents are immortal; nothing is lost in the world of ideas. The thinkers, those who have, in whatever humble capacity they may be, lived in divine ideas, will perhaps find a new consciousness in some after-life. But "the man who has made no sacrifice to good, will find on that day the exact equivalent of what he has given—that is, nothing." His thoughts are here wrapped up in mysterious phrases; if I understand him well, he means that the great men, the godly, have a chance of immortality, the others are only like the brutes that perish. I wish I could have given you a more accurate idea of this singular book. After I had read it through—I am much used to philosophical discourse—I felt like a man who has smoked too much or has eaten hashish. There is in these vagaries of a great mind a luxury of images, a pomp of language, which has something intoxicating. The true Christian, accustomed to accept the truth in the form of distinct dogmas, will find in the 'Dialogues' much that will offend and scandalize him. Still, their spirit is not irreligious in the higher sense of the word. Renan is like the convict, who will always wear the marks of the chain he has worn for years. He has received the education of a priest; he has felt the great mystery in the darkness and silence of the temples. He knows that there is something besides the noise and outside brilliancy of this world of ours, something above the earth, above the luminaries of the world, above the blue azure; he has, so to speak, a sense of the Infinite. He is a spiritualist if he is not a Christian.

Correspondence.

WHITE ANTS IN HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There has been a good deal of excitement in Cambridge over the frightful damage said to have been wrought in the College Library by white ants, and everybody I have met during the past six weeks has eagerly questioned me about the matter. The story has gone the rounds in the newspapers from Maine to California, until, I dare say, it is as well known as any other fact in our history. The first account of it which came to my

notice was a paragraph in the Boston *Transcript*, which says "the library of Harvard College has been discovered to be exposed to a new and alarming danger, in the form of a white ant, an insect whose ravages have often been serious in Europe, while in one of our Western States a fine library has been totally destroyed, and another collection in the South badly damaged. . . . They have appeared about the library [at Cambridge], and serious results are feared. *The turf about the building has been taken up and replaced by gravel by way of protection.*"

It is too bad to spoil such a good story, but really there is hardly a word of truth in all this. It is a myth of the three-black-crows type. It is true that "white ants" exist in Cambridge—that is, not ants, but little neuroptera, akin to the famous termites of Africa and the East Indies. Such neuroptera are found in many parts of the world, and are often very destructive to books, clothing, and furniture. Indeed, nothing that is softer than metal or stone comes amiss to their voracity. They like to take their meals in the dark, and will riddle the inside of a book or the legs of a chair, while you never discover it until you pick up the book to read or sit down in the chair, when the one-hoss-shay catastrophe is re-enacted. Dr. Hagen has shown me a few books from Illinois thus eaten inside, and also the "collection in the South," which consists of a few text-books left in a school-room during a summer vacation. These "ants" have been in Cambridge for several years, and have done some injury to an old fence at the Botanical Garden and to some wooden tubs for plants in the grounds about the Zoölogical Museum. I have heard that they have also shown themselves in Mr. Alvan Clark's optical workshop. Hitherto they do not seem to have manifested an uncontrollable appetite for anything more precious than damp and decayed timber. They have never been seen about the College Library, and have never troubled us there, except by becoming the innocent cause of all this popular excitement.

The origin of the story is no doubt to be found in the sentence from the *Transcript* which I have italicized. Some six weeks ago, the turf about Gore Hall was taken up and replaced by gravel, because it was thought that this change might help to remedy an alleged dampness in the basement of the building. How such a change should be thought likely to protect us against termites, I'm sure I don't know; but as Dr. Hagen had read a paper on these insects a few days before, I suppose some ingenious passer-by may have constructed the *à priori* hypothesis that we were digging in order to keep them out of the building. Hence the paragraph in the *Transcript*, which, be it observed, does not say that we have suffered any damage, but only that "serious results are feared." In the popular version, however, our library is about half devoured already, and the way in which quack advertisements of "insect-powder" come pouring in upon us is fit to awaken inextinguishable laughter. Thus, to parody Oxenstiern, we see with what slight wisdom does "history" sometimes get made.—Very truly yours,

JOHN FISKE.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY, July 3, 1876.

[The *Transcript's* paragraph was evidently based, even to the "gravel," on Dr. Hagen's paper, which is printed in full in the last number of the *American Naturalist*. Dr. Hagen suggests putting gravel about houses liable to be infested by these ants.—ED. NATION.]

THE GENEVA AWARD—A PRECEDENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has much surprised me that in the discussion of the question of the distribution of the Geneva Award no reference has been made to the case of the distribution in 1836 or '37 of the five millions in gold awarded and paid by the French Government in satisfaction of claims of American citizens for captures and condemnations made by that Government under the Berlin and Milan Decrees. I will state from memory the history of the award and its adjustment by our Government—being a little uncertain as to the *exact* dates.

In 1831 Mr. Rives, Minister to France, negotiated a treaty with that Government in which, among other things, the claims for illegal captures above referred to, which had been pressed for a period of some twenty years, were finally settled for the "round sum" of 25,000,000 francs. Upon his return to this country, Mr. Rives, in a speech before the Senate, boasted a little too loudly of this settlement, and the French people took fire at the idea that the amount they had consented to pay was excessive. Consequently, payment was withheld until, in 1833 (?), President Jackson, in a message to Congress, recommended the issue of letters-of-marque and reprisal to force the money from the French. Those who are old enough will recollect this as the circumstance which, jointly with his war on the Bank of the United States, carried the popularity of General Jackson to its unprecedented height. To pass over the excitement of the time, the threats and apologies, the money was duly paid, and Congress passed a bill for its distribution. A Commission was appointed which sat three years, and then, I believe, for a specially extended period of six months longer. As the amount of the award was less than the amount of the claims, then, as now, arose a dispute as to the relative rights of claimants. *No claimants for war premiums were heard of*, but then, as now, the insurance companies had their difficulties to encounter. The uninsured owners were the only ones, however, to contest with them the question whether they (the uninsured) had not an equitable claim to be paid *in full*, leaving the balance for a dividend among the underwriters, as the latter had "received a premium, etc."—the argument now repeated. Daniel Webster denounced the claim as a scandal to commercial integrity, and the Commission passed the subrogated claims of the insurance companies on the same footing with the direct claims of owners. The fund was honorably distributed among all the claimants, and, judging by that portion which was paid under my own eye, as I was at that time employed in a bank which was a Government depository, I believe that nearly four-fifths went into the hands of insurance companies.

Although this award was made in a "round sum," and although there were no conditions whatever attached to its payment, there was no Butler at that time to claim the sum as the "money of the United States, to be disposed of at its pleasure, subject to no trust, etc, etc." Never was trust more honorably or more ably discharged. The Government, upon that occasion, did simply what any honest man of business would have done under similar circumstances—what no attorney could have failed to do and not have been thrown over any bar at which he was allowed to practise.

G. B. C.

BALTIMORE, July 6, 1876.

Notes.

SHELDON & CO. announce for early publication a life of the late lamented Gen. George A. Custer. The volume will embrace also his war memoirs, hitherto published in the *Galaxy*, together with the last of the series, written and despatched on his fatal march against the Sioux, and as yet unpublished.——No. 8 of the *Journal of Social Science* (Boston: A. Williams & Co.) consists of a selection of the papers read at the Detroit General Meeting in May. Their titles are: "The Production and Distribution of Wealth," by David A. Wells; "The Work of Social Science," by F. B. Sanborn; "Progress in International Law," by President J. B. Angell; "The Experiment of Civil-Service Reform," by Dorman B. Eaton; "Treatment of the Guilty," by Rev. W. G. Eliot; "Health in Schools," by Drs. D. F. Lincoln and J. J. Putnam; "Financial Policy of Great Britain and of the United States," by Gamaliel Bradford; "Limitations of Judicial Power," by Prof. Emory Washburn; "Life Insurance for the Poor," by Elizur Wright and Sheppard Homans; and "Legal Education in the Northwest," by Prof. William G. Hammond. Of all these articles, that on the health of schools has the most general interest and perhaps the most general importance. It has been printed separately, and deserves to be read by every teacher and by all parents of school-children.——Bret Harte's 'Gabriel Conroy' has already appeared in two unauthorized translations in Vienna and Stuttgart, and a third authorized version is announced in Leipzig by M. Busch, the translator of the previous tales of this author, as well as of the novels of Mark Twain, Aldrich, James, etc.——The translation of the new volume of Emerson's Essays having been attributed to Mr. Julian Schmidt, he announces in the *Jahrbücher* that he had no hand in it.——A new number of Waldeck's *Zeitgeschichte* is announced as in press.——With the publication, some three months since, of the Deutsch-English-Französisch part, the Tauchnitz Technological Dictionary has been completed. The author is Alex. Tolhausen, Ph.D., translator to the Patent Office in London, who announces in this last volume that the work is the fruit of twenty years' careful labor. Each volume again has been thoroughly revised by Louis Tolhausen, French Consul in Leipzig. The work has been admirably performed. The three volumes cost unbound eight marks each, and together include some 2,800 pages, the French language being represented by 60,000 terms, English by 80,000, and German by 90,000. Does this ratio perhaps fairly denote the relative richness of the three languages?

—'Yale College in 1876' is the title of a pamphlet put forth by the executive committee of the Society of the Alumni for the information of

the graduates, friends, and benefactors of the university. It is mostly of progress that they have to tell—the completion of the Battell Chapel, a fine building; the completion of the first wing of the Peabody Museum; and handsome additions to the College library and to that of the School of the Fine Arts. The former, indeed, has gained by purchases 5,500 volumes, and by gifts 1,300 volumes, and 5,400 pamphlets. As the cost of 2,700 volumes of Japanese books was defrayed by Prof. Marsh, they might more properly have been enumerated among the gifts than the purchases. The account of the Sheffield Scientific School is less favorable; its expenses for the past three years have exceeded its income. The influence of Harvard is shown in the new provision for elective studies, and in the determination, "at the request of a number of graduates living in the West," and purely as an experiment, "to hold at Chicago an examination for admission to the College, at the same time and with the same papers (in general) with the summer examination in New Haven."

—We hope that the Palestine Exploration Society will soon give us an official account of the expedition which resulted, for one thing, in the admirable photographs lately described in the *Nation*. If rumor be correct, what was intended to be a survey of the country east of the Jordan, supplementing the British Survey west, did not go beyond a reconnoissance. The causes of this and of Col. Lane's return to this country are, we presume, stated in his primary report, which has been for some time in the Society's hands. From it, too, the Society's subscribers ought to be enabled to judge whether their money has thus far been spent judiciously and prudently, and what will be the cost of the real work of surveying when it comes to be undertaken. At all events, there is much curiosity to learn the particulars of the expedition, as there has undoubtedly been some disappointment that more was not accomplished by it, and that its labors were so early suspended.

—The loan exhibition of pictures now going on in this city for the benefit, in equal shares, of the Museum and Academy of Design, explains by its quality all the extraordinary crowding to which the galleries are subjected. If anything was necessary to prove that this country is becoming the repository of the best contemporary art, the treasures now liberally lent for a generous motive would show the fact. The galleries of Mrs. Alexander T. Stewart, Mr. John Wolfe and Miss Catharine L. Wolfe, Mr. John Taylor Johnston, Mr. Cutting, and other distinguished collectors, have been freely drawn upon, and it would really seem that half the pictures that have made a talk within the last generation turn out to be American possessions. Works of Delaroche, Vernet, Decamps, Gleyre, Couture, Bonnat, and Ary Scheffer are accumulated in the two galleries, and the Gérômes, Meissoniers, Cabanels, Bonheurs, Merles, and Bouguereaus are lavished to the verge of monotony. The principal curiosity, perhaps, is Gérôme's "Roman Chariot-race," finished to Mr. Stewart's order after that gentleman's death, and arriving here close upon the funeral. It is full of toil and expression, but infelicitous. The "Pollice Verso" of the same artist attracts a crowd, of course. So does Gabriel Max's subject of a girl-martyr walking among the tigers, while a rose is thrown at her feet. The "Day-Dream" of Couture and the "Fellah Woman" of Bonnat are rare things, the latter having a quite Phidian largeness and repose in its modelling. Mr. Johnston's Delaroche is a "Venus" sleeping in the shell of a fountain; Mr. Belmont's picture by the same hand is a "Christ warning sinners from the Precipice." The gallery of the latter gentleman, opened for four days in aid of the same institutions, is now closed, but will be shown again later in the season. The unprecedented attractions at the Academy and Museum, which we can only thus hastily notice to-day, are filling these institutions to repletion with a crowd perfectly indifferent to summer weather.

—"Miles" writes us from Chicago, July 4:

"In last week's *Nation* was given at length O'Hara's 'Bivouac of the Dead,' a poem that had considerable vogue in the army when I had the honor to be one of its officers. Like Mr. Vincent Crummles, the eminent manager—Nicholas Nickleby's Gamaliel in the histrionic art—who had a real pump, which he insisted upon introducing into the play at all hazards, Colonel O'Hara has smothered the real poetic fire of his elegy under the weight of his 'properties'—in other words, his command of military nomenclature. Among the quotations you make from Professor Ranck's introduction to the poems of O'Hara is the following: 'If it had no other claim upon life than the sublimely beautiful metaphor in the first stanza, that alone would preserve it through the ages.' Although I confess a weakness for the figure in question,

> "'On Fame's eternal camping-ground
> Their silent tents are spread,
> And Glory guards with solemn round
> The bivouac of the dead,'—

I still must protest against it as a badly-mixed metaphor. For if 'on Fame's eternal camping-ground their silent *tents* are spread,' 'the brave and daring few' cannot be in bivouac—an encampment without shelter—and it is therefore a useless precaution, as well as cruel treatment of so distinguished a personage, to keep Glory pacing for ever around an empty bivouac."

Another correspondent, writing from Virginia, states that O'Hara's poem is to be found on pp. 612–615 of a volume called the 'Southern Amaranth,' edited by Miss Sallie A. Brock, and published in New York in 1869; and that on comparing the version there given with that printed in the *Nation*, he has discovered numerous verbal differences, while in the fifth stanza the second quatrain is wholly different, and after the fifth stanza occur three others which were not given in the *Nation*. He adds: "My copy has the following words immediately after the title: 'Written at the tomb of the Kentuckians who fell at Buena Vista, buried in the cemetery at Frankfort.' This explains many allusions in the poem, notably that in the first line of the last stanza."

—An article in the July *Galaxy*, by Mr. Wirt Sikes, on the Cabman of London, and his congeners of Paris and Belgium, will hardly be received as a satisfactory discussion of the questions at issue by hackmen familiar with republican institutions and free governments. The contrast presented between the politeness and moderation of the London "cabby" and the cut-throat brutality of the New York pirates who besiege the passenger on his arrival by rail or water, is perhaps a trifle too black. A few years ago it would have been strictly true; but the introduction of cabs and cab-stands in New York has ameliorated the rigors of the old system. It does not need to go very far back to remember the time when there was no such thing as a cab in New York or even in America, and when the use of carriages by travellers was not at all common. Those were the halcyon days of the hackman, whose studies in political economy had been quite deep enough to familiarize him with the fact that the only alternative of "wheels constantly in motion" was piratical charges. The growth in recent years of the cab-using class, however (and this is one of the things for which we have to be thankful, in part, to that much-abused institution, the Stock Exchange), and the consequent introduction of cabs, have done much to remedy the evil; and a wise man, who makes a bargain beforehand, runs no risk of extortion, but may go about the streets in a moderately wasteful manner. The complete revolution in prices which has taken place in the last few years in New York shows that it was not altogether from the corruption and imbecility of the city government that hack-fare used to be so high. The high prices were caused in a great measure by the smallness of the class which a generation ago used vehicles in the city streets, and which, of course, in cities like Paris or London is very large. In fact, we were prevented from riding in cabs for many years by the same causes which prevented us from riding in "parlor cars" and forced us *willy nilly* to go to hotels kept on the "American plan." It is, by the way, hopeless to expect that a luxury like cab-hire will go down to the London or Paris point until other luxuries descend as far, and we doubt very much whether the example of Boston, where a "fare" may get into a hack drawn by two horses and go a mile for fifty cents, is not delusive. As long as Boston remained a small city, and before the "Back Bay" had been invented, the number of people who ever used these or any hacks was so small as to have no effect on the business one way or the other, and the result was that the city was able to keep up a reputation for rigid discipline at a small cost. The Bostonian, knowing that he could, if he pleased, ride at this cheap rate, as the distances were small, seldom rode at all; while the hackman, knowing that casual fares were so few as not to affect the business, did not care much what they were. Now that Boston has doubled its size, a sort of Puritan modification of the cab, denominated a "public carriage," and drawn, as the public carriages of all civilized countries are, by one horse, is being rapidly introduced.

—The *Atlantic* contains a number of articles of interest. Mrs. Kemble's "Gossip" has a good deal to say about Sir Thomas Lawrence, which will be read with avidity by that school of critics who are fond of tracing the connection between an author's moral character and his painting. His extreme sentimentality with women is the trait which Mrs. Kemble chiefly dwells upon, and she gives some anecdotes which strongly illustrate it. Those who have read Haydon's energetic tirades against the painters who preceded him will find Mrs. Kemble's incidental remarks about Lawrence's style, though not original, worth reading. Dr. Holmes's verses, "How the old Horse won the Bet," show an amount of life and animal spirits which at this time is worth all the analysis, reflection, and sentiment of a year's magazine poetry put together. We are somewhat surprised, however, to observe that they were read at the "decennial dinner" of the editors of the Harvard

Advocate, a publication which we honor and respect, but of which we should not have suspected such frivolity as post-prandial song. We hardly see how such excesses can be permitted by journalists who engage in serious discussion of the question whether they ought or ought not to read secular weeklies, and we commend their case to the editors of the *Lampoon*.

—*Scribner's* has a readable article on a "Pet Marjorie" of a hundred years ago—little Sarah Fairfax, daughter of the Rt. Hon. and Rev. Bryan, Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, and Rector of Fairfax Parish, Virginia. Bryan Fairfax was the son of William Fairfax of Belvoir on the Potomac. Sally, from whose diary the entries (made between the age of seven and ten) are taken, was a pet of Washington's almost from her cradle. Unlike the other "Marjories" whose early lucubrations have been given to the world, Washington's little protégé seems to have been of a practical rather than literary or poetical disposition, and her diary relates chiefly to the cares of daily life, and reveals a great maturity of mind combined with a comical childishness of manner which is often delightful. Some of the extracts throw an amusing and yet a not wholly amusing light upon the old plantation-life in Virginia:

"miss molly payn and mr perce baillis and mr william payn and mr william Sandford, mr mody and miss Jenny, a man who lives at Colchester Mr. hurst, Mrs. hurst's husband, young harry gunnell son of old william gunnell john seal from the little falls. Mr. Watts and mr hunter [here some of the names escape us] these are all the gentlemin and ladies that were at the ball. Mrs Gunnell brought her sucking child with her——"

"on Satterday the 28th of december I won 10 shillings of Mr. William payn at Chex"

"On friday the 3 of jan that vile man adam at night kild a poor cat of rage because she eat a bit of meat out of his hand and scrached it. o vile wreach of new negrows if he was mine I woud cut him to pieces a son of a gun a nice negrow he should be kild himself by rites."

"on thursday the 2d of jan margerry went to washing and brought all the things in ready done on thursday the 9th of the same mounth I think she was a great while about them a wole week if you will believe me reader.

"on friday the 10 of jannuary in the morning came here danny genens overseer for taff and taff went away accordingly poor taff I pitty him indeed reader."

"on monday the 13th of jan mama made some tea—for a wonder indeed."

"on thursday the 16th of jan there came a woman and girl and mama bought 3 old hens from them and gave them to me, which reduced her dept she ow'd me which was 5 and nine pence to three and nine pence which she now owes me and she owes me five teen pence about nancy perrys ribon which she never paid. S. F——x."

Almost nothing has been preserved with regard to the after-life of the little girl, which must have been interesting, both from her own character and from the romance of the times, marked as they soon were by the breaking-up of old friendships and acquaintance, the divisions, doubts, fears, anxieties, and dangers caused by the war, particularly in Tory families. This article contains a letter written by her in 1777 to her father, when in New York on his way to England, which is a model of the filial style of the period, and might have excited the envy of Thackeray; it piously concludes with the hope that her brother, to whom she sends her love (the "tommy" of the diary), "will acquire the polite assurance and affable chearfulness of a gentleman, yet not forget the incidents of fairfax County."

—Several recently appearing German books, notably the fourth edition of the much-read 'Aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft,' and the last work, 'Russische Characterbilder,' of Julius Eckardt, have chapters devoted to the novelist Turgenef, which contain many facts of interest to his admirers. Both books give 1818 as the year of his birth, though the date heretofore given has been usually 1811. The Turgenefs, as a family, have long been distinguished both at home and abroad for liberal views and practical ability, in testimony of which may be cited the remark which Humboldt made to one of them in 1854—"le nom que vous portez, Monsieur, est environné dans ce pays de souvenirs de respect et de haute estime." Ivan's father was the brother of the two well-known elder Turgenefs, Alexander and Nicholas, and had reached the rank of colonel before quitting the Guards to settle on the family estate, where he led a retired life till his death in 1827. Up to his twelfth year the boy received no instruction except that imparted by nature, and his education was then entrusted exclusively to French and German instructors, his first knowledge of Russian literature having been derived from hearing a family serf (described in the tale 'Punin and Baburin') repeat the grandiloquent mock-epic poetry of the eighteenth century. The political events of the time were such as deeply to impress him; for his immediate family, though not concerned in the December rising (1825), were punished by various annoying restrictions for keeping up their intercourse with relatives and friends who had been implicated. At the Berlin University he was but one of many Russian students who subsequently became distinguished, and who were devoted disciples of Hegel. He entered the civil service only because it was then obligatory, and left it as soon as possible to join the small literary circle in St. Petersburg headed by Belinski, to whose encouragement chiefly the world owes the pleasure and benefit it has received from his protégé's talents; for his first productions—poems—having attracted no notice, "Turgenef perceived strongly that his ability was more in the direction of criticism than creation, and it seemed to him doubtful whether a pessimist like himself was ever called to be a poet." Only his friend's most vigorous urging induced him to print the first of the papers afterwards known as the 'Memoirs of a Sportsman.' The police allowed these to appear, not being able to read between the lines, and the author's subsequent internment on his estate was not brought about through the ordinary channels, but through the special command of Nicholas himself, who, however, released him before the time was out at the request of the present Emperor. The 'Memoirs' meanwhile had been finished. The novel 'Lisa' was written in Paris during the revolutionary storms of '48. 'Fathers and Sons' appeared "in the midst of the feverish madness which had taken possession of the Russian youth, in the days of the universal and unlimited worship of the new ideas,' a work which "warningly held the mirror up to the destructive demagogism of young Russia." So later (1867), "when after the suppression of the Polish rising the national self-satisfaction and exclusiveness had reached their highest point, appeared the story 'Smoke,' the bitterest satire on the nationality-fanaticism which ever had been written in the Russian language—a book which cost the author his popularity for a long term of years."

—As for Turgenef as a writer, these books are valuable to the reader familiar with English and German criticism chiefly because they regard him from the native, not the foreign, point of view. To them he is not a poet, a student of human nature, whose scenes and characters are Russian simply because he is more familiar with Russian circumstances. Rather is he a patriot, a man devoted heart and soul to his country, though, perhaps, not always wisely, who says what he has to say in tales instead of pamphlets merely because he finds this kind of writing a sharper weapon and one better suited to his hand. Our two authors admit Turgenef's pessimism, and agree in attributing the blame which it has called forth among Western critics to ignorance of Russian conditions; but as to its causes they differ. To the first, Turgenef, though naturally inclined to pessimism, is a pessimist in his books deliberately and intentionally, because he works for his countrymen, and writes not as an artist but as a moralist, whose object is to improve Russian life, and, as the first step that way, to make people dissatisfied with themselves and their surroundings. Eckardt's view, on the contrary, is as follows:

"Once granted," he says, "that the writer's point of view is conditioned by the feeling of satisfaction or discontent with his surroundings, and at the same time admitting that literary production is not bound to wait till the period of satisfaction is reached, then is the pessimism observable in all Russian writers of any importance at once explained and to a certain degree justified. The true poet can only poetically depict the actually existing character of his national life, not write about things which exist in his imagination alone. . . . It is for the sake of art that Turgenef writes; he follows neither political nor moral ends, and if the reflection in his works of Russian realities is a sad picture, they, not he, are at fault."

LEWES'S PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND MIND.—VOL. II.*

IN this volume Mr. Lewes continues the examination of the problems of metaphysics which his first volume began, taking up successively reasoning and matter, force and causation, and what he is pleased to call "the absolute in feeling and motion." In this volume, as in the preceding one, there is much ingenious suggestion, critical moderation, and clear thought. These are, indeed, found to a marked degree in all the philosophical writings of the present day in England, where the author generally feels bound to treat his system in connection with other systems, and, while clearly marking his divergence, to yet take advantage of such part of the work of others as properly belongs to his own. The result is, of course, a tendency to moderation and eclecticism, with more or less of permanent addition to thought at each step. It is different enough on this side of the Atlantic. Here Positivism is almost unknown, and, since the death of Mr. Wright, finds no advocate. Cosmism is represented by Mr. Fiske. But for the rest, wherever the writer goes beyond bald translation, a fancied originality is usually sought at the expense of loose thought and obscure expression, and perhaps even an express abjurance of logic. Mr. Lewes's

* 'Problems of Life and Mind. By George Henry Lewes. First Series. The Foundations of a Creed.' Vol. II. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1875. 8vo, pp. 487.

theory of necessary thought, however, is substantially that of the Positivists Mill and Jevons, and its close resemblance to that deduced by Spencer from the unknowable but unavoidable contradictions of Hamilton and Hegel is shown. This near approach of the leaders of rival schools has been reached by some modification of the views of each, in which the cruder theories first advanced have given way to more critical study. Spencer, on the one hand, has exchanged his simple "beliefs which invariably exist" for "cognitions of which the predicates invariably exist along with their subject," and, on the other, Mr. Lewes has transformed the uniformly observed order of phenomena which habit makes us think necessary, into logical deductions from notions of unvarying meaning. And he now holds that by observation and abstraction we get notions which we compare and combine in logical forms easily reducible to equivalent propositions, all the necessity of thought resulting from these logical laws of identity. He points out that this necessity extends not only to mathematics but to all the natural sciences, as Mill and Jevons had previously shown, though Mr. Lewes does not seem aware of it. (He is always rather inclined to be over-critical in his comments on Mill.) A fuller discussion of the matter was, however, desirable, for Mr. Mill's position was briefly stated, and has been much misunderstood owing to his rather hasty admission that certain mathematical axioms—he only mentions one or two—were not arrived at in this manner, the conviction we feel of their truth being the result of habitual observation merely. Mr. Jevons, in his treatment of the same point, purposely confined himself to its strictly logical aspect: and there was thus room for a fuller treatment of the matter in its philosophical relations, which Mr. Lewes has very ably given.

It is to be regretted that he has not pointed out with more completeness the manner in which uncertainty enters into all reasoning about facts—a point of considerable importance. It is true, as he says, that the laws of time and number are absolutely true of the abstractions employed and true of nature so far as applicable—so far as the straight lines, etc., are found; and, similarly, that the deductions from the abstract notions of the other sciences are absolutely true of them, and true of nature so far as applicable. But there is, nevertheless, a wide difference in certainty. In mathematics the objects immediately denoted are mental creations, their attributes are assigned by ourselves, and they are therefore always precisely the same. In the natural sciences, however, the denotation of the terms is fixed for us, and we have to take the attributes we find. It was long uncertain whether these attributes were unvarying, whether the connotative meaning of the terms could be taken as a constant. By a vast mass of inductive evidence this has been established, and the "uniformity of nature" is now assumed in all scientific proceedings and involved in the import of the terms (although still disputed by some intelligent believers in Spiritualism). When, therefore, Mr. Lewes tacitly assumes the invariableness of natural law as involved in the logical requisite of the unchanged import of the terms, and declares that whatever is must be as long as the conditions are unchanged, the reader must bear in mind his views of induction, and his conclusion that "when an induction is freed from all contingency it is registered in an identical proposition [or definition]; when it is more or less, it is a guess."

Another uncertainty, which is of practical importance, arises from the undetermined limits of the law of simplicity of nature, the law that molecules fall into a very few groups, the members of which are precisely alike. Future experiment may show that some of these groups are not homogeneous, and hence that the common name of the members is not of unvarying meaning. And still another uncertainty in scientific reasoning arises from the hypotheses which Mr. Lewes calls extra-sensible, as to atom and ether, the form and vibration of the molecule, etc., which are necessarily employed to systematize and render manageable those groups whose collocation would otherwise seem fortuitous; and which, although unproved and perhaps unprovable, may yet become part of the meaning of the terms. Uncertainties thus creep into concrete reasoning not found in abstract thought. Their understanding is of no little importance, and although it does not alter the theory of thought to which we have referred as common to Mill, Jevons, and Lewes, it is a necessary adjunct to it. Mr. Lewes may have been hampered in the examination of these relations by his peculiar method of constantly seeking identity under seeming difference. To him the symbol and the symbolized, the feeling and its object, are but different aspects of the same thing, separable only in thought, the convex and concave sides of the same curve. "The emotions felt in the presence of objects or their ideal representations are qualities of the objects standing on the same level with the other sensible qualities"; and he naturally adopts the Huxleyan automatic theory, in which consciousness is but a kind of phosphorescent illumination, a will-o'-the-wisp, accompanying and displaying physical forces over which it has no control. The conclusions to be drawn from this theory of the identity of mind and matter have not yet been fully shown by Mr. Lewes, but not certainly because of their unimportance. Purely spiritual immortality seems to fade into a dream, and we see in matter not merely the promise and potency of mind, but its very presence, the fetichism of the savage approaching the highest science. How far this is sound, how far it is allowable to treat proof that things are always found together as proof of identity, we leave the reader to judge. No doubt in any group we may for convenience treat one member as the representative of the rest, and call our limited view of it an aspect of the whole; but this may be a mere artifice for more conveniently handling the group as a whole, quite useless when any relation of the members of the group to each other is being considered; and fallacy may readily creep into an inference of identity from juxtaposition under cover of a figure. Whether sound or not, this identification of feeling and felt seems to hamper Mr. Lewes in his examination of the "extra-sensible" world, and prevent his full appreciation of the arguments by which it is established.

Mr. Lewes's treatment of matter and force is as interesting as that of mind; and the same method of seeking unity under difference which leads him to identify attribute and object, subject and predicate, makes him treat force and motion as other names for matter, and argue, *a priori*, that a thing cannot act where it is not, and force cannot traverse a vacuum. His conclusion is that force is only transmitted by contact; and he rejects as an idle fancy the theory of gravitation that a mass would attract another with a force proportioned to the square of their distance were no other bodies in existence. He cannot, however, escape his difficulties so. If the thing cannot act where it is not, and is, as he argues, impenetrable, then, as it cannot act outside itself—and all other matter is outside—it cannot act on other bodies at all. The true conclusion from Mr. Lewes's theory of co-extension would seem, not that force is limited to the material confines of a body, but that matter is as extended as its influence, and the meanest atom reaches the bounds of the universe. Impenetrability, then, is merely the difficulty of overcoming the resistance offered to a close approach to the centre of a molecule; and, by the way, the reader will note that the demonstration of impenetrability which Mr. Lewes offers is misplaced, and goes to show extension only, and that he apparently does not fully understand the important atomic theory of Boscovich which he refers to. The relation of these terms—matter and force—has so often been shown that it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that although they may be said to denote the same thing, they represent very different conceptions of it—matter representing the crude notion of the hard, heavy thing our senses recognize, and force those imperfectly imaginable, though perfectly measurable, impulses into which science resolves all our knowledge of the external world. The force of a molecule extends wherever there is aught to be affected, while its matter is confined to its sensible limits, and the two can be made coextensive in space only by an inadmissible alteration of meaning.

In Mr. Lewes's theory of causation, the same assumption that one member of a relation is an aspect of the other, is used again to found a theory. He regards the Positive position of mere invariability of sequence of consequent upon antecedent as untenable, and holds cause and effect to be coexistent and the same. The notion is ingeniously elaborated, but it seems difficult under it to account for any lapse of time. If the cause of an effect is coexistent with it, then similarly the preceding cause of the cause and the succeeding effect of the effect are present, it would seem, and so on indefinitely in both directions, all the past and the future merging in the present. This puzzle is not solved by the author's treatment of secret powers, which he seems at times to recognize, although he no doubt does not really hold an opinion so alien to his whole tone of thought. (Cf. pp. 339, 341, 357, 363, 366, 370.)

The chapters on the absolute in motion and feeling with which Mr. Lewes closes his volume are suggestive and carefully worked out, but the reader must bear in mind that the absolute which Mr. Lewes is discussing is not the noumenal absolute of other philosophers, but a new phenomenal abstraction of his own. This will not mislead a skilled thinker, but Mr. Lewes expressly appeals from him to a younger and more sympathetic audience, and to such his arguments may be misleading. The novel and sometimes loose significance which Mr. Lewes gives to this word and others of the like, such as substance, substratum, reasoning, *a priori*, intuitions, etc., is by no means a trifle. The indefiniteness that arises in this way is one of the great obstacles which modern thought has to labor against; and in a trained scholar like Mr. Lewes it is inexcusable. Otherwise, his style is clear and good, and his reasoning carefully complete, though we notice once or twice

the zero fallacy which he himself elsewhere exposes, *i.e.*, the inference of existence from our inability to conceive of nothingness (cf. pp. 258, 260, 270, 333, 487). The subject needs little ornamentation, but the little flights of eloquence with which Mr. Lewes rather likes to close his chapters are not objectionable. His arrangement is careful; indeed, his analytical habit of thought is carried so far that sometimes a question seems at first glance to be differently treated in the different chapters. This is not with him the bias of an advocate; he is as fair as he is well-informed. It is rather the overconcentrated attention which prevents his looking at a question in its entirety; and clearness for the moment is gained by temporarily ignoring the broader aspects; but the reader must read one chapter with the others well in mind, or he may get a mistaken notion of what the author means. This is not a very unreasonable request for such a work, but we fear that it is more than can be obtained from the ordinary reader, or even the sympathetic youth to whom Mr. Lewes appeals.

Although the announced object of the work is the construction of a creed, the reader is obliged to content himself with what he may think the dry bones of metaphysical analysis; for in these two elaborate volumes, completing one division of the work, absolutely no approach is made to that end. The unknowable of the Cosmist, the infinite and imperfectly recognized essence of the Idealist, the half-personified source of love and wisdom of the Swedenborgian, the practical power that makes for righteousness of Matthew Arnold, the human Grand-Etre of Comte, are as far off as the loving and awful Father of the Christian world. The work is an examination of certain profound metaphysical problems in the positive method of the modern school, and nothing more. If there seems to the reader a certain arrogance in Mr. Lewes's assumption that the application is novel, he must remember that Comte included both psychology and logic in a sweeping condemnation of metaphysics, and that while his English followers refused to exclude the two former they have yet closed the door upon metaphysics; and Mr. Lewes is thus the first of this school (from which he has partially separated himself) to admit them to consideration. This has made him cautious, and indeed anxious not to go beyond his depth. He still keeps up the danger-signal, though he has moved it further off. The obedient swimmer is allowed to go a little beyond the point at which he can touch the bottom of verification, but the warning of "metempirics" guards him from the bottomless pools of noumenon and primal cause. It is doubtful, perhaps, whether all Mr. Lewes's young and sympathetic followers will be content to pause at the line he has drawn. Even a hardened Positivist may be tempted to ask whether, if his method is so capable of extension, a still wider application may not reach the metempirics he denies. The conclusion may be purely negative or hypothetical, but on some subjects even negative or hypothetical results are valuable. He must not, however, expect any assistance from Mr. Lewes, whose system is one of pure materialism, in the strict sense of that much-abused word, bringing Mansel's parody on the Greek chorus fresh to the mind:

> "The voice of yore
> Which the breezes bore
> Wailing aloud from Paxo's shore,
> Is changed to a gladder and livelier strain,
> For great god Pan is alive again—
> He lives and he reigns once more.
> With deep intuition and mystic rite
> We worship the Absolute Infinite.
> The Universe Ego, the Plenary-Void,
> The Subject-Object identified."

A STUDY OF RUBENS AND REMBRANDT.*

IT will not surprise the readers of M. Fromentin's earlier compositions to learn that this is a very interesting book. Those persons who remember his two strangely pictorial little volumes on the East—'Un Été dans le Sahara,' 'Une Année dans le Dakhel'—will have retained a vivid impression of his descriptive powers and his skill in evoking figures and localities; while the admirers of the charming novel of 'Dominique'—a singularly exquisite and perfect work, which has had no successor—must have kept an equally grateful record of his art of analyzing delicate moral and intellectual phenomena. These three modest volumes have hitherto constituted what is called in France the author's literary baggage. The work whose title we have transcribed, and which is somewhat more massive than its predecessors, has just been added to the list, and upon this evidence ('Les Maîtres d'Autrefois' has attracted great attention) M. Fromentin the other day presented himself as a candidate for the French Academy. He was not elected, and one may, while admiring his writings, think perhaps that his application was a trifle premature. The quality of his productions is exquisite, but the quantity is as yet slender. It must be added, however, that M. Fromentin has had occupations other than literary. He is a distinguished painter, and a great many of his refined, if somewhat pallid, renderings of Eastern scenes have been seen in America. We prefer his books to his pictures, and we have greatly enjoyed the volume before us. We recommend it to those lovers of art who have visited the great Dutch and Flemish pictures in the cities in which they were painted; and we recommend it even more to persons who have the journey through Holland and Belgium still before them. It would be even more useful, perhaps, as an incitement than as a reminder.

M. Fromentin begins with Rubens, to whom he devotes the longest section in his volume, talks briefly of Vandyck, passes on to Jacob Ruysdael and the principal Dutch genre-painters, expatiates largely upon Rembrandt, and touches finally (returning to Belgium) upon Van Eyck and Memling. We repeat that his whole volume is extremely interesting, but it strikes us as curious rather than valuable. We have always had a decided mistrust of literary criticism of works of plastic art; and those tendencies which have suggested this feeling are exhibited by M. Fromentin in their most extreme form. He would deny, we suppose, that his criticism is literary and assert that it is purely pictorial—the work of a painter judging painters. This, however, is only half true. M. Fromentin is too ingenious and elaborate a writer not to have taken a great deal of pleasure in the literary form that he gives to his thoughts; and when once the literary form takes the bit into its teeth, as it does very often with M. Fromentin, the effect, at least, of over-subtlety and web-spinning is certain to be produced. This over-subtlety is M. Fromentin's fault: he attempts to say too many things about his painters, to discriminate beyond the point at which discriminations are useful. A work of art has generally been a simpler matter, for the painter, than a certain sort of critic assumes, and M. Fromentin, who has painted pictures, ought to know that they are meant before all things to be enjoyed. The excess into which he falls is not of the same sort as that which is so common with Mr. Ruskin—the attribution of various incongruous and arbitrary intentions to the artist; it is rather a too eager analysis of the material work itself, a too urgent description of it, a too exhaustive enumeration of its constituent particles. Nothing can well be more fatal to that *tranquil* quality which is the very essence of one's enjoyment of a work of art. M. Fromentin, like most French writers on æsthetic or indeed on any other matters, abounds in his own sense. He can say so much so neatly and so vividly, in his admirable French style, that he loses all respect for the unsayable—the better half, we think, of all that belongs to a work of art. But his perception is extraordinarily just and delicate, and his power of entering into a picture is, in a literary critic, very rare. He enters too much, in our opinion, into the technical side, and he expects of his readers to care much more than should be expected even of a very ardent art-lover for the mysteries of the process by which the picture was made. There is a certain sort of talk which should be confined to manuals and note-books and studio records; there is something impertinent in pretending to work it into literary form—especially into the very elegant and rather self-conscious literary form of which M. Fromentin is master. It is narrow and unimaginative not to understand that a very deep and intelligent enjoyment of pictures is consistent with a lively indifference to this "inside view" of them. It has too much in common with the reverse of a tapestry, and it suggests that a man may be extremely fond of good concerts and yet have no relish for the tuning of fiddles. M. Fromentin is guilty of an abuse of it which gives his book occasionally a somewhat sickly and unmasculine tone. He is, besides, sometimes too inconclusive; he multiplies his descriptive and analytic touches, but we are at loss to know exactly what he has desired to prove.

This is especially the case in the pages upon Rubens, which contain a great many happy characterizations of the painter, but lack a "general drift," an argument. M. Fromentin indulges in more emotion on the subject of Rubens than we have ever found ourselves able to do, and his whole dissertation is a good example of the vanity of much of the criticism in the super-subtle style. We lay it down perplexed and bewildered, with a wearied sense of having strained our attention in a profitless cause. There is a limit to what it is worth while to attempt to say about the greatest artists. Michael Angelo and Raphael bid defiance to more than a moderate amount of "keen analysis." Either Rubens was a first-rate genius, and in this case he may be trusted to disengage himself freely from his admirers' impressions; or else he was not, and in this case it is not worth while to split hairs about him. M. Fromentin, speaking roughly, takes Rubens too seriously by several shades. There are fine painters and coarse painters, and Rubens belonged to the latter category; he reigned in it with magnificent supremacy. One may as well

* 'Les Maîtres d'Autrefois. Belgique-Holland. Par Eugène Fromentin.' New York: F. W. Christern.

come to this conclusion first as last, for all the ingenuity in the world will not avert it. Rubens was, in painting, an incomparable *improvvisatore;* almost always a great colorist, often extremely happy in composition, he never leaves us without a sense that the particular turn the picture has taken, the cast of a certain face, the attitude of a certain figure, the flow of a drapery or the choice of a gesture, has been an accident of the moment. Hence we have in Rubens a constant sense of something superficial, irreflective, something cheap, as we say nowadays. His intentions had often great energy, but they had very little profundity, and his imagination, we suspect, less delicacy than M. Fromentin attributes to it. He belongs, certainly, to the small group of the world's greatest painters, but he is, in a certain way, the vulgarest of the group. No other of its members has produced anything like the same amount of work of which the quality discredits and compromises the remaining and superior portion. M. Fromentin has some excellent remarks about his portraits, of which he recognizes the coarseness and the limited value. "Suppose Holbein," he says, "with Rubens's *clientèle*, and you immediately see before you a new human gallery, very interesting for the moralist, equally admirable for the history of life and the history of art, and which Rubens, one must admit, would not have enriched by a single type." M. Fromentin has, however, a charming paragraph about the magnificent "St. George" of the Church of St. James of Antwerp—the church containing the tomb of the painter; a paragraph we are glad to quote as an example of the admirable way in which the author often says things:

"One day, towards the end of his life, in the midst of his glory, in the midst, perhaps, of his repose, under an august title, under the invocation of the Virgin, and of the only one of all the saints to whom it seemed to him lawful to give his own image, it pleased him to paint in a small frame (about two yards square) what there had been venerable and seductive in the beings whom he had loved. He owed this last tribute to those of whom he was born, to those women [his two wives] who had shared and embellished his beautiful and laborious career, charmed it, ennobled it, perfumed it with grace, tenderness, and fidelity. He gave it to them as richly and in as masterly a way as was to be expected from his affectionate hand and his genius in the fulness of its power. He put into it his science, his piety, and a rarer degree of care. He made of the work what you know—a marvel, infinitely touching as the work of a son, a father, and a husband, and for ever memorable as a work of art."

M. Fromentin has some admirable pages upon the origin of Dutch art, and the conditions upon which it came into being: "Genius shall consist in prejudging nothing, in not knowing that you know, in letting yourself be taken by surprise by your model, in asking of it alone how it shall be represented. As for embellishing, never; ennobling, never; chastening, never: these are so many lies as so much useless trouble. Is there not in every artist worthy of the name a certain something which takes upon it this care naturally and without effort?" His chapters upon Paul Potter, Cuyp, Ruysdael, Terburg, and Metsu are in our opinion the most felicitous in the volume; they are full of just discrimination and interesting suggestion. He ranks Ruysdael immediately after Rembrandt, a classification of this enchanting painter with which we have no quarrel; but we are not sure that with regard to him, too, he may not be accused of looking for mid-day (as the French say) *à quatorze heures.* But he characterizes him charmingly. He says very justly that there are a great many things which we should like to know about his life and person which it is impossible to ascertain; his history is obscure, and the questions are unanswerable. But would the idea come to us, he adds, of asking such questions about any of the other Dutch painters? "Brilliant and charming, they painted, and it seems as if this were enough. Ruysdael painted, but he lived, and this is why it is desirable to know how he lived. I know but three or four men who are to this degree personally interesting—Rembrandt, Ruysdael, Paul Potter, perhaps Cuyp. This is more than enough to class them." Upon Rembrandt M. Fromentin expatiates largely and very ingeniously; but we should say of these chapters as of his remarks upon Rubens, that the author goes through a great critical motion without arriving at any definite goal. He strikes a great many matches, and often rather bedims the subject. The great picture at Amsterdam, best known by its French name of the "Ronde de Nuit," is a very strange work if you will, but nothing is gained by making it out stranger than it is and exhausting the vocabulary of hopeless æsthetic conjecture on its behalf. The note of M. Fromentin's view of Rembrandt is struck by his saying that he "revealed one of the unknown corners of the human soul," and by his adding, at the close of his remarks, that he was "a pure spiritualist—an ideologist." Some readers, doubtless, will be more struck with the felicity of this definition than we have been. It is not the unknown, we should say, that Rembrandt represents, but the known, the familiar, the common, the homely. His subjects, his scenes, his figures are almost all taken from common life, and where they are not they are brought into it. He was an alchemist: he presents them in that extraordinary envelope of dense light and shade which is the familiar sign of his manner; but in this it is the execution that is rare to our sense—incomparably rare, certainly—rather than the conception. But to whatever degree in detail M. Fromentin's readers may dissent from him, they will do justice to the brilliancy of his work. Its acuteness and delicacy of perception are altogether remarkable and its manner most exquisite. It has a peculiar charm.

Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D. By his Brother, the Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A. Two volumes. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 8vo, pp. 374, 434. 1876.)—Though an uncompromising adherent of the Established Church of Scotland, Dr. Macleod was not spoilt by its intense Calvinism; he put new life into the old machinery, introduced changes which men of less courage in their opinions would not have dared to propose, and finally became himself its best exponent—the moderator of its General Assembly, its representative and leader. He was essentially a Broad Churchman, and his associations outside of Scotland were chiefly with Dean Stanley, Canon Kingsley, Professor Jowett, and men of that stamp. He could not be pent up in Presbyterianism, and his literary and religious life, influenced first by the poets Coleridge and Wordsworth, then by Principal Shairp, and later by Thomas Arnold and the late Dr. J. Macleod Campbell, was too healthful and earnest to accept narrowness anywhere. This very largeness of mind made his public career controversial, and diverted his attention from authorship. In his twenty-eighth year (1839) he says: "How often do I speculate about writing books! I have thought of three; I generally think over a chapter of one of them when I have nothing else to do" In 1870, looking back regretfully, he says:

"My life is not what I would have chosen. I often yearn and long for quiet, for reading, and for thought. It seems to me to be a very paradise to be able to read, think, pray, go deep into things, gather the glorious riches of intellectual culture, rise into the empyrean of abstract truth, write thoughtful and careful sermons, grasp at the great principles of wise statesmanship, master all the historical details necessary as data for future reference, and so forth. God has forbidden it in His providence. I must spend hours in receiving people (not of my congregation) who wish to speak to me about all sorts of trifles; to reply to letters about nothing; to engage on public work on everything; to waste my life on what seems uncongenial, vanishing, temporary, waste."

His active interest in affairs and his inherited feeling expressed in the confession—"I do not remember a day when I thought it possible that I could be anything else than a minister"—controlled his life. His restless temperament forbade the calm leisure necessary to produce great works. His literary productions, chiefly the result of his hurried contributions to *Good Words*, are of an ephemeral character. 'The Starling' is the only story which bears the marks of careful finish. The Church absorbed the gifts, and spent in the great disruption controversy of 1843 the strength, which might have been turned to equally good service in other directions.

Dr. Macleod grew up in the Western Highlands, having been born in Campbelton, June 3, 1812. His father was a distinguished Scotch preacher; and the son, though bound down by circumstances to a somewhat strict life, was a jovial, happy, careless, out-door youth, who loved everything but study, who caught the gist of books at Glasgow University, who sat humbly at the feet of Dr. Chalmers, and who, in this singularly free life, in which both nature and men were his teachers, fitted himself for success in country parishes, and finally advanced from these into the Barony parish, Glasgow, where he made for himself by his work a reputation which has gone wherever the language is spoken. He undertook specially to reclaim the lower classes, and in his Sunday-evening services his church was crowded with people who had in their dress the unmistakable claim to admission, being hatless, coatless, shoeless, or ragged. He not only gathered them to hear him preach, but brought the social and educational forces of his congregation to act upon them, and when his dead body was borne through the streets of Glasgow the workingmen and the poor were everywhere present as mourners. His favorite idea of a religious congregation was a society charged with the mission of meeting by direct contact the manifold evils of society, physical and social as well as spiritual. Accordingly, in preaching to the poor, the ignorant, and the vicious, he took up such practical matters as the sanitary condition of the houses of the poor, wholesome food, the treatment of children, and gave his counsel so plainly that the meanest intelligence could understand it. Better drainage, ventilation, poor-laws; reading-rooms, lectures, cheap literature, amusements, coffee-houses, were the instrumentalities which he believed in. His own system

in reaching the neglected classes is thus stated: "In doing permanent good to such it is necessary (1) to preach regularly and systematically (with heart, soul, and strength, though); (2) to exclude well-dressed people; (3) to keep out of newspapers and off platforms, and to avoid *fuss;* (4) to develop self-reliance; (5) to give communion on credible profession, as the Apostles admitted to the church, and then to gather up results, and bring the converts into a society; (6) to follow up by visitation, stimulating themselves to collect for clothes." His sympathy with these people, his frankness and large-heartedness, were the secret of his great power over them, but his success was by methods which can be employed by any competent person in any large centre.

In this direction alone his physical powers were heavily taxed, and when in addition we take into account his leadership of the Scotch Church, his visit to India in the interests of Presbyterian missions, his editorship of *Good Words*, his yearly preaching before the Queen, and his ministrations to her grief upon the death of the Prince Consort, together with his immense activity as a parish minister, it is not surprising that he broke down at the age of sixty-one, when he had the promise, with strength less lavishly used, to live thirty years longer. It is the old story of premature decay because the tasks were greater than one man could perform. His career invites comparison with that of Dr. Guthrie, of the Free Church, who was only eight years his senior. Both were eloquent preachers; both threw themselves with great energy into their parochial life; both had wide and liberal views of the sphere which ministers have to fill; both undertook charitable work as by instinct, the one in Glasgow, the other, with his ragged schools, in Edinburgh; both won their special distinction in the service of the poor; both became editors of monthly periodicals, under the same publisher, with the same purpose of furnishing bright and pure literature to the masses; both became leaders by the voluntary suffrages of the people, the one in the Established, the other in the Free Church; both had that sympathetic element by which they assimilated what was good in others; though each was in a camp of the Church which was hostile to the other, there was much exchange of service and friendship; and though they had so much in common, and made such a mark upon the two chief cities of Scotland, they were always too busy to be intimate. They both contributed largely to the success of the branches of the Church in which they labored, and their rare qualities of mind and spirit, now embodied in well-written biographies, give favorable impressions of the best phase of Scottish religious life during the last fifty years.

L'Art: Revue Hebdomadaire Illustrée. Deuxième Année: Tome I. (Paris: A. Ballue; New York: J. W. Bouton.)—Nothing better expresses the difference in tone between *L'Art*, the young fresh voice in æsthetics, and its settled rival, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, than the notices of Carpeaux in the two periodicals. The audacious sculptor, whose chisel has so much color and so little repose, is mourned over by the *Gazette* as a sort of prodigal. "Taste is the master-quality often lacking in Carpeaux . . . . the avenues of pure beauty were interdicted to him," it says, by the mouth of M. Paul Mantz. *L'Art*, while freely admitting the turbulent faults of the young innovator, lets drop a word of affectionate adoration in every sentence: he is the "maître" of Valenciennes—a title understood to have been vacant since the death of Decamps—and he has "the Flemish temperament [an allusion to Rubens] mixed with the audacity of Michael Angelo." The paper on Carpeaux, in fact, whether in fulness, information, eloquence, or prodigality of illustration, is of a richness that leaves the *Gazette* far behind. In other cases, too, we find *L'Art* distancing its elder rival from its mere breadth of build and its capacity of crowding sail. It has more room for entertaining its opportunities, and gets more of any wind that is going. One of the latest matters of art-interest in Paris, for example, the fine carved door from Cremona recently set up in the Louvre, is described and represented exhaustively in the larger journal, simply because it is the larger. Whenever a subject gains by the bare brute dimensions of its delineation, *L'Art* has an enormous advantage. It seems to us to be edited rather sensationally than trustworthily, but with taste in the vexed state it is in now, an eloquent expression of almost any school of taste is worth attending to; and the opinions of the writers in these pages are sure to be those of some clique respectably strong. The increasing importance that America is acquiring as a collector of good contemporary art is fully recognized by the conductors of this enterprise, and they constantly, in appreciation or enthusiasm, get ahead, on our own ground, of the state of feeling discovered among ourselves. In the first number for the present year the great Meissonier of the Stewart gallery is most enthusiastically noticed, with three large repetitions of the artist's preparatory studies; and the "American connoisseur," the "royal" art-lover, is distinguished by terms that make him seem to have been a little callow, and that would better befit the King of Bavaria, for instance, than the man of well hardened head who has passed from among us. There is a "Courrier des États-Unis," by Mr. George Hutchinson, in which such topics as Mr. Hooker's Raphael and the International Exhibition are treated. The account of the late Mr. Blodgett, of his European and American collections, and of the Museum that he fed from his hand, is extremely and deservedly eulogistic, and has five illustrations devoted to the galleries in Fourteenth Street and their founder. Many a careless visitor to the Museum would be a good deal amazed at the tone of respectful homage with which the quiet Dutch paintings therein hung are mentioned by the critic, M. Félix Bé. We are informed that Mr. Blodgett, besides the ten magnificent etchings by Jacquemart from pictures in the Museum, which are there exposed as a bait to subscribers, had left an order for another series of ten, including the superb Vandyck of "St. Martha," snatched from the Madrid Museum by Joseph Bonaparte; the "Return from Egypt," "one of the masterpieces of Rubens"; and the "Triumph of Bacchus," "a Jordaens of an incomparable blond and silvery tone." This journal, in fact, appears to have an almost morbid appetite for the works of the Blodgett collection. Within a year past it has published nine large and unsurpassable etchings of his pictures, two of which are in the present volume, besides the smaller sketches of this particular article; the finest are, Romney's portrait of Mrs. Fitzherbert, etched by Waltner with immense effect; Old Crome's "Environs of Norwich," a masterly study; and La Tour's portrait of M. Laideguive, another of Waltner's solid effects in aquafortis. The others are hardly less remarkable, viz.: Corot's "Lake Nemi," Van de Velde's "Amsterdam Quay," Raffet's "Bagpipers," Jacque's "Sheep," Van Dyck's "Deposition in the Tomb," and Reynolds's "Mrs. Baldwin." It is a fine gallery that can yield so many selected works worthy of the most expensive illustration. The range of *L'Art* is extensive, from large Japanese designs imitated in chromolithography to articles on music and the drama. In the last department there is a capital series of sketches of Frédéric Lemaître, and another, about equally good, on M. Got, of the Français, of whose masterly extravaganzas we have this season had such a living imitation in the acting of M. Mezières with Grau's French Company. *L'Art* makes three fine volumes per year, of which the first for 1867 is recently finished, and can be sold by the American agent, Mr. Bouton, at a considerable reduction from the rather staggering subscription price.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Austin (A.), The Human Tragedy: Poetry	(W. Blackwood & Sons)
Calvert (G. H.), A Nation's Birth, and Other Poems	(Lee & Shepard)
Cadell (Mrs. H. M.), Ida Craven: A Novel	(Henry Holt & Co.) $1 25
Hartmann (Dr. R.), Die Nigritier. Part I., swd	(B. Westermann & Co.)
Koehler (Dr. A.), Practical Botany	(Henry Holt & Co.) 3 00
Littell's Living Age. Vol. XIV	(Littell & Gay)
Legge (Prof. J.), The She King, or Book of Ancient Poetry	(Trübner & Co.)
Orton (Prof. J.), Andes and the Amazon. Third edition	(Harper & Bros.)
Stuart (J. M.), Free-Trade in Tuscany. swd	(Cassell, Petter & Galpin)
Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries	" " "
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1876.

The Week.

EACH branch of Congress early in the week adopted the report of the Conference Committee having charge of the Silver Bill. As adopted, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue subsidiary silver coin to the amount of $10,000,000 in exchange for United States legal-tender notes, they to be held as a special fund for the redemption of fractional notes as presented, and these fractional notes to be destroyed and counted as part of the Sinking Fund. The second section demonetizes the trade dollars but gives power to the Secretary to issue them in such amount as he may deem sufficient to meet the export demand. The third section authorizes the issue of subsidiary silver coin to the amount of $50,000,000; that is, it fixes the limit of such issue at this amount. The fourth section authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to buy silver bullion for conversion into subsidiary coin with any money in the Treasury, but restricts the amount which may be so invested in bullion at any one time to $200,000. In view of the frantic efforts made by the Bonanza representatives and the inflationists to re-establish the silver dollar, it is a subject for congratulation that the only legislation likely to be turned out at this session of Congress relates entirely to the token currency. The danger of a re-establishment of the silver dollar has not, however, been removed, but simply deferred until the next session. The price of silver in London advanced during the week to 48*d.* per ounce, and in New York to $1 05 gold per ounce; this makes the trade dollar worth 83 cents gold and the gold or bullion value of the subsidiary silver coin 76¼ cents to the dollar. The silver dollar proposed by the Senate Finance Committee would now be worth 81½ cents. The gold value of the promise of the United States Government to pay one dollar (legal-tender note) has ruled during the week at 89½ *a* 89¾ cents.

There is not much probability that the Geneva Award Bill will get any further at the present session of Congress. The bill is now before the Senate Judiciary Committee, but, according to the Washington despatches, the extension of the duration of the Commissioners' Court to January 1, 1877, a bill for which purpose has already passed the Senate, is all that that body is likely to do now. The conferences still hang fire, though the Army Bill is reported as substantially agreed to, the Custer disaster having effected a change of heart on the subject among the Democrats in the House. The impeachment trial also drags along, and the usual weekly failure to secure a vote for the repeal of the Resumption Act has been made. The credentials of Mr. Blaine, appointed Senator in Mr. Morrill's place, have been presented in the Senate; and in the House, the Foreign Affairs Committee's censure of Gen. Schenck has been voted.

The Committee which has been investigating Mr. Robeson's case has adopted a report finding carelessness, extravagance, and lawlessness, but no direct evidence of corruption. We must say, however, that the Committee seem to have been very exacting in this matter, and to have expected more direct evidence of dishonesty than the career of a trained lawyer like Robeson would be likely to furnish. The peculiarity of Robeson's career as Secretary of the Navy is that while he has been in office enormous sums of money have passed for some reason into his hands, and his "friends" have been perpetually making money out of their influence with him. The Cattells, who before Robeson's time had nothing whatever to do with the navy and understood nothing of naval business, have made hundreds of thousands of dollars by regular percentages on the Department contracts; and although the relations of the Secretary with them have been subjected to a great deal of public criticism, Mr. Robeson himself never suspected anything, but was willing to go on receiving money from the Cattells, whose accounts cannot be explained, and whose books have been destroyed. The Committee cannot find that any explicit law has been violated; but we believe no man in his senses can read the evidence taken and doubt that a secret partnership existed between the Secretary and the Cattells, by virtue of which they levied toll on contracts and he levied toll on them. The Committee, being in doubt whether the acts proved against him constitute ground for impeachment, will ask that the matter be referred to the Judiciary Committee, to report at the next session. Meantime, they recommend that Paymaster-General Watmough, Chief Naval-Constructor Hanscom, Engineer-in-Chief Wood, and Paymaster-General Bradford be court-martialed, and proceedings be begun against Naval-Constructors Steel and Hart.

Some idea may be formed, by those not familiar with the details of political operations, of the magnitude of the difficulties which surround all attempts to "carry Indiana," by a list of the removals which it has been necessary to make for this purpose. A Secretary of the Treasury, a Postmaster-General, a Commissioner of Internal Revenue, a Chief of Special Agents, a District-Attorney, a First Auditor and a Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, a Treasurer, and a Solicitor of the Treasury, have all been got rid of, and it is now said that Indiana is still not safe, and can hardly be made so unless the supervising architect of the Treasury is turned out and the faithful Mullett put in his place. We have no doubt that the "Old Man" will not hesitate to make this sacrifice too if it is necessary for the good of the party. The difficulty of carrying Indiana, it may be observed, consists chiefly in the fact that the Republicans have put up as their candidate Mr. Godlove S. Orth, whose reputation is, to say the least, vulnerable, inasmuch as he has been implicated in some doubtful Venezuelan claims; but General Grant, who is never at a loss for some ingenious device to meet a political difficulty, has met this one by refusing to give any of the reformers he turns out of office any letter of regret and recommendation, apparently thinking that if men like Bristow and New cannot get a "character" from their last place, men like Orth are more sure of getting situations than they otherwise would be.

Mr. Jewell has had a warm reception in Connecticut, accompanied by speeches, a song of welcome, and other disloyal proceedings. In a speech at Hartford he referred to his position as Postmaster-General, and confessed that it had been a "trying and laborious one"; declared that he only tried to do his "honest duty"; that in taking the office he had said he would conduct its affairs just as he would any business of his own, "for the benefit of the owners, the people," and "not for the benefit of any political ring"; that he had undertaken to "punish fraud wherever found," "discharge all incompetent officers," and "make honesty and fidelity the basis of employment." As showing what very different views may be taken of the same subject by persons who look at it from different points, we have it on very good authority that one of the gentlemen connected with the public service in which Mr. Jewell has been trying to make honesty and fidelity the basis of employment, and who has also lately returned from Washington, on being asked what was thought of Mr. Jewell's removal there, replied that it was "all right," that "they" (meaning probably the "Old Man" and the "Boys") "didn't care much for Jewell in Washington," and added, "Why, God damn him! he ran the Post-Office as though it was a factory." This is the best explanation of the removal that we have heard, and covers the whole ground.

The election in New York this year will be very likely to turn in a great measure on the character of the nominations for governor, and it is with a feeling little short of consternation that most people who are inclined to vote the Republican ticket have received the intelligence that the "machine" managers intend to put up Mr. A. B. Cornell as the party candidate. There will be a struggle over it, but the result of the State Convention at Syracuse, where the delegation to Cincinnati was secured almost as a unit for Conkling in the teeth of the opposition of almost every Republican of character and position in this city, if not in the whole State, shows how much organization may effect, and there is no doubt that the Conkling engine is now being worked with a full head of steam to bring about Cornell's nomination. He is beginning to "develop strength" in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, and there is not a custom-house, nor a collector's office, nor a livery stable (if it be a Republican stable) throughout the State in which preparations are not being made to give the people a chance to show their determination to nail the colors to the mast and rally round Cornell. The Democrats, who, notwithstanding the Kelly disaffection in this city, will make a nomination for governor in the interest of Tilden, seem likely to select as their candidate Horatio Seymour, who is sure to poll every Democratic vote in the State. Any nomination of theirs will make the selection of Cornell on the other side, in a critical year and in what is called a reform canvass, a broad farce. Cornell is simply a tool of Conkling's, and has got his political position and power as a reward for services which Hayes lays it down in his letter of acceptance are not any longer to form the basis for advancement—we mean dirty work about caucuses, conventions, backing, wire-pulling, log-rolling, "hurling back" slanders, etc., etc. The latest noticeable performance of Cornell was to insult all the decent Republicans in the State by denouncing, in a published telegram, their independence in demanding reform. There will be a vigorous fight to defeat his nomination, and in this Mr. G. W. Curtis, who obtained such a decisive victory over Conkling at Cincinnati, and who is himself one of the few candidates the Republicans would have a really good chance with, will be able to measure his strength with the "machine" once more.

The trouble in the Democratic camp caused by the St. Louis fight over Tilden's nomination, has been renewed in Tammany Hall, and there seems some prospect of disturbance from the same cause in the State Convention. The meeting of the "General Committee," called last Thursday to adopt resolutions on the St. Louis nominations, was made inharmonious by the introduction of volunteer resolutions declaring the "unabated confidence" of the Committee in Mr. Kelly and his continued leadership of the party. This was the signal for a great row, Mr. Olney, who had the main resolutions in charge, trying to have the new plank referred; but though he held the floor stoutly amid a storm of interruptions and noise of all kinds, he was unable to carry his point, and the obnoxious resolution was adopted. After this, Mr. Kelly, who had meantime come into the hall, made a speech, in which he returned thanks for this renewed proof of confidence, expressed a doubt whether it might not better have been omitted, admitted having been in favor of nominating Hendricks instead of Tilden, declared that when once convinced that he was right "no man on the top of the earth" could change his mind, but gracefully admitted the possession of a fallible judgment, and begged his hearers to forget their dissensions and unite with him in electing the St. Louis nominees. The whole affair, however, can hardly be said to have passed off pleasantly, and we hope the leading Democrats do not fail to take notice of the fact that all scenes of this kind play into the hands of the Republicans, who gloat over them, and rub their hands and go about exulting over the unseemly behavior of their adversaries, and taking it all as another proof that Democrats are not a real party having convictions and principles, but simply a collection of all the dirty, noisy, tumultuous, and disorderly persons in the community, the "virtue and intelligence of the country" being found among the Republicans. This view of the subject we do not think sound, but such scenes as that at Tammany Hall the other night give color to it. The Democrats in this city, too, are almost as badly off for newspapers as the Administration. Of the leading papers, the *Tribune*, *Herald*, *Times*, *World*, *Sun*, and *Post*, which are as a rule independent enough in their election of candidates, Mr. Tilden can only count at present on the active support of the *World* and *Sun*. This is of itself a fact which ought to make the Democratic managers very cautious of exposing themselves to criticism in the State which is the principal battle-ground of the campaign. The distrust of Tammany Hall, and of the kind of politics represented by it, is a genuine feeling in this city, probably deeper among the respectable classes than their antipathy to the Custom-House, and indeed so strong at times—as in the "Reform" campaign of two years ago—as to turn the scale.

Governor Chamberlain of South Carolina has forwarded to Senator Robertson a detailed account of the recent riot and massacre at Hamburg. It seems that on the 4th of July a company of the colored State militia were marching along one of the streets of Hamburg, and were met by two young white men in a buggy, who insisted on keeping their way regardless of the movements of the militia. There can have been no excuse for this, as the street was one hundred feet wide and the negroes were marching by the flank, and thus offering no obstruction to carriages. After some parleying, however, the negroes yielded, and allowed the buggy to drive through their ranks. On the next day the young men took out warrants of arrest against some of the officers of the militia company, who were brought before a trial-justice; but, meantime, the whites from the surrounding country began to come in with guns and pistols, and the officers summoned, being afraid of violence, did not appear in court, while the militia company assembled at their armory, but made no show of any intention of attacking the whites. The whites now demanded the surrender by the militia of their arms, and, on a refusal being given, opened fire on the building, first with small-arms and finally with a field-piece, brought up for the purpose. The militia on this fled, and twenty or twenty-five of them were taken prisoners and kept under guard for some hours. On the next day five of these prisoners were marched out and shot in cold blood by the whites. The rest of the negroes were either turned loose or broke loose and ran, and were then fired upon as they ran, three of them being severely wounded. From Governor Chamberlain's account it appears that there was no excuse for these horrible brutalities, the whites having murdered their unoffending victims while begging for their lives.

This account, based as it is on the report by the State Attorney-General, and practically vouched for by the *News and Courier*—a newspaper which would naturally seek to give as favorable a view of the behavior of the whites as possible—is no doubt correct. The massacre does not seem to be disputed by anybody, and the Charleston *Journal of Commerce*, which is an out-and-out white man's paper, does not scruple to declare that no one can expect ruffianly negroes to "be treated as prisoners of honorable warfare according to the laws of nations"—a sentence which, by the way, shows in a curious manner how the semi-military habits engendered in the South by long years of war and misgovernment have blotted out all the ideas of law and justice common to people living under a peaceful rule. The town of Hamburg is almost entirely filled with negroes, while it is close by the State of Georgia, now fully in the possession of the whites, and near by the white populations of Aiken and Edgefield Counties, in the latter of which bad blood was not long ago created by the performances of a company of negroes under a man named Tennent, who were disarmed by the State authorities and the United States troops to prevent a suspected attack on the whites. Politics are, just now, in a very unsettled condition in South Carolina, as the Democratic Convention, which

meets on the 15th of next month, will have to choose between a straight-out nomination of some such Democrat as Wade Hampton and a combination with the Reform Republicans under Chamberlain, and the straight-out Democrats are now of course accusing Chamberlain of using the Hamburg massacre for political purposes and as a means of getting troops for the election. There can be little doubt that a union of all the respectable portions of society under Chamberlain would now do more to restore harmony and prosperity in South Carolina than any other possible course. Whatever views were taken of his connection with Scott and Parker in the early carpet-bag days, there is no doubt that since he has been governor he has given the most substantial proof of his determination to root out corruption and give the State good government. There is no better test in a community like South Carolina, where there is a close connection between politics and crime, of a governor's intentions than his exercise of the pardoning power. Scott, for instance, between 1868 and 1870 pardoned 332 convicts, and between 1870 and 1872 247 more. Moses, between 1872 and 1874, pardoned 457; while from December 1, 1874, to May 31, 1876, the total number of Chamberlain's pardons were 73, 66 of these being recommended by the judges, and in the other 7 cases the judges making no objection. Mr. Chamberlain has in this and in all other ways ever since his election stood between the community and the ruffians who governed it before his time, and the Democrats will make a fatal mistake now if they throw him overboard. We can assure them that there is nothing that they can do which will so warm the hearts of Babcock, Belknap, Robeson, Chandler, Delano, and Grant.

The Committee of Congress which has been engaged in investigating the Coushatta affair has made a unanimous report, which perfectly agrees with all the unbiassed accounts before given. It was really the murder of a man named Twitchell, a local politician, who had many enemies, by an unknown man, who rode into the town in disguise, apparently for that sole purpose. The affair had no political character, and might have occurred anywhere as well as in Louisiana, though, of course, roadside murders of this kind are more likely to occur in the South, under the present condition of society there, than at the North.

The movement against the Sioux has not yet begun. General Terry is at the mouth of the Big Horn, waiting apparently in the hope of getting the aid of General Crook's troops, while General Crook is also awaiting reinforcements before moving. From a statement of a chief of the Spotted Tail Agency, Bear-Stand-Up, who arrived on the 25th of last month at the council held with the Indians from Sitting Bull's camp, it appears that there were then about 2,000 hostile lodges. They report that Sitting Bull says he does not want to fight the whites, only to steal from them, but that he means to fight until the Black Hills question is settled. Offers of volunteers for the war are made, but General Sherman does not think it necessary to accept them, the regular forces outnumbering, according to his calculations, the Indians. The only military operation that has taken place since the defeat of Custer has been a reconnoitring expedition from General Terry's camp, which was nearly cut off by the Indians.

The report of failures for the first six months of 1876 issued by Dun, Barlow & Co. is not encouraging, though it affords some reason for hoping that the "bottom" has at last been reached. For the first quarter of 1876 the number of failures was 2,806, and the amount $64,000,000, against 1,982 and $43,000,000 in 1875. For the second quarter, the figures for 1876 are 1,794 and $43,000,000, against 1,581 and $33,000,000 for 1875. For the whole six months the number in 1876 is 4,600, and the amount $107,000,000, against 3,563 and $76,000,000 for last year. It will be seen that, although the figures for the first three months are larger than for the corresponding quarter of 1875, there is a marked decline in the figures for the second quarter. The number of failures in the past three months is a thousand less than for the preceding quarter, while there is a decrease of $21,000,000 in the liabilities. On the other hand, there was a falling off of the same sort, though not so great in amount, absolutely or relatively, last year.

The news from Turkey grows more and more exasperating, and the despatches to the London press if credited by turns would quickly land the reader in a lunatic asylum. One who seeks to follow the course of the war is almost driven to the resort of the San Francisco *News-Letter* with its chapter of "Lies of the Week." In the spirit of that veracious chronicle, we feel warranted in saying that "it is not true that" Saitshar was captured as we reported last week, or that Tchernaieff was at Pirot, or that he fought a great battle there, or that the army of the Drina is in a bad way, or that the army of the Morava has been crippled. We feel inclined to add that it is not true, as yet, that the Servian invasion is a failure or at an end, while it is clear that no great progress has been made during the week. The Turks appear to be on the defensive in more places than are the Servians. The gates of Widin are closed, and there has been considerable skirmishing in the country round about it, as well as in the vicinity of Belgradshik, further south, where the Turks report a victory. They report another between Nissa and Prokoplie, but it seems certain that both Nissa and Novibazar are in a state of siege, and that the Servians are in the valley of the Toplitza between these two places. Bjelina, in spite of all reverses to Gen. Olimpics, is apparently also surrounded, and if it be true that the Turks have lost their connections with the Save, the fact is of some consequence. Along the line of the Drina, skirmishing goes on at various points with varying issues, and some which has taken place on the upper waters near Vishegrad looks like a feeling after a conjunction with the Montenegrins. But the most obstinate fighting is at Saitshar, where Gen. Leshjanin is holding out against Osman Pasha, who, on the 12th, is said to have assaulted him five times without effect. It is reported and denied that the Servian general subsequently took the offensive and drove the enemy from his intrenchments. Meantime, Gen. Tchernaieff's whereabouts cannot be determined, but it is probable that he never got beyond Akpalanka on the road to Pirot and Sofia. Of him we have heard that he was defeated and not defeated, that he was marching on Sofia and at the same time advancing on Widin. With Saitshar invested and Nissa not taken, advance would seem perilous. No Bulgarian rising is yet reported as caused by his presence, and it is pretty safe to say that victory for the Servians will not come through such aid. Any district which is liable to be reoccupied by the Turks will not lightly expose itself to their vengeance. A retreating Servian army will carry back with it a great part of the inhabitants even of towns which have been, by no act of their own, the seat of war.

A line drawn from Widin, on the Danube, to Spitza, on the Adriatic, would embrace a territory which the union of Montenegrins and Servians might suffice to hold against the Turkish armies within and without. The Montenegrin movements, however, do not point to an early union, if such a plan exists. Their present objective is Mostar, in Herzegovina, and they will doubtless pay their respects to all the other Turkish strongholds. They appear to have surrounded Selim Pasha in a defile on the road between Gatsho and Nevesinje, and to have nearly put an end to him, but he escaped to the latter post, or even to Mostar, where Mukhtar Pasha is said to have also arrived from Bosnia. The Turks have been beaten near Klek, which has now been closed to them by Austria, so that supplies for the Turkish forces north of the imaginary line spoken of must now be sent *via* Plevlje and Fotsha, a line easily interrupted and already threatened by the operations near Vishegrad. Enough troops remain in Montenegro to make lively work on the southern frontier, where they are pressed by the Turks; and we hear of them about Podgoritza, and as driving their discomfited enemies to the Lake of Scutari.

THINGS FOR MR. HAYES'S CONSIDERATION.

THE extent to which those who are interested in administrative reform have, in accepting Mr. Hayes's nomination, been compelled to rely not only on his personal character, but on accounts of his character given by his personal friends, renders it very necessary that throughout the country there should be perfect frankness and sincerity on their part, and perfect comprehension of the situation on his. Their difficulty in supporting him has had two sources. The first was that he was a man by no means conspicuous in public affairs, whose civil virtues had been put to slight and obscure tests. The second was that, in allowing the Republican party to turn aside from their leading men, and offer an unknown or but little known candidate at a crisis like this, they might be striking a serious blow at the principal guarantee of party purity, and, indeed, of the success of party government—the responsibility of the party for the conduct of its recognized leaders. Government by party would become intolerable if, as a general rule, the party was not bound by and did not suffer for the practices of its chiefs. In fact, the chiefs—that is, the men whom it selects to represent it in public life—*are* the party. The voters are simply the impalpable, invisible agency called opinion, which gives the party its strength. It is, therefore, not allowable, and ought not to be allowable under ordinary circumstances, for a party to say what the Republican party is now saying: "It is true that Smith and Jones and Brown and Robinson, whom we have put in charge of the public affairs, have now for several years grossly mismanaged them. They have jobbed, squandered, stolen, lied, concealed. They have done those things which they ought not to have done, and have left undone a large number of those things which they ought to have done, and there is precious little health in them. They are, as they stand, a sorry lot, and we are heartily ashamed of them, and wish we had not stood by them so long. But you must not on their account turn us out of power, because, if you do, the Democrats, who are also very wicked, will take our places. What we propose, therefore, is this—that we cashier Smith and Jones and Brown and Robinson, or, as we say in politics, that they 'take back seats in the rear car,' and we will find a man whom we can warrant as honest in every particular, and as in no need of money, and under him we shall with your permission continue to carry on the Government. In fact, in this way we see no reason why you should ever turn us out of office at all; for we shall, whenever the knavery of our managers becomes more than you can bear, always provide you with as many honest men as may be necessary to make it seem safe for you to trust us again, and thus the dishonest Democrats will never get a chance to govern this great country. We cannot, you know, ever become so bad that reform within the party will be impossible."

Now, party government would, as we have said, become a curse and a nuisance if a doctrine like this were generally accepted in practice. We are accepting it in the present case because the circumstances are exceptional, for reasons which have to be looked for in the history of the last sixteen years, but the operation of which we trust and believe will be only temporary. But, in accepting it, the friends of reform are not throwing off all caution and disregarding all experience. They are willing to support Mr. Hayes as the best man for the place, but, while supporting him, they are not going to shut their eyes to the obvious difficulties and danger of his candidateship, or to fail to keep him in mind of them. Those among them who, like Mr. Schurz, wield great influence, are especially bound to take care that their responsibility does not assume intolerable proportions through any want of plainness of speech. They must take care, for instance, not to put too much of a burden on Mr. Hayes. His courage and honesty must not be subjected to severer tests when he enters the White House than are absolutely necessary, nor must the public be induced to expect too much from any one man.

We are led into these remarks by certain recent occurrences, which under all the circumstances must be set down as almost alarming. It was tolerably hard for reformers to put up with the fulsome expression of thanks in the Cincinnati platform to General Grant for the goodness of his scandalous Administration, which at the moment the Convention was sitting had covered the country with shame and filled it with foreboding. This expression was doubtless in accordance with the etiquette for party conventions, but reformers naturally felt that the time for etiquette had gone by, and read this wretched falsehood with much the same feelings as those Lafayette must have experienced when, rushing into Versailles in advance of the mob, he heard one of the chamberlains pursuing him with a formal grant from the king of the privilege of the "grandes entrées." Since then General Grant has not thrown off all restraint, but shown greater recklessness than ever in administering the Government for the gratification of his own selfish interests and passions. He is doing nothing new, but he is doing something rather worse than he has hitherto done. The Republican organs now begin to talk of "disavowing" or "repudiating" him; but it is too late. He should have been either repudiated at Cincinnati or have been passed over in silence. The platform adopted him with all his sins upon his head, and we therefore say that it will not do to pretend in this canvass that the men who concocted that platform are worthy of further confidence, or have any proper notions of public duty, or can be safely trusted with a leading part in public affairs. Whether Mr. Hayes takes this view of the matter himself or not, he ought to understand that the reform element in the party does take it, and supports him under it.

This is not all, however, or by any means the worst. The National Committee, which has charge of the party between Convention and Convention, appears with Mr. Zachariah Chandler at its head, and Mr. Chandler has appointed an Executive Committee, which will have charge of the canvass, with Mr. A. B. Cornell at its head. Now, Mr. Chandler is not only one of the most disreputable, coarse, and unscrupulous politicians in the party, but the most strenuous enemy of civil-service reform. He has, moreover, during the past eight years been one of the board of political managers who have formed General Grant's inner council of advisers, and who are largely responsible for the scandals of his Administration. It was he, too, who first rose up in opposition to the earlier efforts of the President to reform the civil service, and was the person who assailed General Cox for his efforts in that direction in the Department of the Interior, and whose violence and insolence led to that gentleman's resignation. His appointment last year to the Department of the Interior, after his own State had refused to re-elect him to the Senate, was justly regarded at the time as a great scandal. His selection for the Chairmanship of the National Committee at this juncture is naturally a still greater one. About Mr. Cornell we need say little more than that he is, and has been for years, the head of the "machine" in this State and city, and the henchman of Mr. Conkling, and that it was he who rebuked the Union League Club for its "impudence" in passing resolutions in favor of pure government, the wording of which seemed to turn against Mr. Conkling's claims to the Presidency. In fact, it would be difficult if not impossible to find in the ranks of the party two persons who, both in their character, career, and opinions, represent more distinctly the base and corrupt element in our politics against which we are asked to consider the nomination of General Hayes as a protest. And yet it is these men who will have charge of his canvass; it is they who will represent the party to him, and to them he will find himself largely if not most indebted in case he is elected. We hear much of the Democratic "mortgages" on Tilden. Tilden can have no worse liens on him than the claims of this pair to confidence, or gratitude, or recognition. No worse charge could be brought against the Democratic party, as far as reformers are concerned, than the prominence of such men. They differ from Boss Kelly only in the use of a different variety of political cant.

Now, what impression are these incidents producing in the body of voters in both parties which really decides elections? Why, this—that the corrupt oligarchy who have had charge of the party

under General Grant think they have satisfied the public demands by nominating Mr. Hayes, and do not much mind his writing a strong reform letter of acceptance; but that they believe that he must be elected by the old machinery under the old management—that is, by the use of means, in the shape of promises, "mortgages," and arrangements, which will render any reform in the civil service, or in any branch of administration, impossible—and that, for this reason, two of the old hands have been put in charge of the canvass with instructions to elect Mr. Hayes by all means within reach, relying on the old methods which were so successful with Gen. Grant to cool Mr. Hayes's courage after he comes into office, and to secure a continuance of the system under which the country now groans. This impression may not be well founded, but we advise Mr. Hayes's real friends to beware of it, and to be sure that they combat it with something more substantial than abuse of Mr. Tilden. If the Republican candidate is to be elected, he must in some way escape from even the appearance of alliance with "the machine."

THE QUESTION OF TENURE IN CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

IN discussions upon civil service reform, undue prominence has been given to the question of *mode of appointment* to office, to the neglect of the far more vital subject of *tenure of office*. Reform is demanded, it is true, in both directions, and the necessity for reform in both points is universally recognized; but for the mode of appointment the remedies proposed are adequate and commensurate with the evil, while it is certain that they will not touch the root of the matter unless the tenure of office is established upon a sound basis. In like manner, the question of an elective judiciary is often treated as if *popular election* were the chief issue. Certainly, we are more likely to have upright and competent judges by appointment than by election, but neither process is absolutely certain to give us such; and the thing mainly to be desired—an *independent* judiciary—is no more guaranteed by one method than the other. Tenure of office during good behavior is the only thing that will secure this, and by the side of this the problem as to the special mode of appointment becomes quite secondary. Just so with administrative offices. Appoint how we may, we shall never have a good civil service until our officials hold *quamdiu bene se gesserint;* and this once secured, we may have good service under almost any method of appointment. Indeed, the abuse under this head consists simply in the usurpation by the legislative branch of the Government of functions which the Constitution distinctly confers upon the Executive. The Cincinnati platform, in demanding that the President be left to exercise his legitimate and constitutional powers without interference, appears to offer a sufficient remedy for this abuse, if the President acts on the suggestion.

At first sight, it is true, the remedy seems wholly impracticable. What one man can do the appointing for this vast empire? Must not the President necessarily, in filling local offices, be driven to ask advice of local politicians, and of whom so naturally as members of Congress? To this it may be answered, that a wise system of graded responsibility will secure genuinely executive appointments through the entire hierarchy of office-holders, so that the President, for instance, having appointed the Postmaster-General, this officer may fill the great distributing offices, and the holders of these in their turn may nominate to the country offices. At any rate, seeing that there are always certain States in which the party in power is wholly unrepresented in Congress (as, for instance, at present Delaware), it would seem that the problem is one that even now has to be met. The post-offices, however, furnish an inadequate illustration of the process, because the postmasters have in a great majority of cases to be selected from two or three persons in a village who will consent to fill the office as an adjunct to some other business. Very few are wholly public functionaries.

The real answer to the objection is that, even with our enormous army of officeholders, this necessity for frequent and numerous appointments is a wholly artificial one. If the tenure of office were reasonably secure, if it were not interfered with by short terms and ceaseless removals, the interference of members of Congress in the *appointments* would be scarcely noticed. Every one felt that there was something artificial and unnecessarily complicated in the system proposed by Mr. Jenckes and adopted by the Civil-Service Commission. Competitive examinations are better than nothing, but, after all, they are only a makeshift. We received more than one warning from English experience that they would not be found fully satisfactory in the long run, and when we tried them it was rather in the hope that by means of this temporary expedient we might grow away from the memory of the long-standing abuse, and be ready for something better. The best competitive examination, after all, is actual trial in work; and that is the way in which the railroads and similar corporations obtain their admirably efficient corps of officials.

Now, in discussions upon tenure of office, we are wont to reason as if the whole difficulty arose from removals on partisan grounds; and it is true that this was the beginning of the whole in General Jackson's Administration. But the politicians of that day had a happy faculty of turning the crude theories of *doctrinaires* to their own partisan advantage; and they were not slow in giving the ultra-democratic doctrine of rotation in office a legal basis. Removal from office for political reasons was all very well, but it only came into action upon a change of party; a regular and periodical scramble for office was necessary in order to satisfy the theory. So a law was passed limiting the tenure of certain grades of office to four years. A more ingeniously bad tenure than this could scarcely be devised. It lacks all elements of security and permanence. The framers of the law would, no doubt, have preferred to establish a regular four years' tenure. But this they could not do, because the First Congress had already decided that the power of removal belonged to the President alone, the opinion being at the same time expressed that the exercise of his power upon any but justifiable grounds would be an impeachable offence. The framers of the law could therefore only establish a maximum term—four years—the mininum was the caprice of the Executive. The first step to reform must therefore be the repeal of this law. Artificial vacancies occurring at regular intervals of time afford the chief temptation to a manipulation of the civil service for partisan ends. The repeal of this law would throw the whole responsibility upon the President, where the Constitution, as interpreted by the First Congress, placed it. And even so much as this would be a gain, for the caprice of the Executive would have no more power than now, while the responsibility could no longer be shifted upon a law rigidly fixing a maximum of office.

One provision further, however, is required to prevent abuses, so far as in human institutions they can be prevented. The Executive is invested with full power of removal: let the power be accompanied with an adequate responsibility. The thing to be guarded against is caprice, or removal on insufficient grounds. Let it be required, therefore, that the removal shall be accompanied in every case with a distinct statement of the reasons. No Executive would long venture, after the new system had become familiar to the public, to outrage opinion by the bald assertion of partisan causes for removal from merely administrative offices. With no offices in the civil service filled for definite terms, but with a full power of removal *for definite and assigned cause* on the part of the Executive, there would be hardly any opportunity for illegitimate interference by members of Congress, and, even when such interference took place, it would cause no serious mischief. Neither would there be any necessity for a complicated system of competitive examinations; they might and would improve the civil service by elevating its requirements, but the great evil—its abuse for partisan purposes—would already be at an end. In government on business principles, competitive examinations would not be a final test, but they would have a most useful function, both in raising the character of the service and in sifting the candidates, and thus lessening the labor of the appointing power.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—IX.

THE PUBLIC WORKS OF HOLLAND.

PHILADELPHIA, July 15, 1876.

AMONG the Governments which have taken special pains to give visitors to our Exhibition a clear idea of their national characteristics, none has excelled the little kingdom of the Netherlands. As in no other country does the whole fabric of national prosperity rest so entirely upon the development of its public works, so in the exhibits of no other is so much prominence given to this feature. France, Switzerland, Austria, etc., all include among their national collections most valuable and instructive designs and descriptions relating to their railroads, river and harbor improvements, etc., but these are usually hidden among books and maps, and are only incidents of a display whose more conspicuous parts relate to other branches of industry. The Netherlands Government, realizing both the extent to which its claim for honorable regard rests upon its engineering achievements and the degree to which intelligent visitors must be interested in a careful description of its works, brings them prominently to the front, and with much care and thoroughness makes its engineering processes clear to popular comprehension.

The façade of the Dutch Pavilion is divided into two parts—one devoted to the public works of the Netherlands, and the other to the products of the Dutch colonies; it is the first of these which we now have to consider. Near the front of the home department there is a central tower or post, some six feet in diameter, from which radiate five wings ten or twelve feet long and of about the same height. The sections of the post between the wings, and both sides of the wings themselves, are filled with well-executed drawings concerning the more notable works of railway and hydraulic engineering. In the angles between the wings are tables filled with models and plans, in relief, showing in a more popular way the character of some of the improvements. A careful study of this exhibit, aided by the excellent descriptive catalogue (in English) where their details and statistics are set forth, places within easy reach of the student all that it is possible to learn of the Dutch system of draining, canal-making, etc., without an actual visit to the country; indeed, it is far more effective for this purpose than would be even a careful examination of the completed works themselves without access to the public maps and documents in which their processes are recorded.

A map showing the condition of the provinces of North and South Holland three hundred years ago, when there was much less land than water, and when most of the land was hardly more than a floating swamp, stands in contrast to the map of to-day, when there is absolutely only such water space left as is needed for the southern outlets of the Rhine and for the purposes of interior navigation. The series of maps and documents concerning the reclamation of Haarlem Lake shows how this lake was formed by the gradual running together of several smaller ones, until its great area of forty-three thousand acres not only occupied most valuable space in the very heart of the kingdom, but threatened the adjoining reclaimed country and the cities of Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Leyden with the dangers of a stormy inland sea, whose waves thundered at their very gates and more than once actually invaded their streets. Cross-sections of the encircling dyke and its parallel canal, as constructed over ground of different characters, or through water, are clearly shown; complete working drawings of the ponderous draining engines and pumps are given; and there is shown, besides, the present condition of the fertile, prosperous, and populous district to which these once fatal and threatening waters have for ever given place—a district lying fifteen feet below the level of the sea.

A stone's-throw north of Haarlem Lake there lay, a few years ago, that arm of the Zuyder Zee known as the Y, where more than thirteen thousand acres of salt-water occupied the whole stretch from Amsterdam to the sand-dunes near the coast. A set of drawings shows the condition of the work at its different stages (it is now nearly completed), and the condition which it will finally reach within the present year. Through this old arm of the sea there has been constructed a canal securely protected by dykes—a canal wide enough for a busy traffic, and deep enough to float the Great Eastern, leading straight from Amsterdam to the North Sea, a distance of sixteen miles. At its sea end there is an artificial harbor enclosed within two breakwater piers made of huge blocks of beton resting on an artificial foundation of basalt, and protected against the action of the waves by rocks and beton piled loosely against them. These breakwaters stretch into one of the stormiest seas in the world for a distance of three-quarters of a mile. A little way back from the coast are locks separating the canal from the ocean. East of Amsterdam a dyke with sufficient locks separates it from the Zuyder Zee. Side canals connect the main line with the interior navigation of the country. By this improvement the commerce of Amsterdam is freed from the perils of the Zuyder Zee navigation and saved the long, roundabout course through the old North Holland Canal, with the long return through the North Sea. In addition to this advantage, the whole remaining tract—which until a few years ago was a waste of troublesome water—has been pumped dry, and much of it brought already into profitable cultivation, adding a large new territory to the productive lands in the vicinity of the capital. So complete are the illustrations of this work that any engineer charged with a similar improvement would find every necessary detail clearly set before him, and every curious layman who desires to give form to his vague admiration of Dutch engineering may find here all of the needed instruction. As though this were not enough, there is a large model in relief, showing the differences of elevation, the character of the bottom, the height and condition of the shore and of the sand-dunes, and, indeed, every item of information that an actual inspection of the ground itself would furnish. The catalogue already presented gives the more important mathematical details, dimensions, cost, etc., of the whole work, and there is soon to arrive, for gratuitous distribution among our scientific libraries, a very full and complete account of this and of the other important works of the country.

By the maps and models and descriptions above referred to we are led slowly on to an appreciation of what industry and intelligence may accomplish against the most difficult natural obstacles; but, after all, these only prepare us to understand the new project by which they are all to be eclipsed—that is, the drainage of the great southern sweep of the Zuyder Zee—a sea covering four hundred and eighty thousand acres of land to an average depth of more than twelve feet. An enormous dyke is to be built from Enkhuizen to the Island of Urk, and thence to Kampen, and the whole seven hundred and fifty square miles of sea lying south of that line is then to be pumped out—adding to the little kingdom a large new province, which will soon be teeming with population and crossed right and left by canals and railroads. In addition to the plans and descriptions of this work, there is a capital relief-model on a large scale showing the soundings and the character of the underlying soil, the course of the future lines of communication, etc., etc. This model is the contribution of a private gentleman residing in the bed of the old Haarlem Lake, whose ornamental gardens occupy the former fashionable bathing-ground of Amsterdam. At one corner is the legend:

> "Haarlem Lake is drained,
> And drained is the Y;
> If peace is maintained,
> Zuyder Zee gets dry."

The execution of this project is regarded as a foregone conclusion, and, "if peace is maintained," it will not be long delayed. Studying the Dutch system of drainage from the first windmill pumping of the shallow little Polder—surrounding the artificial mounds occupied by the first population—through the progressive extensions which have led to the drainage of Haarlem Lake and the Y, and which promise to rob the sea of this further great tract, one cannot escape the conviction that, sooner or later, the diluvial islands which skirt the north coast from Groningen to Helder must be erected into a continuous granite-faced dyke bounding only drained and cultivated land. To emphasize the magnitude of these works and the honor they reflect upon the Dutch nation, it is only necessary to step into an adjoining alcove, where upon a large school globe one may see the very insignificant geographical relation which the Netherlands and all their colonies bear to the rest of the world.

The space afforded me is far too small to admit of anything like an adequate description of the many other public works which are so well displayed. This is unfortunate, for nearly all of them are interesting, and by no means to the engineer alone: they cover a field of practical information which is sure to engage the interest of even the casual observer, and it is curious to see how large a proportion of the passing visitors are led by a casual glance at these maps and models to an examination which becomes more and more careful, and which is very apt to end in a real investigation of one branch or other of the subject. The great railroad bridge over the Leck and the Hollands-Diep, built in the face of difficulties which are almost unknown to us; the new river from Rotterdam to the sea with its protecting breakwater; the apparatus for the sinking of bridge-piers by the aid of pneumatic caissons; the great drainage pumps of Fijrye; and the dams across the Scheldt and the Sloe—all, by their real romance of engineering achievements, invite the careful attention of those who are attracted to them at all. One comes almost to the conclusion that, given an area of water and peat and silty mud and sand, plus wind and a drop of old Frisian and

Batavian blood, there will grow up a nation able to accomplish all that has been achieved by the most favored peoples occupying the most fertile and salubrious continent.

Our gratitude to the Dutch Ministry of the Interior gets, perhaps, its crowning touch from a simple model accompanying the plans connected with the new river from Rotterdam to the sea, and from the excellent and well-displayed series of photographs taken at different stages of many of the more important enterprises. The plan shows the construction of the breakwater at the mouth of the Rotterdam channel to be of a series of fascine mattrasses and layers of rock. They look very simple, and it is easy to understand that they may be expected to remain for ever undisturbed by the strong sweep of water along the coast. But, not satisfied with this, our careful instructors give us a model of one of these mattrasses, woven of little grasslike twigs, loaded with ballast, supplied with diminutive anchors and ropes for holding it in place, and with every appliance of its actual execution. Not satisfied even with this, they have placed beside it a section of a mattrass of the natural size, and woven of the osier twigs which are used in practice. Then, among the photographs we see this mattrass anchored over its position and supported around its entire border by ropes attached to the sides of vessels, from which so much ballast has been thrown upon it that it is ready to sink—held up only by the craft which are heeling to the burden from every side. There it hangs until dead low water shall for a moment arrest the current—when the cutting of all the ropes at a given signal allows it to settle quietly to its final resting-place, there to have its little cages of wicker-work filled with stone brought from the Rhine or from Norway, to be smoothed over by men in submarine armor, and made ready to receive the next mattrass and its further burden of rock. One set of photographs shows busy men and engines and pile-drivers and horses at work constructing a foundation far below the level of the sea; another, the unfinished end of a huge lock or an excavation for a dry-dock. The construction of the harbor-works at Harlingen is given in plan and section, and popularly illustrated by photographs taken during the progress of the work, and by a careful model, where the timber-work is faced and protected against the waves by hexagonal bits of beton, imitating the basalt brought from the Rhine, and by carpet-tacks representing the nail-heads which protect the timbers against the attacks of insects.

It would not be too much to say that this exhibit constitutes a school of practical engineering such as has never been presented to the American people. Our only regret concerning it is connected with the probability that after the Exhibition is closed we shall never see its like again, and we wish that it might be possible for the whole collection of plans and models, as they stand, to come into the permanent possession of one of our engineering schools. In any case, these institutions would make a most judicious investment by securing good photographs of the drawings at least.

G. E. W., Jr.

ENGLAND'S EXPECTANT POLICY.

London, June 29, 1876.

At no time within my recollection has political lassitude in respect to matters of domestic policy been so widely developed in this country as it is at present. The session is well-nigh over, and it has produced, and is likely to produce, absolutely nothing. After the spasm of excitement over the Royal Titles Act died away, the House of Commons folded hands and went to sleep. The piquancy of personalities even failed to awaken it from its slumber. An opportunity was presented for a display of folly which at one time promised to be stimulating. A foolish Tory member attempted to bring on a question about the expulsion of a couple of trimming politicians from a political club, and out of this question speeches might have been made for days involving all sorts of private scandals, and publishing to the world many of the details of party management. It was a fine opportunity for whetting a jaded political appetite. Last year, or the year before, the House would have jumped at such a chance of making itself ridiculous; but the humors of a House of Commons change. The present House is now far on in its third year of existence. It may be said to have got well into middle age, for, after all, the average life of a Parliament is not much more than four years. The wild-oats of youth have been sown, and though at times even the staidest old horse will have a fling now and then, still, when he is well broken to harness and has had some experience of the whip, steady dulness is his prominent characteristic. So it is with the present House of Commons. It has settled down to do as little work as it can, and take the longest time possible to do it. It has had its flings, its personalities, its breaches of privilege, and its follies. And so, when Sir William Fraser, the foolish Tory member, tried to bring on a silly motion about the expulsion of two trimmers from the Reform Club, he found that it met with no acceptance. The Speaker—and no one is more jealous of the dignity of the House of Commons than the present Speaker—gave the cue by suggesting technical difficulties in the way of putting the question, and both the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition followed it, and Sir William Fraser, finding his bantling deluged to the skin by the buckets of cold water poured upon it, was thankful to be allowed to withdraw it at the earliest moment from public observation. The Irishmen have been trying to raise a little feeling by the annual airing of their so-called grievances, and to-night they are going to have a full dress-parade upon Mr. Butt's motion for the appointment of a Committee to enquire and report upon their demand for Home Rule; and in reference to this matter a characteristic anecdote is going about the clubs which, if not true, is neatly imagined. It was rumored lately, about the time the Government wished to secure the Irish vote upon the Royal Titles Bill, that Mr. Butt's motion was to be accepted, and the rumor filled the Irish camp with trepidation. "They're going to give me my Committee on Home Rule," the leader of the party is reported to have said. "They are going to give me my Committee. It will be a white elephant to me; but—but—but, by jabers, I'll ride him!" We shall know to-night whether we are to see Mr. Butt bestride the noble animal or not. I fancy he will remain in his stable for this year yet, and give the Irish patriots another summer and autumn to publish their grievances abroad. "Ould Oirland's cup of misery is brimming over," as one of the patriots proclaimed the other day; "it has been brimming over for centuries, and it is not full yet!" We shall have a good deal in that vein to-night, if any but Irishmen be there to hear. But even the best and the worst efforts of Irish eloquence will fail to awaken any interest in the present House of Commons. It is sunk in the depths of political lethargy as regards all matters of internal policy, and will not be aroused. The country acquiesces. Agitators and electioneering agents and party wire-pullers may pipe and play their most seductive strains, but the country will not dance. Efforts were made to get up some excitement about the Slave Circulars, and about the title of Empress, and about the educational proposals of the Government, and about the loss of the *Vanguard*, but these efforts were unavailing. The country, so far as it considered the matters at all, condemned the action of the Government in each and all of them. But it did not care. It could not be bothered with any of these things. They did not take hold of the imagination of the people, and the people would not bestir themselves.

What, then, is the explanation of this state of carelessness as to what is going on inside the Islands? Different people give different explanations. To me it seems that there is an instinctive feeling that the real interests of the country are to be watched not inside but outside the Islands. Just as cattle in a field before a great storm comes on have a way of assembling together with their backs turned towards the direction from which the storm will come, and of standing there half-awake, regardless of their food and regardless of everything that is going on immediately around them, so it seems to me, but this may be fanciful, that the people of this country are awaiting the outburst that now is imminent in the East of Europe. Very many do not know what they are waiting for. They are not straining themselves for any great effort, they are not benumbed, they are hardly watchful. Instinct tells them that a crisis is impending; and though their thoughts are not bent upon the East, they are turned away from home, or at least they cannot be concentrated on home affairs. The crisis is impending, and as soon as it has fairly come on, the full current of the nation's thoughts and interest will flow straight into the stream. It is slow and sluggish now, but it will not be so always. The whole force will be driven upon the war the moment it breaks out, if unhappily it should break out and we find ourselves dragged into it. In the meantime, while negotiations are still pending, the attitude of the country and of the House of Commons is excellent. We know that important events are going on, and that our diplomatists and the heads of our Foreign Office are taking no insignificant share in the conduct of these events. We are curious to know what policy is directing the action of our responsible ministers. We are curious to know what really is going on behind the scenes—how far we are committing ourselves, how far we are acting in conjunction with the other powers, and how far we are playing an isolated part. But although it is within five short weeks of the close of the sitting of Parliament, after which our politicians and statesmen will be scattered to the four winds of heaven, no pressure is put upon the Government to disclose their policy or to take the House and the country into their confidence. There is no attempt to embarrass the Government for party or factious purposes, no attempt to force them to do anything or say anything that they would rather leave undone or unsaid. The Opposition, led by Lord Hartington and Lord Granville,

have exercised patriotic reserve, and have treated their opponents with praiseworthy generosity during the whole course of the negotiations, and this generosity towards opponents in critical times of foreign policy is one of the most pleasing traits of English political life. Party differences and factious disturbances are always set aside when the energies of the Ministry are taxed by matters of European interest. The Ministry gets fair play, and is supported even through its faults by the Opposition until the crisis is past—and then comes the retribution, and the country rises up in its wrath and dismisses the faltering Ministry without mercy.

The present times are critical, and the Ministry is allowed full swing to carry out its policy, if it has one. No one outside the Cabinet has an inkling as to what is going on. Two facts alone are ascertained—the presence of our fleet in Besika Bay and our refusal to sign the last Berlin Note. What these facts betoken we do not know, and we do not yet enquire. The difficulty which the Government has to meet is this : it has to thwart any designs of Russia upon Constantinople, and it has to do so without alienating the Christian races. It has to appear to be the friend of the Moslemites and the friend of the Christians at the same time. But for our dread of Russian designs upon Constantinople, and our knowledge of Russian intrigue to foment the revolution in order to carry out these designs, our sympathies would be entirely anti-Moslemite. A nation that sympathized with the Poles, and with the Hungarians, and with the Italians, and with every other oppressed nationality which has struggled against despotism during the present century, could never hesitate as to which side it would take in the struggle which is just commencing. But the aggrandizing designs of Russia, and the underhand part diplomatists have been playing among these Eastern states, have, for the time at least, dried up the natural fountain-head of our sympathies. Our Ministry, therefore, have to order their policy so as to guide our better nature and our political interests into one channel. It is no easy task. It requires the caution of Lord Derby and the dash of Mr. Disraeli, but they must both be wisely regulated. If we are too cautious, we shall be left out in the cold and isolated. If we are wild or fanciful, we shall be at the throat of Russia, backing up the effete despotism of Turkey. The stirring-up of the Christian races is the cleverest stroke that Russian policy has played, but it is a trifle dangerous. If the Christians succeed, the confederation which must come out of their successes will be a formidable barrier between Russia and the prize she has so long coveted. If they fail, and the Turks be victorious, foreign intervention must ensue. Germany and Austria will be consulted ; and it does not seem probable that Germany would wish to see the Danube transformed into a Russian river, or that Austria would regard with complacency the presence of Russian cohorts on her flank. In neither eventuality is it likely that Russia will draw the prize.

Correspondence.

SOME TIMELY ENQUIRIES.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : As a Republican, I am pleased to know that you find some cause for satisfaction in the letter of acceptance of Gov. Hayes. As there are some points on which I am in some doubt, I take the liberty of asking the following questions :

1. Can Gov. Hayes possibly be sincere when he endorses the present Administration by approving the resolutions of the Convention which nominated him, and when he declares for civil-service reform ? And if not, which declaration may we rely upon as embodying his real sentiments ?

2. Is not the spectacle of a Cabinet minister acting as chairman of a party campaign committee, and taking charge of the canvass for the party, in itself a great civil-service scandal ?

3. When the canvass for a Presidential candidate is entrusted to a man as chief manager whose position as a Cabinet officer, under any proper civil service, would preclude his meddling with it, and who notoriously for years has scorned and ridiculed civil-service reform, is not the fact a more reliable indication of the kind of civil-service reform we shall have in case of success than any mere promises of the candidate can possibly be ? In other words, when a party resolves for a reform through a certain election, and then proposes to effect the election by a method which makes the resolve a mockery, does not this promise a continuance of scandals rather than reformation ?

4. When, after the election, President Hayes calls upon Mr. Chandler as a subordinate to reform his ways, and Mr. Chandler replies, "It was *I* who took charge of this election and made it a success, and it was *I*, as an individual and as a member of Grant's Cabinet, whose ways the people approved, and not those of the 'Great Unknown,' who was selected as a mere standard-bearer under my general command"—what can the President reply to it ?

Anxiety.

MR. HOLLY'S PAPERS IN *HARPER'S MAGAZINE*.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : A correspondent in your issue of June 26 complains of my "adapting" too freely from English authors and artists in my article on "Modern Dwellings" in *Harper's Magazine*. It is true that I made extensive use of Eastlake's works and those of other authors, but it was my intention wherever I did so to give full credit. If I failed in any case to do so, it was through inadvertence.

Some of my designs were copied from Messrs. Cox & Son's advertising catalogue. I mentioned their names in this connection, but did not give them as ample credit as seemed to me to be proper. Discovering this after my second article was printed, I wrote to their agent, promising to make whatever reparation I could. I found it impossible to do this in the subsequent articles, as they were in a part of the *Magazine* that was already stereotyped. I then promised to give them credit in my forthcoming book. The Messrs. Harper also gave them credit in their *Weekly*. The omission of credit in the first instance was not designed, and no one regrets it more than I do.

Yours respectfully,

H. Hudson Holly.

New York, July 14, 1876.

LITERARY COMITY.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : Does the notice, "*All rights reserved*," on the title-page of a publication convey any intimation which other publishers are bound in law or courtesy to respect ?

I will particularize. Not long ago there appeared in a periodical published in England and the United States, and bearing on its title-page the above notice, an article in which were contained sundry unknown, or almost unknown, pieces by an American poet dead many years ago. The writer of the article sent me advance-sheets, transferred all his rights to me, and requested me for certain sufficient reasons to copyright these poems. This I did, covering them with a publisher's copyright.

So soon as the periodical containing them was published, a daily paper of some repute, disregarding the notice on the title-page, transferred these poems to its columns as if they were public property.

About the law there is no question ; but the point on which I wish to be informed is this : Am I right or wrong in considering this action a violation of literary comity ?—I am, sir, etc.,

Wm. Hand Browne.

Baltimore, July 11, 1876.

THE HUE-AND-CRY AGAINST THE INDIANS.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The destruction of General Custer and his command must be regarded as a calamity to the Indians as well as to the nation. It precipitates anew upon the tribes concerned the awakened wrath of the American people ; it aggravates the difficulties of our Indian affairs, at all times great enough ; and it reveals the fact that the intelligence of the Government has not been equal to the management of these affairs. This last statement has been true from and including the Administration of General Jackson.

The press are now opening upon the Indians generally, and with a hue-and-cry in particular for the extermination of those tribes who have dared to raise their hands against the gallant soldiers of the Republic, who were in the field in obedience to its commands. The views of our official teachers of the press have at least the merit of going to the bottom of the question. That dead men give no trouble is an adage as true of Indians as of other men. Moreover, it is an advantage to start with a form of statement strongly against the Indians. The destruction of General Custer and his command is pronounced a massacre by some of these journals. The term thus used precludes extenuation ; for a massacre is a slaughter with undiscriminating violence, without authority or necessity, and contrary to the usages of nations. No one could raise his voice in behalf of Indians who have committed such an act. But what are the facts in this case ? General Custer, at the head of three hundred cavalry, rode into an Indian encampment of twenty-five hundred Indian warriors, and without preliminaries, as we must suppose, commenced an attack. He intended to rout this encampment, men, women, and children, and kill all who resisted without hesitation and without remorse. Unfortunately for General Custer and his

men, they encountered the bravest and most determined Indians now living in America. They were surrounded and defeated, so that not a man escaped. They experienced the precise fate they intended for the Indians. We admire the gallantry of General Custer and his men; we mourn their loss; but who shall blame the Sioux for defending themselves, their wives and children, when attacked in their own encampment and threatened with destruction? This calamity is simply a chance of war—of a war waged by our Government upon these Indians, nothing more and nothing less. For its moral character we must look to the motives which prompted our Government in its commencement.

There are some eight or ten tribes of the Sioux or Dakotas now living between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, in the area from Platte River on the south to the country of the Crow Indians on the north. They were forced upon the Plains from their original homes on the headwaters of the Mississippi, and between this river and the Missouri, by the advancing tide of white settlers who demanded their lands. Minnesota was formed out of their possessions. They were thus compelled to change their country as well as their plan of life, and from settlements more or less permanent in villages to live in roving camps on the Plains. Having learned to raise horses in herds, they are now mounted and nomadic tribes, living in tents and following the herds of wild buffalo, upon which they depend almost exclusively for subsistence. They raise nothing by cultivation. Buffalo-meat, fresh and dried, coffee and tobacco, which they obtain with their annuities or by barter of their furs and skins, make up their principal subsistence. Without a supply of buffalo-meat adequate to their wants, they would perish from hunger. Such is their present condition and their precarious means of living. During the last ten years, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills attracting white settlers, the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the constant marching of military forces and of Government exploring parties through their country, have endangered their subsistence by disturbing the wild herds of buffaloes on their ranges and turning them in other directions. This disturbance is with the Indians a matter of life and death. These and other questions enter into the great problem of the affairs of the Indians of the Plains, and increase its difficulties.

The war now being prosecuted against a portion of the Dakota tribes was commenced deliberately by the Government. In this article I shall not discuss the right or wrong of the matter. Suffice it to say, that in 1868 a treaty was made with several of the Dakota tribes, by which they sold to the Government their entire country west of the Missouri, excepting the Black Hills country, with certain stipulations for their benefit and toward their maintenance. The tribes assenting to the treaty agreed to remove to this reservation. Sitting Bull, who defeated General Custer, and the chiefs of some of the other tribes, refused their assent to this treaty, and, consequently, are not bound by it. But the Government took a different view of the matter, upon grounds not very apparent, and caused notice to be given to these chiefs and their tribes that unless they removed to this reservation by January 1, 1876, they would be treated as hostile Indians. It was equivalent to saying that they must now accept the treaty, *nolens volens*, or its acceptance would be compelled by force. They disregarded the notification, whence the powerful force sent against them, of which that of General Custer was a fraction. Before the summer is over, we may expect to hear of the destruction of the great body of these unreasoning and unreasonable Indians, who refuse to treat for the surrender of their lands upon terms they could not approve, and whose extermination may be regarded by some as a merited punishment. The good name of our country cannot bear many wars of this description.

A graver objection is the absence of intelligence and judgment in the management of our Indian affairs. It is not so much an objection to the present system as the absence for the last fifty years of anything that could be called a system. The subject has never received the attention it ought to have received, because its importance in a moral, as well as economic, sense has never been appreciated. It would not have been a mistake fifty years ago if a department of Indian affairs had been created; it would not be a mistake to create such a department now and place it in the hands of one of the first men in the nation. Something of this kind is needed to extricate our country from the disgrace and the reproach which are falling upon it from our failure to perform intelligently our public duty to this unfortunate and declining race. The annual appropriation for Indian objects is now in excess of five millions of dollars. It is a large sum, which, under an intelligent system and in the hands of honest men, could have accomplished much good. Indian appropriation bills have never been criticised or objected to by the American people. They are willing, even anxious, that the Government should deal liberally and generously with the Indian race, whose gradual destruction seems to be the inevitable result of American progress. They would approve and commend any measure which tended to mitigate their hardships and to improve their condition. But notwithstanding the large expenditures the system of Indian management, if it can be called a system, has been a total failure. At times it has been corrupt. It aims to deal with difficulties as they arise by temporary expedients instead of forecasting these difficulties and preventing their occurrence.

What we need at the present time is a factory system for the tribes on reservations, which I may perhaps discuss in a subsequent letter; and a pastoral system for the wild tribes of the Plains. The last is peculiarly adapted to the Dakota tribes. Although these tribes depend mainly upon animal food, it seems never to have occurred to the Government to induce them to rear herds of domestic cattle as a substitute for the buffaloes, which in due time would afford them a permanent as well as abundant meat and milk subsistence. This experiment would not be free from difficulties, as it would involve an entire change in their plan of life. Their herds must be wintered, either by driving them south towards the Indian Territory or by making hay in the summer in the vicinity of their camps. But it is plain that where the buffaloes can live in millions in the wild state, domestic cattle can be raised in millions with the superadded care of herdsmen. Moreover, tribes who can raise and winter herds of horses can be taught to raise and winter herds of cattle. The Indians have already learned to raise horses in herds, which requires more skill and care than to raise the former. Until they have learned that the increase of the herd can be made to yield them all the meat they need, it would be necessary for the Government to own the stock and to furnish herdsmen to instruct them in their care and maintenance. A few years of intelligent and persevering effort would solve the problem in the Indian mind; and when the art was learned his future would be assured. As a pastoral people on the great central Plains, there is every reason to belive that these Indian tribes would become wealthy, independent, and contented, and that in time they would furnish us with meat from their superabundance. This is a far higher destiny than that now immediately before them.

The recent treaty with the Dakota tribes, as we understand, requires the Government to furnish them with cattle for their daily consumption. The experiment of teaching them how to raise their own supply would be economical, if no other reason existed. Their reservation is west of the meridian of arable land on the Plains. There is, therefore, not the slightest probability that they will ever become cultivators of land. If the Government expects to feed them in perpetuity, in order to keep them on the reservation, it is a senseless and discreditable scheme. It has become a saying in Indian Government circles "that it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them." This may be true, but it is not the less disgraceful, because such a conclusion should have suggested the remedy.

If the Government thirty years ago had inaugurated a pastoral system among these tribes, the present disasters would not have occurred; and if they undertake it now they will remove the cause of future difficulties which are likely to spring from the same uncertainty of subsistence.

LEWIS H. MORGAN.

ROCHESTER, July 10, 1876.

Notes.

HURD & HOUGHTON are about to issue a new and revised edition of Dr. Morrill Wyman's work on 'Autumnal Catarrh'; a cheap and popular reprint of Broom's 'Philosophy of the Law'; and a red-line edition of the 'Poetical Works of Alice and Phœbe Cary.'——In the *American Architect* for July 8 we notice its first employment of the heliotype from nature. The subject is the porch of a well-known warehouse in Boston. The effectiveness and utility of this kind of print, as compared with the customary black-and-white reproductions in the same journal, are well shown here, inasmuch as the original pen-and-ink elevation of the entire building is also given, and it would be impossible even for an architect to infer from it the true character and real beauty of the detail in question. ——The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July is a self-styled centenary number. It opens with a sketch of Samuel Adams, accompanying an engraving of his portrait by Copley, and for the rest it abounds in hitherto unpublished autograph letters of prominent actors in the Revolution. Gen. Knox's diary during his Ticonderoga expedition, and the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis's recollections of that worthy commander, are particularly pleasant reading. —— The set of 'War Etchings,' by Edwin Forbes, recently exhibited at the galleries of the Army and Navy and Union League Clubs have been prepared for sale, and are to be offered throughout the country.

—The appearance of *Appalachia* (Vol. I., No. 1, June, 1876) betokens great vigor and promise in the association of which it is the organ—namely, the Appalachian Mountain Club, founded early in the present year "for the advancement of the interests of those who visit the mountains of New England and adjacent regions, whether for the purpose of scientific research or summer recreation." The Club has its headquarters in Boston, and among its officers are several well-known scientists connected with the Institute of Technology and with the Society of Natural History. The president is Prof. Edward C. Pickering; the vice-president, Mr. Samuel H. Scudder; the secretary and treasurer, Messrs. J. B. Henck, jr., and H. F. Walling; while the councillors embrace Professors T. Sterry Hunt and C. H. Hitchcock—the latter the State Geologist of New Hampshire—Mr. L. F. de Pourtales, and others. This is a strong directory; and one has only to read the reports—of course in the nature of programmes—of the five councillors to be assured that the work of the association will be of the greatest advantage to New England, and highly honorable to its scientific spirit. Each councillor is at the head of a separate department—viz., natural history, topography, art, exploration, or improvements—and is charged with the laying out of plans for the summer, and with reporting what has been done accordingly. The Art department looks to the establishment, in time, of a gallery of illustrative views of scenery by photograph, free-hand drawing, and other forms of pictorial representation, and to collections of books, maps, and documents, which will make the rooms of the Club a delightful resort. The department of Improvements will have charge of the making of new paths, the restoring of old ones, the establishment of camps, the clearing of points of view, etc., etc. The other departments explain themselves. In short, the Club is—uniting both scientific and popular aims and confining its attention to a limited area—a geographical society of the best sort. We have no doubt that its membership will increase rapidly. The annual fee is but two dollars, and women as well as men may be enrolled. In a list of one hundred and ten members, nearly one-eighth belong to the gentler sex, who, if they intend to be active members in the sense of climbing and exploring, have abundant precedents for it. The publication before us consists of the reports of committees and of councillors, the minutes of proceedings at the meetings of the Club, and the papers read there. It is illustrated by two plates of profiles, showing Tripyramid, N. H., from eleven different points of view, and by a sketch-map of New Hampshire, marking the Club's division of it into seventeen districts (A–Q), with the conventional numbering of the peaks. "It is proposed to undertake a survey of the White Mountain region, preparatory to the construction of an accurate topographical map, on a scale of 1-20000 [about three inches to the mile], with contour lines at intervals of every twenty metres." A. Williams & Co., Boston, are the Club's publishers.

—The Rev. George E. Ellis, city orator of Boston on occasion of the Evacuation festivities, tells us in the *Unitarian Review* how carefully he rewrote his whole address, and how he pondered long before striking out a passage suggesting whether, after a hundred readings of the Declaration of Independence, it was not time to sink that regular feature of our Fourth-of-July celebrations. He now argues that the Declaration was a temporary manifesto rather than a permanent state-paper, and designed to precipitate the crisis which all saw to be inevitable; that to emphasize the necessity of independence it was made a "bill of indictment against His Majesty George III." alone; that it made no allowance for his duty as a sovereign towards revolted provinces, nor for his obligations to the loyalists whom he had promised to protect, nor for the fact that he was from the first "fatally and irretraceably misled" by a group of native crown officials with "a Boston-born governor, a communicant of a Puritan church, a graduate of Harvard" at their head; and that on the whole it painted the king blacker than we now know to have been just. Dr. Ellis thinks that sufficient stress has not been laid by historians on the transition "from a previously forbearing, respectful, and even affectionate manner of speaking of and to the king" to the "sudden outpouring of wrath and reproach against him" in the Declaration; proof that the document was drawn up to serve the ends of the hour, and to make all hope of a compromise futile. All this strikes us as sound and sensible, and if it were otherwise there would still, we think, be a reason for dropping the reading of the Declaration hereafter: no one not a student of American history can listen to it nowadays without feeling the need of *pièces justificatives* to interpret it. The sounding charges fall dead when the incidents on which they were based are forgotten; and as these are certain to be more and more forgotten in the same ratio that they become more easy to forgive, it does not require much abnegation to do what Dr. Ellis proposes.

—The grounding of the steamer *Morgan City* at the head of the South Pass of the Mississippi on the 4th of July was duly announced in the New Orleans papers of the 6th, but has not been telegraphed so widely as was the successful passage of other ocean steamers not many weeks ago by the same route. The *Morgan City* drew fourteen feet three inches forward, and fifteen feet two inches aft. Major Comstock's third report on the progress of Capt. Eads's work (up to May 1) in a measure prepares one for such news. An island divides the head of the Pass into two entrances, an east and a west. In June, 1875, a vessel drawing 14 feet of water could be taken through the east entrance; now, one drawing more than 9 feet would ground. This sudden shoaling may have arisen from other causes, but Major Comstock gives good reasons for thinking it due to a jetty three-fifths of a mile long which continues the east bank out into the main stream with a view to increasing the scour of the Pass. The scour of the west entrance, however, he says, is not comparable with the shoaling in the east entrance; and it was in the former, we take it, that the *Morgan City* went aground. Coming to the mouth of the Pass, where there are two parallel jetties, of which the eastern is some 12,000 feet long, the scour again seems to have disappointed the contractor, for he has driven spurs of piling at right angles to the jetties on opposite sides, and has tried artificial stirring up of the bottom with chains and rakes both at the mouth and at the head of the Pass. The bar at the end of the jetties "seems subject to considerable changes in short periods. In the soundings of May 3, Captain Brown found a least depth in channel of 15 feet. On May 10 and 11 I ran," says Major Comstock, "numerous lines of soundings across the bar, but failed to find more than 13½ feet on any lines. I was informed that between Captain Brown's soundings and mine a strong southeast wind had blown for several days, which may have caused the shoaling. A few additional soundings on May 28, by Mr. Parmely, indicated that, from scour and raking, the depth on the bar had again increased to 16½ feet." What Major Comstock has to say further, about the advance of the outer face of the bar at the ends of the jetties, and the simultaneous advance of a stretch of deep water just beyond it and of the shoal in which this terminates; and about the instability of the piles and mattrasses as at present constructed and resting on a treacherous bottom, should make our expectations of Captain Eads's ultimate success very moderate, and Congress very cautious in paying for the work alleged to be accomplished.

—The Phillips collection of engravings, stated to number about seventy thousand, is now deposited in a couple of rooms at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, and its arrangement is rapidly approaching a completed state under the charge of its curator, Mr. Whipple. This is a reference-collection, not a connoisseur's collection, and by the donor's intelligent care—indexing and classification having gone on together along with collecting—an applicant can consult almost any known print as easily as a word in the dictionary; to find a print, however, of which only the subject and the author of the original painting are known, is less simple, no provision having been made for reference to the painters copied from. The works of a given engraver, preceded by the best portrait of himself, are gummed into volumes, each print attached to a firm mount, playing on a hinge or stub of tough thin paper at the edge, with an arrangement for extracting or inserting these stubs, which are screwed together at the back. The additions, or fresh "states" of an engraving, thus always remain of easy insertion. As many as six states of a plate are frequently found in chronological order, usually beginning with the engraver's preparatory etchings, for which the collector had a particular hobby. Mr. John Smith Phillips, a retired manufacturer, began the purchase of prints forty years ago, and up to his recent death made their collecting the subject of all his leisure and of many voyages. The set of Raphael Morghens is quite extraordinary, comprising nearly all his early works and educational studies. Of Longhi the set is complete, excepting two plates. Bolswert is very strongly represented. Londonio's pastoral groups are found in many states, sometimes heightened with white paint on a tinted paper. The splendid English mezzotints of the Reynolds period are imperfectly represented. In matters of great rarity, such as some of the Rembrandts, Dürers, and Schoens, there is less desire shown to present a brilliant state than to make the general list of subjects complete, thus sacrificing the connoisseur's vanity to the deliberate purpose of the collection as a mass of documents for the reference of students. Hardly a known engraving is absent, and the most experienced expert cannot examine the folios without finding many rarities completely unknown to him—recondite curiosities, experiments of the burin, hardly to be seen elsewhere unless in the Paris Bibliothèque or the British Museum. The Rembrandts are remarkably complete, the more unattainable ones in degraded states, but the mass of them in sufficiently brilliant conditions to give pleasure and do justice to the master; only an aquatint represents his most poetical conception—a drawing of the Supper at Emmaus, with the disappearance of Christ represented by a globe of light playing just

over his chair in the sight of the amazed disciples ; of this there is no etching known. Only a prolonged study can do justice to a mass of prints so enormously representative ; a day is hardly enough to give to the original etchings by French painters, in which *essais de main* the collection is extraordinarily rich ; and an afternoon is quite insufficient to unravel the "Caprices" of Goya, with their odd fancies—moth-winged jockeys flying through the night ; Spanish belles with muffs and mantillas crouched on a dead branch in the snowy sky ; dying soldiers bagged by the *chiffonier* Death ; two-headed monsters, three-eyed spectres, drawn in a style often so strangely similar to that of the Japanese Hoku-sai. The conferring of this collection on the Academy, with a fund for care-taking and increasing, shows how the construction of a decent, fire-safe building is the best argument to persuade, out of nervous or finical or hypochondriac connoisseurs, their hoarded treasures.

—If Death had aimed to remove the representative woman of England —as lately of France, in the person of George Sand—Harriet Martineau would doubtless have been selected. She was, though forced by ill-health into comparative retirement of late years, strictly a contemporary of the more brilliant, more imaginative Frenchwoman, being only two years her senior ; and they stand in rather striking contrast to each other when it is remembered that Miss Martineau's ancestors were Huguenot refugees who settled at Norwich, England, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Mme. Sand's irregular and passionate pedigree, ending in the single life of a grass widow—if we may be allowed the term—finds its very opposite in the descent of Miss Martineau. The Huguenot severity of morals, transplanted to the congenial soil of England, produced a family whose regularity is proved by the fact that the profession of surgeon, beginning with the founder, was handed down in it for every generation to Miss Martineau's ; her uncle, who gave her her education, attaining a provincial eminence. At the time when (1831) Mme. Dudevant was arranging a separation from her husband, Miss Martineau, who had already made her mark as a writer of religious and practical works having a distinct social bearing, began her popular series of tales illustrative of political economy. In 1834 she visited the United States, staying long enough to master fully the political situation. In Washington and elsewhere she received the most gratifying attentions, but her views on the question of slavery led her to seek the society of the Abolition leaders, and the friendships thus formed were among the strongest and most cherished to her dying day. To her most intimate friend on this side, Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, she entrusted, we believe, her autobiography, which will doubtless soon be given to the world. Already an obituary notice, prepared by herself some twenty years ago, has appeared in the London *Daily News*, a journal to which she was a frequent editorial contributor. One looks in vain, indeed, for a parallel to this remarkable woman as a moulder of public opinion through the press and through printed works. A sister of the Rev. James Martineau, and, like him, at one time a Unitarian, she afterwards experienced such a change of views as to undertake an abridgment of Comte's 'Positive Philosophy.' She also wrote a 'History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace,' 'Eastern Life' (the result of Eastern travel in 1846), and numerous works of fiction. She died June 27.

—From the 20th of March to the 2d of May, 1874, as our readers will remember, a commission of the Chinese Government was engaged in investigating the condition of the coolies in Cuba. This commission consisted of two Englishmen, A. Macpherson and A. Huber, commissioners of customs, and of Ch'ên Lanpin, their chief. Their report, in an English and a French version, has now been published at Shanghai, and may be summed up by saying that it furnishes a fresh chapter in the world's history of slavery and the slave-trade. The Commission's instructions took the shape of fifty questions, in answering which the testimony of a cloud of witnesses is given—testimony of the same nature and as irrefragable as that contained in the 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.' It appears from this dismal recital that eight-tenths of the coolies examined declared they had been decoyed or kidnapped from their native country ; that if they signed any contracts they were forced into doing so by the most disgusting penalties ; that they were deceived about the nature of the service to which they bound themselves, and the kind of wages they were to receive, and even were induced to sign contracts ostensibly in place of absentees. "I asked where Havana was," says one, "and was told that it was the name of a vessel. I, in consequence, thought I was being engaged for service on board ship, and signed the contract." Says another : "At the time of signing the contract, I was told that one foreign year equalled six Chinese months." More than 140,000 Chinese sailed thus for Cuba ; more than 16,000 perished on the way. "On board 300 died from thirst" ; "sometimes a dollar was paid for two cups of water" ; "when thirst forced us all to go on deck in search of water, the master, regarding us as mutinous, discharged fire-arms and killed 40 men" ; "the surgeon struck all who complained of sickness" ; "five men who rose at night to relieve nature were shot by the sailors" ; "I am the only child of my parents, and was in great grief ; yet no one regarded me. During the voyage one man killed himself." The number of suicides by jumping overboard and otherwise was very great. The horrors of the middle passage were all repeated. Arrived in Cuba, the persons of the immigrants were exposed to intending purchasers as if they were already slaves. The importer's profit averaged from $200 to $300 per capita. Incomparably the larger number (nine-tenths) passed from the barracoons to the sugar plantations, and their fate far surpasses in hardship that of the remainder. "We are dealt with as dogs, horses, or oxen, badly fed, and deprived of rest, so that a single day becomes a year." A day's labor, by law not to exceed ten hours, often amounts to twenty-one ; Sunday, by law allowed for rest, is wholly or in part a working day like the rest. "During the entire year we are not permitted to wash our clothes. If, when at leisure, we do so and are seen by the negroes, we are chained and beaten."

—Space would fail us to enumerate all the forms of cruelty perpetrated on these unhappy victims of cupidity. Their slavery is complete, while all the delusive provisions of the Spanish Government for complaints of ill-treatment or violation of contract to a so-called Spanish Protector and the Cuban officials, are as ineffectual as they were doubtless intended to be. At the expiration of the eight years of service a fresh contract must either be made, or the coolie is sent to the "dépôt" for runaway slaves, where, without the pretence of wages, he is kept at work on the roads in a chain-gang, perhaps for years. The plantation presently seems more tolerable than this, and the jail than either. "I have now been over three years in the dépôt. We have to endure endless hardships. I am now sixty-six years old, and I beg that you will procure me a mendicant's pass, so that I may go out and beg for food. The change would revive me." One can fancy the feelings with which the commissioners listened, helplessly, to appeals like this, or, having before them men showing the scars of attempted suicide, heard others testify : "At the end of the eight years no cedula was supplied to me, and I was forced to work for another term of four years. A few days ago I asked my master for a cedula, and was told by him that I had to serve for other six years. *If this be the case, suicide is the best course open to me.*" Or again : "My master daily beats me, and yesterday flogged me with great severity. Five months have now elapsed, during which no wages have been issued to me. On account of this and the other ill usage, I requested a fellow-workman to, on my behalf, lay a complaint before the officials. He has done so on three occasions, and in each instance it has been rejected, and I have thus to go on laboring ; whilst if I ask for wages the threat of chaining is made. *I in all earnestness now meditate suicide.*" The means are at hand : "I saw a Cantonese throw himself into a well, a Fukienese throw himself into a sugar caldron, and a native of Swatow cut his throat. Besides, eight Cantonese hanged themselves."

—The reading of this report would do much, we fancy, by awakening pity for the Cuban Chinese, to modify the feelings now aroused against the Chinese in this country even on the Pacific coast. Long as is the step between the political and even the politico-economic objection to Mongolian immigration to the United States, and the brute prejudice which can only express itself in mob violence, there is a tendency on the part of the philanthropic to confound the two ; and one of the uses (not the least) of a narrative like this may be to convince them of their error by eliciting sympathy in quarters where it was supposed not to exist. The report may also serve to call attention to the fact that while the Chinese immigration to our shores is conducted as if it were purely voluntary, and is attended by no horrors upon the ocean, it is nevertheless a sort of labor traffic whose machinery has never been brought to light. The coolies whose transportation is paid for in advance by the Six Companies do not at once, as employers in the Pacific States well know, begin to contract for and receive wages as independent laborers. An intermediary contracts and receives for them until, presumably, the passage-money has been repaid with interest. Ultimately, we find them individually free to all appearance.

THIBET.*

IT is pleasant to find one's self travelling—in one's easy chair, be it understood—in a country that has not yet been vulgarized by railways and shot over by English sportsmen, and which can be reached only at the risk of one's life. We well remember the respect we felt once for a traveller who

* 'Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of

had been at Constantinople, the awe almost that was struck into our souls at the sight of one that had been in Egypt, had seen the Pyramids, and even brought home a mummy. All that is long since gone by. Steam and the electric telegraph have disenchanted the world and left the imagination small room to run riot in. We shall soon know what are the soundings at the North Pole. Africa will briefly be triangulated and mapped out, and the great Timbuctoo and Capetown Railway, with branches to the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, have its shares quoted on 'Change. It is no longer a question

"—gens si qua jacet nascenti conscia Nilo."

No gryphon will ever again pursue the Arismaspian to the shores of the frozen sea in pursuit of his guarded gold, and amber will never drop again from the eyes of the sorrowing sea-bird. Sheffield cutlery and Lowell calicoes will flow like a sea over benighted Africa. The paradisiacal innocence which now broods over that continent and forbids its sons and daughters to know that they are naked will be hidden under a cloud of Manchester prints and Lawrence long-cloths. Du Chaillu will no more assist at weddings like the one he describes in his travels, where "the bride was very simply dressed—in fact, she was not dressed at all." And this reminds us that the ancients were not so backward in matters of travel as we suppose, inasmuch as Hanno the Carthaginian had seen the gorilla twenty-four centuries before Du Chaillu, and Herodotus had heard from African explorers of the two lakes which are the fountains of the Nile. And Professor William Everett lately, in a paper read before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, maintained that Aeschylus had heard from some precursor of Livingstone of the Zambesi. Indeed, African travel was as easy and safe twenty-three hundred years ago as now, if not easier, since Christian slave-dealers had not then aroused a barbarous prejudice against their race.

Thibet—or as this book spells the good old word, Tibet—is as yet one of the few Indian countries which have not been overrun either by English troops or English tourists. But half-a-dozen Englishmen have ever set foot upon its soil, and but one has been allowed to enter the sacred city of Lhasa and to gaze on the holy face of the Grand Lama. The access to the country, either from the north by way of China, or from the south by the fearful passes of the Himalayas, is too difficult and dangerous to tempt even English tourists and mountain-climbers to attempt the adventure. The barriers of the Himalayas are made doubly dangerous by the barbarous tribes which possess the intermediate territory of Bootan, while the jealousy of the Chinese Government throws all but insurmountable obstacles in the way of travellers through their domain. But the poverty of the country itself is perhaps its greatest safeguard from incursions from the side of Hindostan. Gold is found in moderate quantities, and musk (for the musk-deer is one of the inhabitants of their mountains) and wool make the chief articles which the Thibetans have to offer in exchange for the objects of commerce they most affect. In former times, before the growth of the British power had excited the fears of their weaker neighbors, there was a considerable commerce carried on between Thibet and Bengal. These apprehensions and the occupation of the passes of the Himalayas by the Ghorkas more than a century ago, have effectually closed all communication between the two countries. Warren Hastings conceived the idea, something more than a century since, of reopening the commerce with Thibet thus interrupted, and the journey of Mr. Bogle was taken in the idea of bringing this about. He seems to have been a man formed by nature for this kind of diplomacy, and he formed the most friendly personal relations with the Teshu Lama, only inferior in rank to the Dalai or Grand Lama as an incarnation of the Divinity. But he was not allowed to proceed to the capital, and the scheme of Hastings came to nothing. Mr. Bogle's most interesting narrative itself remained in the hands of his family as a private treasure for a hundred years, and has but just been made the property of the public through the intelligent interposition of Mr. Markham. The whole story of his adventures is as lively and picturesque as well can be, and tells us more of that strange land and its strange religion and inhabitants than we can find elsewhere in so authentic a shape.

But the traveller for whom we must confess that we feel the warmest regard, as being indeed an earlier acquaintance, is Thomas Manning, who penetrated to Thibet, and even reached the capital and the presence of the Grand Lama, near forty years after the expedition of Mr. Bogle; for we knew him as a dear friend and correspondent of Charles Lamb, whose letters to him are marked by all the delicious whims and humors of which he was compact. He remonstrated with Manning on his frantic scheme of verifying the tale of "him who left half-told the story of Cambuscan bold." "Believe me," he says, "there are no such things. A horse of brass never flew; a king's daughter never talked with birds. These are all tales. Take hellebore; pray to avoid the fiend; read no more books of voyages—they are nothing but lies." But it was of no use. Lamb's advice went the way of most good counsel. The fiend was not to be resisted, and he carried Manning away over high mountains into Thibet, disguised as a Chinese, and landed him at last in the holy city of Lhasa, and brought him face to face with the authentic incarnation of Buddha, the infallible head of the most numerous body of religionists in the world. Thibet and its metropolis had been visited in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Jesuit missionaries, sent thither by the rival infallibility of Rome. Catholic missions were maintained at intervals down to about 1760, when the missionaries were sent out of the country. But Manning was the first and only Englishman that ever trod the sacred ground or gazed on the incarnate deity. Within the last century the Moravians, the most zealous and courageous of proselytizers next to the Catholics, have made some attempts at establishing missions near the Thibetan territory. One such still exists at Lahaul, on British territory, from whence it is hoped they may be allowed to pass over into Thibet. M. Jäsche, one of these brethren, is the highest authority in Europe on the Thibetan language, and is now engaged in the preparation of a Thibetan and English dictionary.

Mr. Manning dwells at some length on what is indeed obvious to the most casual observer—the resemblance of the Thibetan Buddhism to Roman Catholicism in its observances and ceremonies. An infallible head, a holy army of monks and of nuns vowed to poverty and chastity—or at least to celibacy—the use of the rosary, pilgrimages, chanting of the liturgy, accompanied by music, burning of incense, the use of the bell during service, and some other particularities, make up a strong case of coincidence, if of nothing more, in support of the theory of some archæologists that the Catholic ritual and hierarchy go back to India, the mother of the human race, and date from an epoch far anterior to Christianity or Judaism. The Thibetan method of continuing the succession of incarnations of Buddha is much to be preferred to that by which the Catholic Church ascertains the divine appointment of the infallible successor of St. Peter. Instead of a number of elderly gentlemen shutting themselves up in separate cells or chambers and voting, as a general thing, for the most elderly of them all, so as to make the infallible successions as rapid as well may be, the Thibetan ecclesiastics, who have the sacred office of observing into what new vessel the divine essence of Buddha has passed, examine the children which have come the newest from God, who is their home, while yet heaven lies about their infancy, and by certain unfailing signs decide which it is that received the inspiration of the spirit of the departed Lama when it took leave of its last earthly tabernacle. Thus they provide, as far as human considerations may be supposed to influence so momentous a duty, for as long a vicegerency as possible. And to judge from the examples of the two Lamas described here, the expiring incarnate deity chose a goodly temple in which to renew its earthly abode. In 1783 Warren Hastings sent a second mission to the Teshu Lama, the incarnation of one of the divine emanations of Buddha, and the ambassador was admitted to the incarnate presence on the 4th of December in that year. It was embodied in a child of eighteen months old, whom the envoy found seated on a throne, its father and mother standing on its left hand. He was told that, though unable to speak, the Lama would understand whatever was addressed to him, and accordingly the envoy made him a formal discourse such as he would deliver to a full-grown prince. The child looked steadfastly all the while at the envoy, and nodded at the proper places as if he understood all that was said. "He was silent and sedate, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum." He was a very handsome child, and lived long and reigned wisely over his people. The Grand Lama of whom Manning had an audience thirty years later was an equally charming child, though of the more mature age of seven years. Having prostrated himself and struck the ground three times with his forehead, the infant pontiff touched his bare head by way of benediction, and received the presents which were a part of the ceremony. "He had the simple and unaffected manners of a well-educated, princely child; his face poetically and affectingly beautiful. He was of a gay and cheerful disposition; his beautiful mouth perpetually unbending into a graceful smile which illuminated his whole countenance." The priests whose duty it was to learn the new residence of the deity must have been excellent judges of the human animal—supposing them undirected by supernatural guidance.

The Thibetans have various religious and secular practices which differ from those of the nations with which we are better acquainted. One of the former of these is the labor-saving invention of praying by machinery.

Thomas Manning to Lhasa. Edited, with Notes, an Introduction, and Lives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Manning, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F R.S.' London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

These excellent devices consist of cylinders, with a handle turning on an axis, containing prayers and devout sentences. Turning this machine is a substitute for repeating the pious contents. Some of them are portable, and can be turned mechanically while one is engaged in other occupations, so that the interests of the soul and of the body can be attended to at the same time. A still further improvement has been secured by the use of streams to turn larger and so more effectual prayer-wheels—a use of water-power which even our manufacturers, who have laid their hands on all our harmless water-courses and set them to work, have never even thought of. As these acts of devotion can thus be performed by water-power, steam would indefinitely increase the efficacy of the machinery should it be thought expedient to introduce this contrivance into our ecclesiastical economy. And, as this intercession may be made vicariously or by deputy, the organ-grinder might have a praying-cylinder attached to his instrument of torture, and thus make some atonement for the widespread misery he occasions. The fair sex, we are happy to say, are treated with the courtesy and exemption from hard work which we flatter ourselves is a special element of our own civilization. They do not seem to have arrived at the dignity of demanding a share in the government of mankind in the gross ; but, as they are allowed the privilege of as many husbands at once as they like, we may hope that they make themselves amends for that self-denial by exercising a stern jurisdiction over mankind in the detail. They, in common with the inferior moiety of mankind in Thibet, resemble the eminent moralist, Dr. Johnson, in having "no passion for clean linen," and they as religiously abstain from the personal application of soap and water as the holy sisterhood into which St. Euphraxia entered, not one of whom had ever washed her feet, and to whom the bare mention of a bath was an abomination. One of our travellers prevailed on a particularly intelligent friend to try the daring experiment of washing his face and hands. But the tempest of ridicule and contempt which this defiance of the time-hallowed institutions of his country brought about his ears was such that he made satisfaction for his apostasy and forsook it for ever. Now that the question of cremation as a speedy and effectual disposition of our departed friends is in agitation, it may be interesting to know how the Thibetans meet this inevitable emergency. They convey the dead body, after the funeral ceremonies have been performed, to a sepulchral mountain near by, where, after hewing it like a carcass fit for hounds, they leave it to be devoured by wild beasts and obscene birds. We beg not to be understood as approving of this custom or recommending its general adoption in this country.

It will be seen that the Thibetans differ in many particulars from ourselves, but they are a peaceful, amiable, and religious people after their fashion. They have an extensive literature, and knew the art of printing for centuries before the devil taught Dr. Faustus the black art. This book is full of excellent entertainment, and we commend it to our readers as good reading. Mr. Markham is not a book-maker evidently, and his work is not perhaps artistically put together. It is a collection of pregnant materials which have never seen the light before, and which he deserves much credit for having rescued from darkness. We doubt whether any book-wright could, on the whole, present this world of matter in a more satisfactory shape, though it requires a little more attention and recollection to bring the whole picture in proper keeping before the mind's eye than cursory readers may fancy. But that is a small matter. And the author avoids the doom of the penitentiary for life which a friend of ours declares should be visited upon every writer of a serious book who does not furnish it with a copious index. The headings of the chapters and the index are as full and complete as heart could desire, for which assistance every intelligent reader will give him cordial thanks.

RECENT NOVELS.*

'THE Atonement of Leam Dundas,' in the novel of that name, was precisely what was required according to the Mosaic law for having rid the world of an obnoxious stepmother by ingenious poisoning. She paid the penalty of her life—not, to be sure, in the presence of a sheriff, but by a broken heart. It would be hard to call this an attractive story, because, in addition to these moving incidents, there are indications of enough social corruption to warrant several new volumes of caustic essays, like that which the author of this novel has already published. As to the murder which the heroine commits, it loses a good part of its horror on account of the great feebleness of her mind. Her mother was a Spanish woman, who slept and played with dolls and insulted her neighbors ; the father was a foolish, weak creature ; so that murder was far less an indication of viciousness on the part of this child than playing truant would be in one carefully brought up. As she grows older, however, she becomes more conscious of the enormity of her childish performance, and a violent thunder-storm completes her reformation. With all these extraordinary efforts to produce an effect, the author somehow fails. The best part, in spite of some exaggeration, is the way in which the adventuress wheedles the men into liking her ; but the author exposes her to the reader with the most unrelenting persistency. It is almost insulting to be treated as if one were as blind as the hero of a farce, and had to be told every time the wicked heroine fibbed lest he should be deceived by her smooth tongue.

Christian Reid's novel, 'The Land of the Sky,' trifling as it is, is pleasant reading, though more as a guide-book than as a novel. The little band of Southern youths and maidens, who have already seen good service in this author's stories, here rest from their more serious labors and take a trip together through the mountains in and about the western part of North Carolina. This comparatively unknown region must be full of interest to those who are not afraid of rough fare, and it is well described, with all the attendant incidents of swollen streams, slippery rocks, and steep climbs, in this book. For the sentimental reader there is a full and familiar supply of harmless flirtations. The illustrations, almost without exception, are deserving of praise ; some, as for instance that on page 20, are decidedly clever, and all are much above the average merit of those to be found in American novels.

Formerly, whenever Mr. Trollope had written a new novel, it was customary for critics to give full descriptions of his style, and to say that it was much more like such a representation as is given by a photograph than like one of Turner's paintings, for instance ; but now every one knows only too well how Trollope writes, and pretty nearly what measure of sentiment and romance he is to furnish us in the story which he unwinds like so much tape. 'The Prime Minister' stands true to the author's old traditions, and why it is not as good, or as bad, or as indifferent as some twenty others of his less successful novels, it would be hard to say. There is the dose of political life, as the title of the novel suggests, wherein we read of our old friends, the Duke of Omnium and Lady Glencora his wife, and then for the body of the novel we have the story of the unhappy married life of the English woman who took the bit between her teeth and married, against everybody's advice, the disreputable Jew. There is about it all a calmness which is not classic, nor yet by any means romantic, and which is as monotonous as the bricks in the walls of city houses which belong to no school of architecture.

'A Story of Three Sisters' is a charming novel, with a pensive strain in it which belongs especially to those novels that treat of the domestic misery caused by bullying or ill-tempered relatives, or by those wise people who interfere in love-affairs. The three sisters were reared amid all the dreariness which seems to sit like a cloud on English country-life. The proper heroine is the second one, Pamela, a most attractive girl, with a nature as surely bound to be miserable as sympathy and a sort of helpless innocence can make it. Her lovers are well described, and indeed the reader cannot help noticing the large amount of observation and intelligent interest which the writer shows, and regretting that it should be given to so perishable a monument, for probably in ten years the book will be as much forgotten as the daily newspapers of to-day. Meanwhile, however, it is decidedly pleasant to read. Its pathos is touching. To take account of one trifling slip, it may be doubted whether any Englishman in the reign of George III. would have spoken of seeing "old Beethoven scowling at [him] from the wall." Some of the original poetry, too, does not bear the ear-mark of those remote days.

'Silver Pitchers' is a collection of stories by Miss Alcott, which will need no recommendation to find plenty of readers. It may be doubted, however, whether those over twenty will find keen delight in them, for every one of them is of the lightest weight. That entitled 'Transcendental Wild Oats,' describing the vagaries of a socialist who founded a "community," is full of amusing and lifelike touches. His method of meeting adversity is agreeably ridiculous. When his whole socialistic scheme failed and he was penniless, he lay on his bed with his face turned to the wall and tried to starve himself to death in the presence of his family. Two days of this were enough to convince him of the unwisdom of the plan.

* 'The Atonement of Leam Dundas. By Mrs. E. Lynn Linton.' Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

'The Land of the Sky. By Christian Reid.' New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

'The Prime Minister. By Anthony Trollope.' New York : Harper & Bros. 1876.

'A Tale of Three Sisters. By Cecil Maxwell.' The Leisure Hour Series. New York : Henry Holt & Co. 1876.

'Silver Pitchers and Independence : A Centennial Love Story. By Louisa M. Alcott.' Boston : Roberts Bros. 1876.

Sacher-Masoch is a writer who has made himself more or less of a name by singing loudly his own merits and by accusing of all manner of incompetency those critics who deny him a place among men of the highest genius. One of his volumes, 'Le Legs de Caïn,' contains a few sketches written in imitation of Turgenef, and now he has published a novel, 'Die Ideale unserer Zeit,' in which, as he announces in his introduction, he tells the world the truth about itself. It is a simple world that does not know what this means. For the truth according to Sacher-Masoch is very different from the truth of authors who are given to idealizing and consequent inaccuracy, as is the case with most German novelists who still believe that some shreds of virtue and moral worth adhere to their fellow-countrymen. How wrong they are in their views he proceeds to show by taking half-a-dozen men and women, in different ranks of society, for his heroes and heroines, and dragging them through the mire—treating them, in fact, very much as St. Nicholas in the legend treated the little boys who girded at him, when he dipped them deep in his inkstand. He tells us that he has had but one predecessor in this truth-telling, and that was Goethe when he wrote his 'Werther,' and the resemblance, if we may trust him, does not cease here. Sacher-Masoch seems to fancy that he has discovered wickedness, that it is something new, say about twenty-five years old, and that while it is perfectly plain to him, other writers are purblind and unable to see it. Men, he thinks, care for nothing but power and money, women only care for luxury. He has consequently written a book not unlike the series which M. Emile Zola has but just completed in six volumes, called 'Les Rougon-Macquart,' in which, while attempting to portray the corruptions of the Second Empire, he unconsciously shows how very bad an influence it had on novelists. Sacher-Masoch's novel opens with three young men, Andor, Plant, and Wolfgang, and follows them through life. Plant is guilty of every meanness, and, as merely one of his devices, makes a large sum of money by founding a newspaper which shall be invaluable on account of the scandal it contains; Wolfgang, through the favor of a fine lady without character, rises high in the king's favor, to be ruined by the crown-princess when her husband ascends the throne; Andor becomes an upright journalist, in connection with an editor who is exactly like one of Charles Reade's physicians, and keeps in the safe path. The women are the equals of the men; they marry rich swindlers, or swindlers whom they judge to be rich, and aid them in all their plans, and there is hardly a crime in the calendar which they do not commit with extreme frequency. The author has picked out instances of vice which are hawked about by one scandalous mouth after another, or are printed in newspapers, and boasts that this is all that can be said about modern society, and that every one is a hypocrite who pretends the contrary.

Mr. MacDonald's regular novels might be classified in two categories: either the leading character is unconventional, as Malcolm, Robert Falconer, and Hugh Sutherland, or he is entirely conventional, as Mr. Walton in the 'Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood' and its two sequels, and Thomas Wingfold, the hero of the book before us. The former personifications excite and arouse us by the saliency of their grand traits; but the latter are perhaps more instructive, at least wherever the inferior readability of these books permits them to have influence: for whereas it is tolerably easy to cut the Gordian knot of etiquette and be a grand ascetic, it needs real nobility to live patiently amid the opposing claims of justice and courtesy, and impartially to give to each its due. This quality Mr. Walton and Mr. Wingfold possess, and when to this resemblance we have added that Wingfold as well as Walton is a clergyman of the English Establishment, and that they, in common with all our author's principal personages, whether in fairy or in actual tales, are notable for a wise simplicity of heart as contrasted with both innocence and duplicity, we have nearly summed up the resemblances between these two series of works. We say "series," for we hope there will follow sequels to the present 'Annals' as to the former; indeed, the termination invites continuation, since the hero and heroine have just been brought into sympathy but are not engaged—a peculiarity shared by 'Wilfrid Cumbermede' at its close, and by several of MacDonald's shorter tales.

Our author's genius devotes itself chiefly to lucidly tracing the development of individuality emerging from the chaos of commonplaceness. The curate seems a most unattractive subject, with no religious experience whatever.

"He had known from the first that he was intended for the church, and had not objected, but received it as his destiny—had even, in dim obedience, kept before his mental vision the necessity of yielding to the heights and hollows of the mould into which he was being thrust. But he had taken no great interest in the matter. The church was to him an ancient institution of such approved respectability that it was able to communicate it, possessing emoluments, and requiring observances. He had entered her service. She was his mistress; and in return for the narrow shelter, humble fare, and not quite too shabby garments she allotted him, he would perform her hests. . . . He had plenty of sermons in the neat writing of his old D.D. uncle, so legible that he never felt it necessary to read them over beforehand, [left him in this uncle's will]. For his own part, he had never made a sermon"! "What were his sentiments? He could not tell. Had he any sentiments?"

An infidel lawyer ruthlessly intrudes upon his mental stagnation and convinces him that he is himself an unbeliever, and he has the pluck to confess it to his church. Next a parishioner informs him that one of his sermons was written by Jeremy Taylor. Another parishioner, the heroine's brother, confides to him that he (the parishioner) is a murderer, thus giving the curate a practical vent for his intellectual ferment. The plot reminds one of 'A Life for a Life,' but is much more subtly elucidated. The present murderer, like Max Urquhart, is determined to give himself up to the law, and he thinks he does so, but his friends have suborned a magistrate to receive the confession without the necessary legalities, and he awaits his arrest in vain. Finally, he is discovered by his victim's mother, who is herself intimidated by the curate's threatening her with an indictment for bigamy, and the guilty man, who by the way is an opium-eater, dies in his bed.

Mr. MacDonald's defects of style are those of a man who is more eager to be philanthropic than to be faultless. If we should say that some of his figures are too spun-out, and that others are unmanageable or even illusive, it would probably be no news to him. We may point out, too, that he is as reckless of astronomy as the Bible is, not hesitating to introduce into the description of an *evening* scene the "old withered moon low in the west," although he is as well aware as the mathematicians are that the moon, when old, does not rise until after midnight and is then low in the east.

'Die Ideale unserer Zeit. Roman in vier Büchern. Von Sacher-Masoch.' Bern: B. F. Haller. 1876.

'Thomas Wingfold. Curate. By George MacDonald, LL.D., author of 'Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood,' 'The Seaboard Parish,' etc.' New York: George Routledge & Sons. 1876. Pp. 666.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Bachelder (J. B.), Popular Resorts, swd.	(Boston)
City of New York Guide-Book, swd.	(Taintor Brothers & Co.)
Conway (Clara L.), Life's Promise to Pay: A Novel.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Dexter (Rev. H. M.), As to Roger Williams.	(Congregational Publishing Co.)
Duhring (Julia), Gentlefolks and Others.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)

Fine Arts.

THE FESTIVAL AT BAYREUTH.

RICHARD WAGNER'S colossal work, "Der Ring der Nibelungen," after the most careful preparation ever bestowed upon operatic performance, is about to be heard at Bayreuth, Bavaria. In May, 1872, the corner-stone of the theatre especially erected for the production of this work was laid, in the presence of Wagner's friends and patrons, who were treated at the same time to a rendering, under their master's unequalled direction, of that work of Beethoven which best exemplifies Wagner's own idea of the necessity of a poetical basis for musical expression—the Ninth Symphony. From that time to the present the attention of lovers of music has been directed not only to the promised event, but also to the study (not always, perhaps, with friendly interest) of the "scores" of the new operas themselves, of the new art-theories which were plainly to be deduced from them, and of those earlier works which had long since made the name of Wagner familiar to the German people. In Germany, his four earliest operas—"Rienzi," "Der fliegende Holländer," "Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin"—had an established popularity years before the inception of the Bayreuth project. In Vienna alone, for instance, "Lohengrin" has been repeated more than one hundred and twenty times since its first performance there twenty years ago. But this familiarity seems only to have increased the interest with which the production of works which should completely embody the developed art-conceptions of the composer was awaited. "Wagner societies" were formed which, in spite of the derision of opponents, have seconded by substantial aid the plan for the Bayreuth Festival, and have strengthened by the manifest sincerity of their interest the popular demand that the curiosity with regard to Wagner should be gratified. Witness the fragments of his works that have been given at concerts, and the production at Weimar and, last March, at Berlin of "Tristan und Isolde," a work which Wagner is quite willing to submit to the severest demands which his theoretical opinions warrant. Outside of Germany, also, the interest has extended. Italy has applauded "Lohengrin"; conservative London has included "Lohengrin" and "Tannhäuser"—the latter within the last few months—among the number of its favorite operas; and we in America have shown an appreciation which is certainly far from being

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 27, 1876.

The Week.

THE indications, so far as they go, with regard to the prospects of the canvass, seem to be all in favor of Hayes and Wheeler. One of the signs of the current, though a very small one, is the disappearance from the field in favor of Hayes of the ridiculous organization called Liberal Republican, conducted by Messrs. Ethan Allen and John Cochrane, which was the sole relic of the Greeley party. Mr. Allen has announced that its Convention will not meet. The Cincinnati *Commercial* also has come out in Hayes's favor, and other independent organs. The most powerful argument in favor of the support of Tilden by honest reformers has come from the pen of Mr. Parke Godwin, in the shape of a long letter to the *Tribune*, which certainly every one ought to read. The reasons are mostly familiar, but we do not think they have ever been so well put together before. Mr. Tilden's cause is suffering somewhat from the non-appearance of his letter of acceptance, the delay being popularly ascribed to his labors with Mr. Hendricks. That the canvass has entered on its more exciting stage is evident from an offer, on the part of the New York *Times*, to show, in reply to the charge that General Grant gets drunk, that Mr. Tilden was drunk on the night he received the news of his nomination. Of Mr. Hayes's habits nothing has as yet been said, but it will doubtless be revealed that he is a sly, cautious drinker, who keeps a private still for his own use, and bribes the revenue officers. We begin to receive letters enquiring why we do not support him more cordially. To which we reply, that we shall support him soberly, judiciously, and with our eyes open. We are more concerned about reform than about any candidate, and will not engage in any game of wholesale eulogy or blind advocacy on any account. It ought to be understood that the conflict within the Republican party between corruption and honesty is not yet over, and it behoves everybody, while throwing up his cap for Hayes, to keep a close eye on Chandler and Cornell. Moreover, we supported General Grant in 1868 and in 1872; the first time heartily and enthusiastically, the second, hopefully and resignedly. What a bad bargain he has turned out is known to all the world. Having been grossly deceived in a case in which we seemed to have so many guarantees of fitness as in his, we think we owe it to our readers to proceed this time with more caution. Besides which, they will find the indiscriminate eulogies, the prophecies of the reign of heavenly purity after election, and the daily discoveries of new virtues in the candidate, in other papers.

Mr. Wheeler has written his letter accepting the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. On the Southern question, he refers to his views recently expressed as a member of the House Committee, reiterates his conviction that it is a delusion to hope that the Southern States, so far behindhand as they are in much that is essential to civilization, can in ten or fifteen years be transformed into "our model Northern communities"; that this must come through time and education; that our duty is to satisfy the Southern people that they are to have "general and exact justice"; that we should give them no cause for complaint, and hold them to a rigid observance of their duties under the Constitution and laws. With regard to the currency, he declares that, in his judgment, the pledge of Congress contained in the Resumption Act is "the plighted faith of the nation," and must be scrupulously observed and supplemented by Congress with "such legislation as shall be necessary for its strict fulfilment." He thinks the public schools ought to be secured against sectarian influence or control; that there should be strict economy in the expenditures of the Government; that all unnecessary offices should be abolished; and that offices "should be conferred only upon the basis of high character and particular fitness, and should be administered only as public trusts, and not for private advantage."

Mr. Tilden will, the *Herald* says it is confident, take ground in his letter of acceptance in favor of the one-term principle, and it shows that he has an opportunity "for eclipsing the noble pledge" given by Mr. Hayes. Mr. Hayes, in his letter, said that if elected nothing should persuade him to become a candidate for a second term; but, as the *Herald* points out, this is "simply the expression of a personal preference and opinion." Mr. Tilden has an opportunity of going further, for he may not merely announce his intention of taking no second term, but may add that, if elected, "he will, in his first message or his inaugural address, recommend Congress to submit a one-term amendment to the Constitution to the vote of the State legislatures." The difference between the two would be that Hayes would merely have made a promise and pledged his honor, while Tilden "would have introduced a reform which would be as enduring as the Government itself." This does not strike us as going far enough, for Hayes might come out in a supplementary letter and make the same announcement of his intention, and the people would then hardly know which to elect. There is one way in which Mr. Tilden might vie with Hayes and show a more retiring and unselfish spirit; that is, by declaring that if elected he will not serve at all, and, placing himself on the no-term plank, entirely remove, what Mr. Hayes's platform only does partially, the temptation to personal ambition which now stands in the way of reform. If he cannot bring himself to this, he might, as a compromise measure, agree to go out at the end of two years (thus giving his ambition a shorter time to work than Mr. Hayes has promised to do), or earlier in case what the correspondents of newspapers call "straws"—*i.e.*, the vote of the morning express train on the Erie Road, and the number of *Times* newspapers sold at the stand in the waiting-room of the Fulton Ferry compared with the number of *Worlds*—show a decided preference on the part of the people for a change. These "straws," which are always being published and calculated upon, still serve no useful purpose and have never been incorporated in any way into the Constitution or statutes. Mr. Tilden has an opportunity to remedy this omission.

The price of silver during the week has advanced in London to 50*d.* per ounce on a reduced demand from India. The corresponding rise here was sufficient to make the gold value of the trade-dollar 86½ cents, against 80¼ cents less than two weeks ago. As the gold value of the greenback dollar during the same time has varied less than one per cent., it will be seen that as a measure of values even the suspended paper of the Government is at present preferable to silver; during the week the greenback dollar ruled at $0.8968 to $0.8938. The bill which limits the issue of subsidiary silver coin to $50,000,000, demonetizes the "trade dollar," and permits the issue of this coin for U. S. legal-tender notes, became a law on Monday, the President having on that day signed it. It was thought that with the enactment of this bill further efforts to drag the Government into the silver business would be deferred until the next session of Congress. But the Bonanza mine-owners, it has since turned out, had other plans, and, early in the week, the Committee on Mines and Mining reported to the House another silver bill which in its monstrous features surpasses anything which has been formally proposed. Its main provisions are (1) that it authorizes the issue of notes on all deposits of gold and silver bullion at the mints and assay-offices, whether this bullion is the product of our own mines or whether it is imported; and (2) it makes

these notes, which are to be redeemable in bullion or resulting coin, receivable without limit for all dues to the United States, and the coin (the silver to be coined at 412.5 grains to the dollar) a legal-tender for all debts of the United States not specified to be paid in gold coin. That is to say, as the mints are not capable of turning out silver dollars as rapidly as the Bonanza owners think desirable, they are to have the privilege of getting United States notes on deposit of their marketable products, and these notes are to serve the purposes of gold in the payment of customs, and also to be serviceable in paying all taxes to the Government, and the Government is to be forced to coin silver dollars. Aside from the inflation which the bill proposes, it is the same as if the Government should receive any other almost unlimitable product of the country and issue notes thereon. The bill makes a most direct thrust against the public credit. When our bonds were issued, it was expressly stipulated that, to guarantee for ever the payment of the interest on these in gold, the customs receipts should be payable only in gold coin. The Bonanza bill removes, so far as a law can, this safeguard, and permits the customs to be paid in bullion certificates; as silver-bullion certificates could be used, they of course would be; and the revenue of the Goverment would consist of silver. This would compel the payment of the interest in silver, and the principal when due as well, and would drive gold into disuse.

The New Hampshire Legislature adjourned last week after a session of unusual length, a very large portion of which was devoted with great steadfastness to the work of civil-service reform. The reform was carried through by the Republicans, who, of course, were steadily opposed by the wicked Democrats, and not a small part of the unusual length of the session must be ascribed to the resistance made by these evil-minded obstructors to the work of the single-minded majority. Upon one occasion, indeed, the "filibustering" of the cruel Democrats—initiated to stave off action upon a special reform bill, that applying to one of the counties—kept the perspiring Republicans in their seats throughout the watches of one of the hottest nights of our heated period, and not until long after sunrise did the Democrats finally "cave" and allow victory to perch upon the weary heads of the New Hampshire Republicans. The reform measures passed were extremely simple and thorough. They were chiefly in the form of an "address" to the governor and council directing the removal of all the Democratic officials of say Rockingham County—judge of probate, register of probate, solicitor, sheriff, etc. When one county had been thus purified, another county would be taken up in regular order, until all the county officers, nearly 75 in number, were disposed of. Then the police justices of the various towns were attended to; then the State officers, high and low, even to the three Fish Commissioners; until, finally, when the honest and hard-fisted farmers of New Hampshire went home to their neglected haying, they went with the proud consciousness that not a single miserable Democrat remained in office within the boundaries of their redeemed State. The exceeding thoroughness of the work must be peculiarly gratifying to Messrs. Chandler and Cornell, and New Hampshire may be put down as sure for Hayes and Wheeler and civil-service reform. We should perhaps add that the New Hampshire Republicans do not lay claim to any originality of method in the passage of these very satisfactory measures, but state that they keep closely to Democratic precedent, as furnished by that party when in power in 1874—all of which, as we can testify, is strictly true.

The Intercollegiate Boat-race at Saratoga on Wednesday week ended in a complete and well-won victory for Cornell, both in the University, the Freshman, and the single-scull races, Harvard coming in a good second in all three, to the surprise of those who had been discouraged by the defeat of her University crew at Springfield. There was, however, nothing remarkable in the struggle. The Cornell University crew had the advantage, which is considerable, of an average of two years in age over Harvard, though their average weight was somewhat less, but their rowing was good enough to win in any case. As a spectacle, the race was a failure, and it is not to be regretted that this is probably the last one which will occur at Saratoga. In the first place, the uncertainty as to the day and hour at which a race on the lake can come off is fatal to any sustained interest on the part of spectators. After making one or two idle journeys out to the lake from the village, a distance of four miles, people's eagerness to see dies out. Besides this, the spectators who collect for a race at Saratoga are not of the right sort. It is far removed from all the colleges, and the hotels contain but few of that portion of the public which takes much interest either in boating or in colleges. The dressy women, "prominent financiers," politicians, elderly lawyers, and long-whiskered, old watering-place beaux whom they supply for the grand stand, attend merely to kill a few hours of time that hangs heavily, and they watch "the finish," however gallant the struggle, with somewhat the same feelings with which they would the starting or returning of Mr. Delancey Kane's coach. The result was that on Wednesday there was no enthusiasm whatever, and hardly any cheering, except what came from the few members of the contesting colleges who could spare time or money for so long a journey.

Harvard and Yale have both withdrawn from the Association, Yale having done so before the race, and will hereafter continue their old contests between themselves only, on some piece of water in New England. There can be little doubt of the expediency of this course, if for no other reason, because it seems to be clearly demonstrated that the interest in a boat-race declines in the ratio of the number of boats participating. It is difficult to watch a race of several boats—they are as objects so low, and the water is so glittering, and the area occupied necessarily so great—unless from a considerable height, which the locality does not always supply, and which it is not worth while to construct. In addition to this, the spectators need to be drawn from a locality in which the competing crews are well known, and the result therefore likely to cause genuine excitement. Nothing can be more spiritless than a race before a silent and simply curious crowd. Harvard and Yale, however, in retiring, leave the field with a considerable loss of prestige, and we do not see how they are to get it back. They have lost their boating pre-eminence, and left the championship in the hands of a college with which they now cut themselves off from the opportunity of again trying their strength.

The Commission appointed under the advice of the Advisory Council to hear any charges that might be made against Henry Ward Beecher met on Saturday in this city, and were presented with an address from the Examining Committee of the church, which said that they (the Committee) were unable to offer any evidence, or indicate where any evidence could be found, beyond saying that they understood Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Richards were supposed by some to know something against Mr. Beecher's character, also Mr. Henry C. Bowen, Mrs. Cady Stanton, and Miss Susan B. Anthony, though it was also reported that the ladies denied that they had any such testimony as was ascribed to them to offer. The Committee further said that their confidence in their pastor and sympathy with him were such as to render it inadvisable that they should render the Commission assistance in preparing the case or procuring testimony. The Commission then voted in reply that they would hear and examine every formal charge against Mr. Beecher which they did not regard as already sufficiently tried, if presented by a person who should undertake to produce proof of the same. They then adjourned, subject to the call of the chair; but they will hardly meet again, as no such person is at all likely to appear. A more serious proceeding than this is, however, going on in the courts over the same matter. Mr. Moulton has sued Mr. Beecher for malicious prosecution in having him indicted by the Grand Jury for slander. Mr. Beecher demurred, on the ground that the entering of a *nolle prosequi* by the District Attorney was a bar to the action. The Brooklyn judge sustained the demurrer; the General Term

of the Supreme Court at Poughkeepsie overruled it. From this there is no appeal, and Mr. Beecher must now either plead or suffer judgment to go against him by default. But after suffering judgment to be entered, he can appeal on the same point to the Court of Appeals, and he will therefore probably suffer the default. The beauty and simplicity of this bit of procedure is a credit to the authors of the Code and to the bench and bar. To save trouble and make an end of strife a man may not go to the court of last resort on an interlocutory order. But if he virtually abandons the case and lets it go to the conclusion, he may then, having had all the trouble he can, go to the same court against the order; that is, they won't set him down at a way station, in order to avoid expense and delay, but will carry him to the terminus and then bring the train back with him to his original destination.

It is impossible to speak with any positiveness of the result of the military operations in Turkey, the accounts are so conflicting and the truth there may be in them is covered up in so much palpable falsehood. We subjoin as connected and probable a sketch of the operations of the past week as can be gleaned from the telegrams. It seems to be becoming clear on the whole that the prediction on which we ventured before the outbreak of hostilities, that the Servians would get the worst of it at the outset, owing to their want of preparation, is being realized. Their army is undoubtedly badly drilled, organized, officered, and supplied, and the armament, Snider rifles, is inferior to that of the Turks, who have Remingtons, and have the additional advantage of a strong sense of military superiority to their enemy. It therefore appears likely that the Turks are having the advantage in all the regular encounters, and that the hastily raised Servian troops are finding fighting becoming very disagreeable now that their enthusiasm begins to evaporate, and are not only making no progress but are being themselves placed on the defensive. On the other hand, the Turks are likely to suffer seriously from any prolongation of the operations, owing both to the heavy drain on the producing population and to the devastation of the chief tax-paying districts. Then, too, if the Servians and Montenegrins betake themselves, as the Herzegovinians have done, to the irregular warfare, they will, even if they achieve nothing rapidly decisive, assail the Turks on the side on which they are weakest, for they have neither the tenacity nor energy nor quickness of conception which are needed in guerilla fighting. As far as can be ascertained from the utterances of the press and the various Foreign Offices of the Great Powers during the last fortnight, there is an agreement more or less general that Russia has been an instigator of the trouble, and that some attempt at more active interference may be looked for from her in case the Servians and Montenegrins are in danger of decided defeat. There are already stories of Russian regiments being sent into Servia disguised as civilians, but these are ordinary canards of Eastern warfare, and only worth repeating as indications of what is running in the popular mind.

It has only been possible since our last issue to discover the truth in regard to the important engagement at Isvor on the 12th inst. At this place Osman Pasha was encamped with 12,000 men, and was attacked by General Leshjanin, who crossed the Timok for that purpose with eighteen Servian battalions, numbering about 10,000 men. His army was decidedly repulsed, and compelled to recross the river with heavy losses in men and arms. There was more fighting before Bjelina on the 20th, but it seems impossible to decide whether General Olimpics was worsted, and even driven to an island in the Drina, or whether he won the day against his assailants. Equally contradictory are the reports of an insignificant encounter on the south near Radosinge, where the Servians under a priest named Dutchitch are said to have pushed back the Turks towards Nova Varesh, a town on the upper Drina. It is probable that the Turks did not succeed in taking Gramada, commanding the road from Saitshar to Alexinatz. It is also probable that the Servians have lost their positions around Nissa, and that Tchernaieff's command, recalled from Akpalanka, is again at home in Servian territory. That this will shortly be, if it is not already, the fate of the other divisions of the Servian army, seems only too likely. The Montenegrin campaign continues to indicate a want of military purpose and of proper leadership, and the absence of cooperation with the Servians. A decided Turkish victory near Nevesinje is reported.

In France the University Bill, restoring to the Government the control of the universities, has been rejected in the Senate, which has thus given a second striking proof of the strength of its conservative feeling, the election of M. Buffet to fill a vacancy being the first. It was at first thought that this would lead to a ministerial crisis, but it was at once announced that it would not do so, as the Ministry did not consider the bill a Cabinet measure. The matter led to a debate in the Assembly, on a motion of confidence in the Ministry, which had the warm support of M. Gambetta and was carried unanimously, the Bonapartists abstaining from voting. One of the remarkable signs of the times is that M. Freycinet, Gambetta's delegate during the German wars, has been appointed by the Commission on Military Affairs, a majority of whom are military men, to make the report to the Chamber, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Government, so strong is the impression of his ability which has been made on them. The fear of him entertained by the Ministry of War is due to the fact that he represents the plan of infusing a stronger portion of the civilian element into the administration of the army.

A custom-house case has occurred in Melbourne, Australia, which strikingly resembles the Phelps & Dodge case in this city, and strikingly illustrates the way in which high tariff on the *ad-valorem* principle helps to break down both the political and social morals of a community, by giving baseness an air of virtue and destroying official respect for individual rights. A dry-goods firm named Stevenson & Son dismissed a clerk; the clerk accused them to the custom-house officials of defrauding the revenue by double invoices. The collector demanded permission to examine their goods and books, and was permitted to make it, but found no evidence. He then asked to see their private correspondence with their London partners, which was refused, as having no bearing on the value of their goods and as likely to injure their business by exposing their methods to rivals. Thereupon, the collector seized the goods; the firm, under legal advice, expelled the officers *vi et armis* as trespassers, but they returned with reinforcements and assaulted the premises, the firm defending, and there was a good fight, in which the collector was victorious. His men, however, evacuated the store in three days, carrying off $2,500 of goods on which they said that insufficient duty had been paid, and he got the Postmaster-General to refuse to deliver the firm's letters. On application for a mandamus to compel him, the Court denied it on the ground that there was remedy by action of trover or bill in equity. In the meantime, the business of the firm was at a standstill and the community was becoming roused; so the Governor called a Cabinet meeting, and the Cabinet, afraid to recede or go on, proposed that the firm should open their letters in the presence of post-office and custom-house officers, for the ridiculous reason, worthy of B. G. Jayne, that the Government might be satisfied that "the contents were such as might be expected from the head office of a firm holding the position they had hitherto enjoyed in Victoria." Refusal by the firm, and final surrender of the letters unconditionally, closed this stage of the farce; but the Commissioner of Customs, full of fury, informed the firm that he would now open every package of the goods of the firm to see whether they conformed to the invoice, and has kept his promise. The matter will, of course, now be carried into the courts.

THE SOUTH IN THE CANVASS.

ONE of the saddest features in the condition of the South just now is the part it plays in the political contests at the North. We do not think we are at all uncharitable when we say that, during the next three or four months, Mr. Chandler and Mr. Cornell, and their subordinates and assistants in the canvass, will look for outrages and murders of negroes in their paper every morning as the most welcome bits of news on which their eye could light. To hear that a negro in Georgia or Mississippi was taken into the woods and whipped will make them smile; but to hear that several negro houses were burnt down, and the occupants pushed back into the flames, or that twenty negroes, arrested on a charge of chicken-theft, were taken from the custody of the sheriff on the way to jail and butchered in cold blood, will make them laugh and clap their hands, and run lustily to the nearest stump to improve and spread the story. We do not say that the Democrats are incapable of experiencing under like circumstances the same unseemly joy; but, luckily for them, the best news they can hear from the South at present is the news of peace and order. It is for the interest of their party that the negroes should be prosperous and secure, and that, if anybody at the South is uncomfortable, it should be the whites. It is of no slight importance to a party to have its interests and those of society identical, and no slight misfortune to be even in a small degree dependent on public calamities for success. The Democrats have in fact had recent and dismal experience of the Republican state of mind, for during the four years of the war a Union defeat and disaster supplied them with almost all their political capital; they wept when their neighbors were glad, and made merry when they were sad. But they may now thank their stars that from this devilish temptation they have been at last delivered, and that the more peaceful the South is, the better for them and their cause.

We are led to make these observations by seeing the great importance which the Republican orators and editors evidently attach to the Hamburg affair. Some of them, in fact, talk of it with as much gusto as if it were likely to exert a decisive influence on the Presidential election, or, at all events, as if one more good, substantial slaughter of negroes would make Hayes's election sure. Now, no language can well be too strong in condemnation of the state of manners which makes such occurrences as that at Hamburg possible. Nothing the negroes had done or tried to do, according to any version of the affair, could make the shooting of the prisoners anything but a piece of atrocious savagery. It is ridiculous for a community in which such things are either sanctioned or tolerated to talk of itself as civilized. There is no use in being white in color if your conduct is that of an Ashantee, and the shooting of unarmed and suppliant prisoners is in all respects worthy of the society of Coomassie. In resorting to such modes of repressing negro excesses, the Southern men reach the lowest negro level. But then the atrocity of the affair, and of all such affairs, does not necessarily connect it with the general politics of the country. There is no sense in allowing it to determine how one will vote at the Presidential election if the vote is meant merely to be an expression of disapprobation. To vote for Hayes, for instance, without regard to other considerations, merely to show Southerners that we disapprove of such conduct, would be little short of folly. Southerners know already that the whole North, and the whole civilized world, disapprove of such conduct. They would not know it any better if we elected Hayes ten times over. Moreover, the election of Hayes would of itself not necessarily act as a deterrent from such acts. Stump orators and party organs talk as if it would, but they know it would *not*. Electing a Republican President, or keeping the Republican party in power, is not of itself sufficient to mend matters at the South. We have had a Republican President and a Republican House and Senate for eight years, and yet the South is, according to those who are most clamorous for a further trial of the remedy, in a terrible condition, as the Hamburg matter shows. Mr. Boutwell thought, only last year, that we were on the eve of another civil war; and Mr. Dawes, when stumping for Butler at the last election, assured us that all Southern negroes went to bed every night in confident expectation of arson or murder. Now, if this is the result of eight years of Republican legislation and administration in time of peace, it is useless to urge us to try four years more of it as a certain specific. Nor is it easy to see why matters should get any worse under a Democratic Administration, for the same prospect of impunity exists now which would exist then. As long as the State governors do not call for Federal interference, the President, whether Republican or Democratic, could do nothing for the protection of negro life and property, and of this call there is little chance anywhere now, except in South Carolina or Louisiana, and in a year more there will be none in Louisiana. Nor is there much likelihood that any President will be permanently armed, as under one of the late Force Acts, with the ordinary police duty of protecting life and property at the South, because this would involve a complete change in the structure of the Government.

In fact, when we lay aside rhetoric and think out the answer to the question, In what way is a Republican Administration such as we have had likely to be more beneficial to the colored people of the South than a Democratic one? we are driven to the conclusion that the only difference would be in the fact that Federal office-holders would probably be more friendly to them under the one than under the other, and that the vague dread which has lingered in the minds of Southerners since the war as to the extremes to which the North might go if roused, would die out more rapidly under a Tilden than under a Hayes—we say more rapidly, for die out it will under either. But then, it is hardly worth while for rational men to allow anything so important as a Presidential election to turn on considerations so vague and shadowy as these. Nor will it do to overlook the fact that there is nothing to which all the corrupt politicians of the Republican party cling so eagerly as to the theory that their dislodgment from power will in some mysterious manner be followed by undefined disasters at the South. It is this which constitutes almost their whole political capital at present; and so frantically do they cling to it that, even when detected in knavery, they try to escape by alleging that some of their accusers or the witnesses or bystanders served in the rebel army—reminding one of the American consul who fought on the Papal side at the battle of Mentana, and who, when called to account for it by Mr. Seward, made answer that the man who saw him fight and reported him to the State Department was an Englishman.

We are, however, very far from asserting or insinuating that the condition of the South ought not to enter into the calculations of a voter who is making up his mind on which side he ought to cast his ballot at the coming election. On the contrary, we think it ought to engage his attention as seriously as, if not more seriously than, any other topic. But we do say, with all the earnestness at our command, that he is not the friend but the enemy both of Southern blacks and Southern whites who votes for the continuance of, or with the design of continuing, that form of protection which General Grant has extended to them through Casey, and Packard, and Durell, and Kellogg, and Ames, and Scott, and Parker. If the success of the Republican ticket is going to perpetuate this shameful and demoralizing system, every honest and patriotic man ought to think twice before voting it; and if anybody infers from the occurrence of such incidents as the Hamburg tragedy that the system ought to be continued, he may be sure that his reasoning apparatus needs overhauling. The reason why we did not think Mr. Hayes's letter satisfactory touching the Southern question was that he was not sufficiently explicit as to the proper remedies for the Southern disease, but simply talked of his desire for peace and conciliation in general terms, such as pacificators of the Grant school have all along used, and which may cover almost any kind of policy. The statesmanlike view of the Southern difficulty is simple enough. It is that a slave society in a thinly-peopled agricultural country,

at the close of sudden emancipation and a bloody civil war, is in a semi-barbarous condition, out of which nothing but the combination of the leading civilizing influences which have raised all other societies will raise it, such as education, growth of population, manufactures, and trade; and that even these influences, powerful and beneficent as they are, can do but little without the aid of the great healer and restorer, Time. The Carpet-Baggers' and Politicians' view of the case is also simple—viz., that here are six millions of "unrepentant rebels," who ought to be in all respects like the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and who only need to be liberally treated with grape and canister and the penitentiary to make the whole South a pleasing reproduction, in the matter of free discussion, brotherly kindliness, and general culture, of the town of Concord in that State; and that when they attack negroes their case is exactly like that of a party of Bostonians who should abandon their workshops and warehouses and suddenly begin slaughtering the inhabitants of the next block. We were glad to see that Mr. Wheeler, in his letter of acceptance, gave in his adhesion to the nobler and more rational view of this great national affliction. We wish Mr. Hayes had been equally explicit, so that we might know that when he comes into power his reform of the civil service will consist, above all things, in the representation of the Administration at the South by the best and purest men it can find, so as to satisfy the whites that we are at least honest and worthy of respect, and the blacks that real liberty has no necessary connection with corruption and disorder or the exaltation of ignorance and the abasement of intelligence.

THE GENEVA BILL.

WE publish elsewhere two letters on the bill for the distribution of the Geneva money which has just passed the House—one from a gentleman representing the war-premium claims, and the other from a representative of the rights of owners of ships destroyed by the vessels for which Great Britain was held not responsible by the Geneva Tribunal. Our readers will notice that these letters contain very little with regard to war-premiums, or the right to recover for the acts of vessels for which Great Britain has been held not responsible, and as two-thirds of the present swindle consists in the admission of these new claimants, this is rather a serious omission. The letters deal chiefly with the insurance question—which was, it is true, the entering-wedge of the swindle, but which has now dropped to a secondary place. We must again repeat that the war-premium men were expressly ruled out by the Geneva Tribunal, after their cases had been presented and thoroughly argued, and that by the express decision of the Tribunal the limit of England's responsibility was decided to be the acts done by the *Alabama* and the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoah* after she left Melbourne. The only reply made to this by "B." is, 1st, a statement that the Government instructed its agents not to bind it in the distribution of the award; 2d, that several cases of insurance companies' claims were dismissed by a Committee on Claims and one by Mr. E. R. Hoar. There is something so farcical about this that it is difficult to know what to say in reply. Cases of insurance companies may have been thrown out by the Government, though we doubt very much whether Mr. E. R. Hoar ever did anything of the kind, but that the Tribunal had the rights of American insurers before them is so well known that it seems hardly worth while to prove it. As to the instructions of the Government to its representatives, does "B." suppose that the way to find out the meaning of an award of court is by an examination of the plaintiff's instructions to his attorney? The Government might have instructed its counsel to do a great many things with the award—to return the money to England; not to agree to it unless it amounted to at least $100,000,000; to spend it in warm winter clothing for friendly Indians; but this has nothing to do with what the Court decided.

The argument put forward by "B." that, because the award of the Tribunal covered all the claims referred to them, therefore the decision was in favor of all the claims, is such an extraordinary one that we are glad to receive his assurance that he honestly believes it to be sound. The nature of the argument may easily be shown by a parallel case. If "B." represented, instead of *Alabama* claims, claims, let us say, growing out of Winslow's recent proceedings in Boston, and these should *all* be referred to arbitration, and the Court should decide that as to one class they were void for forgery, and as to another that they were void for want of consideration, and as to a third that they were valid and must be paid, the Court would clearly have rendered a decision in satisfaction of *all* the claims; but would "B.," on this account, maintain that the claims decided to be invalid must be paid? To escape from this awkward position, however, our other war-premium correspondent comes forward with an ingenious assertion that there is "no analogy whatever between the ordinary relation of attorney and client before a court" and the relation "between a sovereign nation and its agents" before a tribunal of arbitration. But, if this is so, it is most unfortunate for the war-premium claimants; for the only possible ground on which anybody can get any of the *Alabama* fund is that this relation did exist. If the United States was not the trustee, agent, or attorney of the claimants, it may, if it pleases, keep the money itself; in fact, it is bound to do so, and to apply the fund to the diminution of the national debt, the redemption of the greenbacks, or the reduction of taxation. What our correspondent really means is, that the United States acted as agent in getting the money, and as agent is now requested to pay it over, but that at the same time, being a sovereign government, it cannot be pursued in court and forced to pay it to the real owners.

With regard to the insurance claims, so far from there being doubt that they were presented to and considered by the Tribunal and included in the award, they all along stood precisely on the same footing as the other claims. The first insurance claim was presented February 2, 1863, through Mr. Seward; they are included in the list of claims compiled by the State Department at the close of the war; are referred to in the British counter-case and in the report of the English Board of Trade to Lord Granville (in which the right of subrogation is expressly recognized); in the appendix to the argument of the United States and in the argument itself; and in Sir A. Cockburn's opinion against "double claims." But even if there were no such plain admissions scattered through the case it would make no difference, for the insurers stand in the shoes of the persons insured; and if either class were considered in the award, the fund enures to the benefit of the insurers. This is obvious, or else the insured would be paid twice over: once by the insurers, and a second time by Great Britain. As to the right of subrogation, we may refer our correspondents to the well-known cases of Comegys *v.* Vane, 1 Pet. 193, and Rogers *v.* Hosacks' Executors, 18 Wendell 318, and to the following less technical statement of the law by Daniel Webster in the Senate in 1835:

> "As to the portion of the claims now owned by underwriters, it can hardly be necessary to say that they stand on the same equity and justice as if possessed and presented by the owners of the ships and goods. There is no more universal maxim of law and justice throughout the civilized and commercial world, than that an underwriter who has paid a loss on ships or merchandise to the owner is entitled to whatever may be received from the property. His right accrues by the very act of payment, and if the property, or its proceeds, be afterwards recovered, in whole or in part, whether the recovery be from the sea, from captors, or from the justice of foreign states, such recovery is for the benefit of the underwriter. Any attempt, therefore, to prejudice these claims on the ground that many of them belong to insurance companies, or other underwriters, is at war with the first principles of justice."

—which explains tolerably well what "Apprentice" thinks is the shocking disinclination of the insurance companies to refer the case to a court without having the doctrine of subrogation made the "law of the case." They look upon subrogation, no doubt, in the same low, unprincipled way in which a man whose character has been slandered looks upon the law of libel, or the victim of a horse-trade upon the law of sales, or an unlawfully evicted householder upon the law of tenancy.

With regard to the general honesty of our correspondents, or of most of the members of Congress who voted for the bill, we do not doubt it. But this does not affect the question whether it is a swindle or not. That must be determined, as in the case of any other piece of legislation, by the consequences. It is no new thing to find large bodies of men persuaded through their ignorance or passions into doing collectively what no one of them would do individually. The French spoliation claims, three-quarters of a century old, have never been settled to this day, simply through the impossibility of obtaining an act of Congress of which no Congressman can dispute the justice, and in favor of which forty-one Congressional committees have reported. We see the same thing in the use of the appointing power by the Senate, which, acting politically as a whole under a slight sense of responsibility, will confirm men like Packard and Casey to offices for which each individual Senator will at the same time confess privately they are completely unfit. Average legislative morality is not apt to be very high, and it is on this account that most persons who have watched the course of the *Alabama* proceedings have deeply regretted that Congress should have ever had it in its power to abuse the administration of so delicate a trust. The whole matter has now become evidently so confused in people's minds that they do not know what the right or what the wrong is. Probably a large part of the Congressmen voted to pass the bill under the impulse of a feeling that anything which upset the proceedings of the Tribunal was an ingenious way of giving an indirect and deserved blow at England, and would teach her in future to mind her own business.

There is, however, an easy way of settling all disputed points about this Geneva Bill which never seems to have occurred to our correspondents, and which we strongly advise them to take, promising ourselves to abide by the result. When the United States decided to submit its claims against England to arbitration, it appointed as its own member of the court Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who, as our correspondents are aware, was familiar with the history of our whole case from the beginning and had very strong opinions as to England's liability. He is thoroughly conversant with all the principles and facts involved, and with the whole course of the deliberations of the Geneva Court. He knows, if anybody does, whether the Tribunal had before it the claims of insurance companies or not; whether in the award they were treated as having any rights; and whether there was any understanding that the Government could do what it pleased with the money. If Congress had ever really desired to find out what the national honor and a decent regard for the opinion of mankind required them to do with the fund, the first person they would have gone to for information would have been Mr. Adams. They would have enquired of him, Were or were not the insurance claims included in the award? Did the Tribunal which interpreted the Treaty of Washington render their decision as final, or did they expect every single point decided in it to be reversed by act of Congress? If our correspondents want to know about this, let them go to Mr. Adams and ask him, and if he does not inform them that they are engaged in helping on a monumental swindle, we are greatly mistaken.

The disposition of the fund ought to turn upon the broad question, What was the meaning and intention of the whole *Alabama* arbitration? Why did the two Governments, after a long and vexatious correspondence on the claims growing out of the conduct of England during the war, agree by a formal treaty that they should be judicially settled—*i.e.*, settled as ordinary claims between private individuals? Why did they appoint a court to try them, and enact a statute to govern the court in its decision? It was because both Governments were determined to submit all points at issue to this Tribunal—the extent of England's responsibility, the standing in court of the various claimants, and the measure of damages—and to abide by the result. If, when the arbitration was over, either Government could reopen the case, and proceed to decide it anew, it makes nonsense of the whole proceeding, and it would have been better never to enter upon such a farce. England might, in fact, just as well have reopened the case as the United States, and have wholly relieved us of the disagreeable duty of distributing the money, by declining to pay it at all. Just as the bill passed by the House of Representatives now says this money shall be given to anybody whom *we* consider to have been damaged by England's negligence, no matter what the court says about it, so the English Government might have said, We have examined the opinion of this court, and we do not think it fair; it decides, on insufficient grounds, that the English Ministry was negligent, and we won't pay a cent of it. For it is to be noticed that the moment the ground of the court's decision is abandoned we are on a perfectly unknown sea. We know neither what classes of claimants have valid claims nor what claims are admissible. All we know is that we have nine or ten millions of dollars to distribute, and whether we give it to claimants who are formally ruled out by the court, or keep it ourselves, or give it in charity, matters very little. In fact, we are rather surprised that, in these days of claims, some worthy class of sufferers like those in Kansas, who have been injured by the devastations of the locust, do not come forward and demand their share of the fund. They have not the advantage of having had their claims actually ruled out by the court, but their claims have the perhaps superior merit of never having been presented at all.

There is one aspect of this *Alabama* business which seems to have escaped the attention of a class which, in an earlier stage of the negotiation, was all agog with excitement and interest over it. When the claims of this country on England first began to be pressed, all the sentimental agitators for universal peace and the "abolition of war" became deeply interested in it, and urged arbitration upon both parties to the quarrel as a sure preventive of all unpleasantness. Here was a great opportunity, we were told, of giving the world a noble example of forgiveness, brotherly goodwill, and love of peace. This opportunity we embraced, and the case was finally settled amid mutual congratulations all over the world. In the eloquent language of Mr. Bancroft Davis, "the commander who had been permitted by Providence to guide some of the greatest military events in history" had thus, "in civil life, assisted in presenting to the nations of the world the most conspicuous example of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful arbitration." The lovers of peace, however, after the payment of the money by Great Britain, seem to have considered the whole trouble at an end, and their entreaties for a calm discussion of the *Alabama* claims have been succeeded by a total silence during the progress of the *Alabama* swindle. But it is dishonesty and disregard for common right such as we are now exhibiting to the world which are the most frequent and natural causes of wars; and if the enemy of mankind had undertaken to devise a scheme for making arbitration and the peaceful settlement of disputes a perpetual laughing-stock throughout the civilized world, he could not have set about it in any better way than we have contrived with the *Alabama* case. The reason why nations in some cases prefer war to any other means of settling disputes is that, whatever objections there are to it, it does settle them by irresistible force from which there is no appeal, and the only reason there is for preferring arbitration is that it substitutes justice, honesty, and settled rules of law for brute violence. But the moment people see that arbitration is used as a cover for a monstrous act of fraud and chicane, there can be no reason for sensible people feeling anything but disgust at it.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—X.

MACHINERY.

PHILADELPHIA, July 22.

THE Machinery Department of the Exhibition is not limited to the machines and other articles which are exhibited in Machinery Hall. An exhibition of running machinery required a supply of power, which is furnished by the much-admired Corliss engine in the south transept of Machinery Hall; and nearly every department required an abundant supply of water, and this is furnished by the Worthington pumping engine, which comparatively few visitors have seen. These two engines may be regarded as the powers whose efforts are divided and utilized among the thousands of lesser machines on which more particular attention is often bestowed. The Corliss engine, in its conspicuous place, where it played so

important a part in the ceremonies of the opening day, is the centre of attraction in Machinery Hall. It is indeed a beautiful piece of work—a double walking-beam engine, with the Corliss valve-gear ; a fine type of the simple steam-engine, in which, by an adjustable and rapidly closing cut-off, the expansive power of steam is utilized to a very high degree. It is not, however, as many visitors suppose, an engine of extraordinary size ; its cylinders are but 50 inches in diameter, while the cylinders of the engines on the steamers *Bristol* and *Providence* have a diameter of 110 inches. Its merit lies in the perfection of its workmanship, the smoothness of its running, and the close approach to theoretical requirements in steam pressure which has been obtained by the Corliss valve-gear. No better illustration of the high esteem in which the Corliss engines are held can be found than the beautiful compliment which is paid to Mr. Corliss by a Belgian builder, P. Van den Kerchove, of Ghent, who exhibits in the Belgian section a pair of horizontal Corliss engines, with the simple statement that he "thought he could not do a greater honor to the celebrated American inventor than by exhibiting at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition a pair of engines upon his system built in Belgium upon his plans."

The Worthington Duplex pumping-engine is in a position as obscure as that of the Corliss engine is conspicuous. Necessity required that it should be near the source of water-supply, and it is erected in a neat brick building on the banks of the Schuylkill outside the Exhibition grounds. It stands near the Centennial station of the Philadelphia and Reading R. R., and is so easily reached that it should be visited by all who are interested in this class of machinery ; it is a pumping-engine of the most advanced type, built upon the peculiar system first devised by Mr. Worthington, and which is becoming recognized as the correct system for steam pumps. This system consists simply in placing two steam pumps side by side and allowing the piston rod of one engine to open the valves of the other just before completing its stroke ; the second engine starts before the first stops, and the first engine remains at rest till the second has nearly completed its stroke, so that both engines are running only during the short period while one is coming to rest and the other is attaining its full velocity ; the result is a steady and uniform flow of water, which cannot be obtained by the irregular piston-motion of pumps regulated by fly-wheel engines, and a total avoidance of the violent shocks which mark the close of each stroke of the single direct-acting steam pumps. The Worthington engine at the Centennial does not strike the unprofessional observer at all as the Corliss engine does ; it is a simple machine, occupying little space and making little noise ; its engines are compound, working the same steam which has first been used in a small high-pressure cylinder again in a low-pressure cylinder of larger diameter. It is a representative engine quite as much as the Corliss, and a beautiful example of a compact machine capable of producing great results.

In Machinery Hall the great preponderance of American exhibits is more apparent than elsewhere. This is largely due, of course, to the heavy character of the articles exhibited, and it could not have been expected to be otherwise. On entering the south transept from the east end, near the main entrance to the grounds, the visitor finds himself in the space allotted to Germany, and the exhibit of that empire shows that it was worthy to be given the most prominent place in the building. The display of working machinery is not large, but the show of manufactured iron, which is the basis of all machinery, is superb. On one side stands the great steel gun whose weight so seriously embarrassed its transportation, but which is at length erected, and stands in complete working order upon its iron carriage ; while around it are many other specimens of steel from the Krupp works, including two heavy engine-shafts with cranks—one a rough steel forging and the other, of the same pattern, machine-finished—besides steel rails, boiler-plates, and other evidences that the capacities of the Krupp works are as great in peaceful as in warlike products. Opposite the Krupp exhibit may be seen a collection of rolled beams, including one which is 20 inches deep, or 5 inches larger than has ever been rolled in America, and nearly 50 feet long.

Beyond the German section lies the British, in which but a poor show is made of the great resources of that nation, the allotted space being by no means full. We understand that less than half the British firms who signified their intention of exhibiting in Machinery Hall are now represented. Among the most interesting things to be seen here are the steam road-engines, which have been introduced to a considerable extent as a substitute for animal power in drawing heavy loads abroad, but which are a novelty to us ; and we fear they must continue such in the greater part of our country until our roads are greatly improved. Another very interesting feature of the British section is found in the models of the apparatus for switching and signalling at railroad stations, accompanied by drawings of the yards at some of the principal stations in London, where the system has been carried to a higher state of perfection than has been done elsewhere. This system—which is just being adopted by some of the most important American railroads—consists in connecting, by means of long, movable rods, all the switches and signals of a yard with a row of levers placed in a sort of observatory from which the signalman has a view of the whole ground, and from which the entire movement of trains within the limits of that station is directed.

The American Department not only occupies much the largest space, but comprises by far the most interesting objects to be seen in the building. A very large part of the space is occupied by working machinery, which seems to be attractive to visitors in a direct proportion to the noise it makes, leading us to wonder how large a crowd might be collected if the gunpowder pile-driver, which stands in the southwestern part of the grounds, were only in operation. The same fine finish of the working parts which adds so much to the beauty of the Corliss engine is found on a large portion of the American machinery. In iron-working machinery, the exhibit of the distinguished firm of Wm. Sellers & Co. is perhaps the most remarkable, comprising not only a considerable variety of planers, lathes, and other tools of their manufacture, but specimens of the heavy hydraulic forgings made at their new works at Edgemoor, and also one of the rotary puddling furnaces first introduced at those works. It is needless to say, however, that this is not in operation. Among the lighter machinery, the machines for making envelopes are especially ingenious, though the finest example is to be found in the United States Government Building, where a single machine, occupying no more space than a piano, takes the flat papers, previously cut to shape, gums them, prints the stamp, folds, drys, and delivers the finished envelopes counted into packages of twenty-five. The American Watch Co. of Waltham have a small watch factory in complete operation, which is usually surrounded by a crowd of visitors, though the work is of so minute a character that little can be seen. The collection of looms is very complete and interesting, embracing a considerable number of carpet-looms, in which the figure is determined by a pattern cut in a series of cards, which brings to the surface the properly-colored threads of the warp, and selects from several shuttles the one containing the proper color for the filling. The positive-motion looms, in which the shuttle is not thrown by a blow, but carried by a continuous pressure, running lightly on rollers over the threads of the warp, are well deserving of notice. One of them weaves a coarse cloth twenty-five feet wide, and another, combining the positive-motion and the card patterns, weaves corsets in a single piece, with the various contractions and expansions, and the double fabric forming spaces where whalebones are to be inserted. The Jacquard looms erected by a Paterson silk manufacturer, weaving brocade silk and colored bookmarks with the head of Washington upon them, are also very interesting. In the central wing on the south side of the building is a large collection of pumps which, pouring at different angles and heights into a large tank, make cooling suggestions very pleasant in July.

In the matter of locomotives and railway plant, in which the Paris Exposition of 1867 is said to have been so rich, the Centennial Exposition is defective ; with the exception of a narrow-gauge engine from Sweden, and some railway cranes from England, foreign nations are scarcely represented. There is a good variety of wrought-iron wheels, steel tires, and other articles which enter into the construction of rolling-stock, but the exhibition of complete cars and locomotive engines is almost exclusively American. In the Carriage Building, an annex to the Main Exhibition Building, are found a number of passenger coaches, including some elegant palace-cars, and in Machinery Hall are about fifteen locomotives, generally of the classes now adopted on the principal trunk-lines for the transportation of heavy freight-trains over mountain gradients. As relics of the past, an old English locomotive, brought to this country more than forty years ago, with two contemporary passenger cars, standing in the southwestern part of the grounds, and one of the little upright cylinder engines, nicknamed "grasshoppers," which were used on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in its early days, standing before the Maryland State Building, are interesting, and almost the only representatives of uncommon classes of rolling-stock. I fully believe that the adoption of the truck in both locomotives and cars gives our American rolling-stock a superiority over that of any foreign nation, but in some other respects we are wofully behind them ; the weight of our freight-cars, as compared with the loads they carry, is nearly double what it is in Europe, and the use of iron in car frames and bodies, which has been carried to a high state of perfection there, is almost neglected here. It is much to be regretted that the opportunities for studying the light iron constructions of European rolling-stock are not afforded at the Exhibition.

G. S. M.

PARTY MOVEMENTS IN GERMANY.

GERMANY, July 2, 1876.

THE political vacations are commencing, but our legislators do not return home in a holiday spirit. It is not the Eastern Question which disturbs their minds. Though this appears to be assuming a more and more complicated and serious character, we are still confident that Bismarck will be willing and able to keep Germany out of the scuffle without damage to either her due influence or her interests. Our internal politics are threatening to get out of joint. For some years it has been a settled belief with all the other parties that the days of the National-Liberal party were numbered. Now a rupture within the party was said to be imminent, and again the Government had at last definitively resolved to part company with it. Until a short time ago the croakers only excited the smiles of those whom they were so busy to bury alive. Now, however, there are few who do not admit that the compromise between the Government and the Liberals, on which our home policy has been resting ever since 1866, is really threatened. There are no dissensions of any moment within the party; thus far the danger comes exclusively from without—from what quarter, however, it is hard to tell, or, at least, to tell in one word. For a while, there were some reasons for suspecting that the Government was directly engaged in trying to bring about the formation of a new Conservative party, which should take the helm out of the hands of the National-Liberals. A scene which occurred a few days ago in the Lower House of the Prussian Landtag disposes of this suspicion. Professor Virchow announced to Count Eulenburg the "unqualified opposition" of the *Fortschrittspartei*. The Minister of the Interior took up the gauntlet, declaring that the Government *does* regard this party as decidedly hostile, but then he added that it would gladly see the National-Liberal party gain the ground lost by the former. Neither the situation of the Government nor the personal character of the members of the Cabinet permits of any doubt that such a declaration would not have been given if the Government had taken the initiative in the "new party" movement. But it is not necessarily, therefore, dissatisfied with it. The prevailing opinion seems to be that it as yet retains the attitude of an observer, wishing it success, but loth to engage in it as long as its success cannot be counted upon with a reasonable degree of certainty. This view is the more likely to be correct as the several members of the Cabinet are evidently not quite agreed on this head. There probably is no difference of opinion as to the main question, but neither the intensity with which they wish a change, nor the degree to which they would like to see it extend, is the same.

As yet the National-Liberals show no signs of despondency, though they admit that great exertions will be required to hold their own. Some expressions in their leading organs even seem to indicate that they rather expect to suffer some losses, and will be content if these are not so heavy as to work a complete change in the relative weight of the different parties. Unless something should occur to give a new turn to the public mind before the elections take place, they may indeed be satisfied if they remain in the first place, though with a reduced relative majority. Thus far it is not likely that the days of a new party have already come, but many causes concur to render a more even distribution of the seats, as well in the Prussian Landtag as in the Reichstag, probable. If this should be the result of the next elections, the Government will be in a worse position than at present. Its only complaint now is, that it cannot count with sufficient certainty on a majority; then, however, it would evidently be much more doubtful whether it would find the necessary support, for the nucleus around which the majority has to be formed will be smaller, and, besides, to-day the one party and to-morrow another will have to serve as such a nucleus. In former elections the two Liberal parties have generally supported each other; where the *Fortschrittspartei* was the stronger of the two, the National-Liberals voted for their candidate, and *vice versâ*. After the declarations of Professor Virchow and Count Eulenburg, it is very doubtful whether this will or can be so hereafter. Many a seat which, thanks to this alliance, has been occupied by a Liberal, may now be secured by either of the Conservative parties or by the Socialists. Perhaps an attempt will yet be made to keep up the old relations between the two parties. If it should not be done, it will be because the National-Liberals are satisfied that the *Fortschrittspartei* has again completely fallen under the sway of the irreconcilable spirit. One of the organs of the latter has already declared that the Empire is established firmly enough to justify no further compromising with the "reactionary" tendencies of the Government. "There is the rub"—the only too well-known original sin of our nation. Here we have clearly pointed out the most serious feature of the present crisis. All parties, with the single exception of the National-Liberals, are, at an alarming rate, beginning again to turn their backs upon what Macaulay calls "the essence of politics." The Empire is not threatened with ruin: why, then, not indulge once more in treating measures of mere expediency as questions of principle, and stamp the brand of infamy on compromises? If the Conservatives are less inclined than the more advanced Liberals to take this view of the matter, they, or at least many of them, look upon it as an indignity that for these last ten years the Government has—half willingly, half by compulsion—consented to treat with the Liberals. A *Landrath—i.e.*, a Government official—has had the naïve impudence to call upon his brother *Landräthe* to wipe this blot from the tablets of Prussian history and exert all their influence for the formation of a "Bismarck party *sans phrase*." The number of those who most heartily concur with Mr. Knobloch is not small, though not many will call the child so indiscreetly by its right name. This would be no cause for any serious apprehension if other reasons were not at work to draw off a considerable part of the Liberal parties upon side issues, though they have not ceased to be Liberals in their feelings. I purposely say in their feelings, for if they were able really to *think* on political matters their party allegiance would be unshaken.

One of these side issues is the present economical crisis. No attention is paid to the fact that the crisis is a general one all over the Western world. The fault rests with our legislators—*i.e.*, with the National-Liberals, for they are the most numerous party. As to what the mistake is in the economical legislation the accusers are of course not agreed, and often directly opposed to each other. Workingmen with a slight Socialistic tinge do not join the chorus of the manufacturing interest clamoring for protective tariffs, and the *Agrarier* have nothing to do with either of them. The latter are indeed a new party, and with not much chance of getting very old either. They are distant relatives of your Grangers, striving "to base the economical life of the nation on moral and Christian principles," the corner-stone of which is "the disburdening of landed estate"; as to the tariff question, they are conditional free-traders. The great majority of the party consists of noblemen owning large estates, and in consequence their left grasps the hand of the valiant Mr. Knobloch, while their right holds fast to the tail of the *Kreuzzeitung* charger, which so unmercifully kicks at the radicalism of the apostate Bismarck. That there are special reasons at work to render the economical crisis greater and more dangerous with us than perhaps with any other nation is not to be denied. On this head we could and, it is to be hoped, shall learn something by the humiliating criticisms sent by Professor Reuland on the miserable figure we cut in your Centennial Exposition. Our Socialistic workingmen, though their skulls are by a good many per cent. harder than those of the French, will perhaps, after all, gradually learn that the more hours they spend in declaiming over their beer on their rights, the less German industry will be able to compete with that of other nations and the worse their own condition will become, in spite of all their rights. They have already pitched their declamations half a tone lower since the "founders'" honeymoon (the revenging sting of conquered France, hidden in the golden apple of her war indemnity) has ended in countless bankruptcies and a still constantly-increasing number of most scandalous lawsuits. These are, by the way, another embarrassment for the National-Liberals. To render the party, as such, responsible for the era of swindling, as is often done, is simply absurd; but the National-Liberals are, in the main, the party of the *bourgeoisie*, and in this the majority of capitalists are to be found. So, too, they have furnished the majority of "founders," though the high aristocracy has not been slow either to avail itself of the good opportunity. The average man, however, is not satisfied to have such a phenomenon explained by general reasons; the anger over his share of suffering caused by the general calamity, and his cheap, untried virtue, demand a tangible scapegoat to lay his hands upon. Every "founder" who happens to be a National-Liberal in his political convictions is laid to the charge of the party.

Whether, outside of Prussia, the railroad question will serve to injure the party it is as yet too early to say, but that all the particularistic elements will try to improve the present shaky condition of our home politics cannot be doubted. It is true enough that, as the above-mentioned organ of the *Fortschrittspartei* says, we need not fear to see the Empire dissevered. On the other hand, however, the actual crisis is a new proof how far we are yet from having laid its foundation deep and broad enough. It was the law on the *Städteordnung* which led to the exchange of declarations of war between Prof. Virchow and Count Eulenburg. Though this is one of the great, I might almost say fundamental, laws, and in closest connection with the laws on the *Provincialordnung* and *Kreisordnung*, the main fruits of former sessions, the Government has thought proper to make common cause with the conservative House of Lords against the majority in the

House of Commons, with which it had before come to an understanding. So this most important link has not been added to the chain, and the fault lies with the Government. If, in spite of Count Eulenburg's declaration, this should prove to be not an isolated step, but the first in a new direction systematically to be pursued, with them will rest the responsibility of having taken the initiative in closing the era of that spirit of compromise which is and always must be the essence of politics. There is perhaps some reason to regret that the pressure of the *Kulturkampf* has so considerably abated in the course of the last year.

Correspondence.

THE GENEVA AWARD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: No one can appreciate more highly than I do the independence and ability of the *Nation*. As matters go with us, its aggressive proclivities are by no means to be regretted. It would be no small public misfortune if its influence, so well won and so widely felt, should be impaired by intemperance in denunciation, unfounded declamation, or the substitution of personal detraction for calm and logical argument.

I wrote to you about the Geneva Award because I knew that your oft-repeated assertion, that the claim for war premiums was concocted by a "noted rascal," and supported by dishonest influences, was wholly untrue. General Butler, whom you take so much liberty in denouncing, did *not* originate either the claim or the bill. Representing, as I do, almost half the claims and almost the only active interest in presenting them, I can assert that, so far as I know, no one in Congress or in the service of the Government has ever received one dollar to enlist their favor. I think, therefore, we may safely dismiss the charge of bribery and corruption. I stated the grounds on which I and my associates honestly based our belief in the justice of the claim for war premiums. It appears, however, that to differ from you is, to yourselves at least, sufficient evidence of moral depravity, and again you descend to personal aspersion. As to the practice of our Government in the treatment of insurance companies, ex-Governor W. B. Washburn writes January 24, 1873: "While I was on the Committee of Claims (in Congress) for six years, several cases of insurance companies were presented where property had been lost or destroyed on which they had paid the insurance. The Committee always dismissed the claim, on the ground that they were paid for the work, and could not ask the Government to hold them harmless." So also, on the defeat of the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, the Cabinet declined to present the claim of a large New York insurance company, for the reason that, as its war gains were more than its war losses, it had no claim under international law. The Attorney-General at that time was the Hon. E. R. Hoar. It seems, therefore, that it is no new doctrine that insurers whose war gains are more than their war losses may not be regarded as losers in dealings between nations.

As to the treatment of the subject at Geneva: By the Treaty of Washington, in Article 7 it was agreed that, if a sum in gross were awarded, it should be for all the claims referred to the Tribunal; in Article 9, that the result of the proceedings of the Tribunal should be considered as a full, perfect, and final settlement of all the claims; in Article 10, that if a gross sum was not awarded, a board of assessors should determine what claims were valid, and what amount should be paid by Great Britain to the United States on account of the liability as to each vessel. By the instructions of the State Department to the Commissioners of December 8, 1871, "the President desires to have the question discussed as one between two governments. In the discussion of this question, and in the treatment of the entire case, you will be careful not to commit the Government as to the disposition of what may be awarded. The Government wishes to hold itself free to decide as to the rights and claims of insurers upon the termination of the case. If the value of the property captured or destroyed be recovered in the name of the Government, the distribution of the amount recovered will be made by this Government without committal as to the mode of distribution." In the language of the award, "the Tribunal awards to the United States a sum of fifteen and a half millions of dollars in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for the satisfaction of *all* claims referred to the consideration of the Tribunal."

It thus appears that the Tribunal allowed a sum in gross for all the claims presented, including, of course, war premiums; and that our Government received it free of committal, for distribution according to its own judgment; and that the matter was treated as one between two nations not bound to individual claimants. The pecuniary damage to the United States could be measured only by the value of the property destroyed, and this was paid and received with the condition that our Government was free to decide who were really the losers by the acts paid for.

All merchants are of course aware that in cases of salvage under total loss, the insurers are subrogated to the legal rights of the insured. If the award had been made in accordance with the alternative provided for by the tenth Article of the Treaty of Washington, there might be a possibility of following any particular loss through to the result. But the award was not so made, but under the seventh Article, under different provisions, all the losses being treated as national losses and in gross. To be subrogated is to inherit the legal rights of the insured. But this is not a case of salvage, and the insured having no legal rights, there is nothing to be subrogated.

The subject has, however, been fully and ably discussed at Washington, and the passage of the War-Premium Bill by the House shows that there is at least more than your side to the question—unless, indeed, *all* who voted for the bill were bribed.

B.

Boston, July 12, 1876.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Will the *Nation* allow a few words from "the other side" in regard to the question of the distribution of the Geneva award?

If the position taken by the *Nation* on this question is correct, then we are in a desperate condition; we are in perishing need of "reform." On the test-vote in the House on the minority report in favor of the mode of distribution advocated by the *Nation*, 186 members voted; 35 of these men sustained the views of the *Nation*, and 151 voted the other way. On the adoption of the majority report, which the *Nation* condemns *in toto*, 107 voted to sustain the report, and 94 were against it. This minority included 33 of the 35 members who agree with the *Nation*, and 63 who were no doubt in favor of some other nefarious scheme. At least 31 of them voted in favor of covering the whole sum into the Treasury (which I am told is robbery). So that 35 is about the whole number of our representatives, who were acting at that time, who touch the *Nation's* standard of legislative morality. It would be instructive if the names of the gentlemen voting in favor of the right could be printed in one column in your paper, and those of the individuals who voted the other way in the opposite column.

Let me make a list of the representatives who spoke in the main in favor of these two sides, by way of illustration:

Opponents of "Quibbling Politicians"—i.e., in Favor of Insurance Claims.—J. Proctor Knott, Elias W. Leavenworth, Benjamin A. Willis, James A. Garfield, William P. Lynde, Henry L. Pierce, John M. Davy.

Men of "Obliquity of Moral Vision"—i.e., Opposed to Insurance Claims.—Julius H. Seelye, Abram S. Hewitt, Scott Lord, Eugene Hale, William P. Frye, George A. Jencks, Bernard G. Caulfield, George W. McCrary, G. Wiley Wells, William W. Warren, Edwin R. Meade, William Lawrence.

If the *Nation* is right on the question of legislative morals, the better class of citizens should at once call a "conference" to consider these questions: (1) Is not our Government hopelessly and irremediably corrupt? (2) Ought it not at once to be reorganized *by us?*

There are two sets of claimants on the Geneva Award Fund who stand in the way of those whose rights you so strenuously advocate. I am well acquainted with one class—*i.e.*, those who suffered loss by the *Nashville*, the *Shenandoah* before she reached Melbourne, and the like. Let me say for them that they have just as complete, just as intelligent, and just as honest a conviction that they are right in the position they take as have any or all the persons who advocate the claims of insurance companies.

Now, a few words on the merits, as suggested in your paper of the 13th instant.

1. The matters referred to in the communication of "G. B. C." present on his statement no facts bearing on the present discussion. The best evidence that none exist which do aid in this debate is found in this, that although "G. B. C.'s" statement came before the Judiciary Committee from the mouth of an insurance president from Baltimore, yet not one of the many advocates of these claims, paid or volunteer, has ever ventured to present the case cited in any authentic or tangible shape.

2. There is no analogy whatever between the ordinary relation of attorney and client before a court, to which both are subject, and that subsisting between a sovereign nation and its agents, as it voluntarily appears

before a tribunal like that at Geneva. To argue from such supposed analogy is to confuse all distinctions and ignore every authority. The moral and legal right of this Government to reserve to itself the question of distribution cannot be successfully impeached upon either principle or authority, and if it could be, then, to that extent, the independence of governments would be at an end.

3. "A." in your article means insurance companies. I deny that in the recorded proceedings of the Tribunal, or in the expositions of the American case, there is to be found any concession or acknowledgment that the insurance companies had any claim for damage or for losses, or that they were entitled to one dollar of the sum awarded.

4. I deny that there is one word in all the papers which shows that the Tribunal awarded one dollar for the insurance claims. Not only did the counsel for our Government plainly tell the Tribunal and the counsel for Great Britain that it was none of their business what we did with the award, but the members of the Tribunal were all too well versed in public law not to know that a proposition on their part looking to final distribution would have been a piece of childish impertinence.

5. I deny that there is one solitary word in the award which indicates in any way what the views of the Tribunal were on the question of distribution. The claim of the insurance companies, wholly barren of equity or moral right as it is, rests upon the application to the award of the technical doctrine of law termed the right of subrogation. It is proposed to affix this doctrine to the award. On this proposition, the insurance companies get thirty-five votes in their favor to one hundred and fifty-one against them in the House. There has yet to be produced a single adjudicated case which supports the exclusive claim the insurance companies now assert.

6. "Professor Seelye's doctrines would not stand for five minutes in any court in the United States or England," you say. The best answer to this assertion is found in this: there has never been a public suggestion by the insurance companies or by those in their interests to refer these matters to a court which has not been accompanied by a provision, either covert or open, which made the doctrine of subrogation the law of the case. I am sure I should have known if any such had been made.

APPRENTICE.

NEW YORK, July 14, 1876.

FACTORY SYSTEM FOR INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a previous communication I spoke of a pastoral system for the wild Indians of the Plains, but without giving the subject much elaboration. A factory system for the more advanced tribes, upon reservations, will form the subject of this. The first system of the Government for the management of the Indian tribes has usually been known under this name. Without stopping to explain its character, I propose to show, by experimental proofs, that a system, which this term well enough describes, can be successfully introduced among them, because it is adapted to their condition. Its object is to help them support themselves by giving employment to their own industry and stimulating its exercise.

A few words first upon the present system. Its principal points are: 1. A body of laws to protect the tribes and their lands from the aggressions of white men. 2. An agricultural farm upon the principal reservations ($20,000 has been the usual annual appropriation for each farm). 3. A blacksmith's shop. 4. A common school. 5. An agency at each principal reservation, to supervise the census of the tribe, to see that the annuities are paid according to this census, that their persons and their lands are protected from aggression, and that other Government appropriations are properly expended. Treaties for the purchase of their lands have accumulated in the hands of the Government large sums of money belonging to the different tribes, of which the interest is paid to them annually; and large sums, in money and in goods, have been paid to certain tribes annually in the past for a limited number of years under the same treaties. The appropriations for agricultural farms, blacksmith-shops, and schools, are in pursuance of treaty stipulations. As all know, the system is nominally administered by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington; but this Commissioner was never invested with sufficient powers for the proper administration of the office. The power of appointing and removing agents, and of controlling the action of the Commissioner, rests with his superior, the Secretary of the Interior. For the last thirty years, the Indian agents appointed have, in the main, been of the reprobate class. They have been charged with robbing these appropriations, and with all forms of cheating and defrauding. Exceptional cases exist, but their reputation before the country, as a class, is disgustingly odious. Under this system nearly a hundred millions of dollars have been expended by the Government upon the Indians in the last thirty years, and without any permanent benefit, excepting such as was derived from the schools and the blacksmith-shops. As a system, the failure has been substantially total and complete. Moreover, it has disgraced the intelligence of the country. We have a right to say that a quarter of this money ought to have done a hundredfold more good to the Indian tribes, and that it would have done so under a system more intelligent.

Finally, the system is vicious in its organization. The Commissioner, under the laws, ought to have supreme power over Indian affairs, and be held responsible for results. Inasmuch as the moral character of the American people before the world is involved in the ultimate fate of the Indian race, I venture to repeat the statement, made in a previous letter, that a Department of Indian Affairs ought now to be created by law. With a Cabinet officer at its head armed with the powers of a department, we might yet hope for the formation of an intelligent and efficient system of management. It would prove in the end an economical as well as judicious act, and without a doubt would become an infinite blessing to the Indian tribes as a substitute for the present organization.

The affairs of the Indians are by no means easily handled. They continuously present tough and difficult problems, because the present system, instead of anticipating their wants, simply aims to meet these difficulties as they arise. The Indian tribes must be dealt with as they are—as Indians, and not as though they were white men—and with patience and forbearance. They are not only barbarians, but in a low stage of barbarism, immensely below the plane of civilization. They are incapable of acting in the modes of a civilized race, but they are neither devoid of intelligence nor incapable of appreciating the usual incentives to human action. It will be found possible to stimulate their industry and to lead them gradually into the practice of labor, and with it into an improved plan of life. It is the only possible way to help them to the rescue of themselves. In this work the Indian women will be found to take the initiative, as women have always done in all the stages of human experience and progress in the several families of mankind. The love of property is still a feeble passion in the brains of an Indian; its uses are but little appreciated, and its stimulus is but little felt. Their daily food is their principal concern. The men work with untiring diligence in hunting and fishing when game and fish are their principal food, but they have no conception of property as the representative of accumulated subsistence. While they understand the arts of barbarous life, they have but little knowledge of those of civilized life. Any system of management, therefore, must be adapted to their mental as well as physical condition if success is expected or desired.

The factory system can best be illustrated by an actual experiment, originated and conducted by Mr Philetus S. Church among the Ojibwa Indians of Lake Superior. If a single man with his own resources could accomplish such a work, the National Government, acting intelligently, ought to do at least as well upon every reservation in the United States, and with but a fraction of the money it now expends annually upon the Indian tribes. The original central home of the Ojibwas was at the great fisheries of the Sault St. Mary, on the outlet of Lake Superior; but the body of the tribe are now in the vicinity of Leach Lake, near the Red River of the North. Several hundred Ojibwas, however, still remain in places upon the south shore of Lake Superior and upon the Canada side of the St. Mary River. Upon these scattered remnants of the tribe Mr. Church's experiment was made. His plan was to draw them together at a new settlement, and, by creating new branches of Indian industry, to enable them to support themselves in a creditable manner, in the management of which he proposed to act as their factor. An isolated position being desirable, that whiskey might be excluded, he selected Sugar Island in the St. Mary River, about twelve miles below the Sault St. Mary, where he first pre-empted and finally purchased seven hundred acres of land. In 1848, he constructed a residence, a warehouse, a store, and a dock, and commenced operations with a few Indian families to whom he had imparted his plans. At a later time he built a steam saw-mill, and taught them how to operate it. Having visited this factory first in 1855, and nearly every summer thereafter until 1863, the following account, taken from memoranda made at the time, is in part from personal observation, but chiefly from facts communicated by Mr. Church.

The staple articles upon which his scheme of Indian labor was formed were, first, the manufacture of raspberry-jam from the wild berries which grow in profusion in this region; second, the manufacture of ornamental articles of birch-bark, consisting of miniature canoes, of boxes, baskets, and fancy work of many kinds; also rugs and floor-mattings of rushes, maple sugar, snow-shoes, ball bats, bows and arrows, moccasins, and ornamental leather and bead work. These were to be sold to tourists. Third,

tamarack boat-knees, which were to be found in abundance for the cutting in the tamarack forests upon this river, and which were in demand at all the ports where lake vessels were constructed. Upon these humble products of Indian industry, and trusting to the markets of the country for their sale, Mr. Church established and carried into successful operation the most useful and instructive experiment with Indian labor ever tried in the United States. After years of persevering labor he was rewarded with success beyond his expectations. He established his own prosperity as well as that of his Indian colony.

The success of the experiment is quickest shown by the results in figures. In 1863, the colony upon the island numbered eight hundred Ojibwa Indians. From a few families in 1848, they had gradually increased to this number, most of whom lived in their own houses, and who were better housed, better clad, and better subsisted than they ever had been in their previous experience. Mr. Church informed me that his sales the previous year (1832), which were wholly of the products of Indian industry, amounted to $40,000; of which he had paid to them in goods, provisions, and money about $25,000. The amount of raspberry-jam manufactured had increased from year to year until it reached, in 1862, 24,000 pounds. This was sealed up in earthen jars, 10, 15, 20, and 25 pounds in each, and sent to all parts of the country, where it found a ready sale. At 20 cents per pound, the current price, it produced $4,800. In 1850, when he first commenced cutting tamarack knees, the whole number obtained was 1,000, but in 1862 it had increased to 10,000. He paid the Indians 60 and 70 cents for each, and sold them at his dock as they ran for $1. This added $10,000 to the amount of his sales; but the two articles together were considerably less than half of the annual product. It shows that the mere fancy articles formed a very large part of the productive industry of the island.

No ardent spirits were allowed to be sold or used upon the island, which was an important element in the success of the enterprise. Although whiskey could be obtained in abundance at the Sault St Mary, twelve miles away, he discouraged its use among them as a fundamental principle of action. Payments at fair and uniform prices for their labor and their fabrics were made at the store, either in goods, or provisions, or money, as they chose; but he discouraged the payment of money, lest they should be tempted to spend it improperly at the village. By integrity and good management mutual confidence became complete, and the fruits of their own industry were applied to their own maintenance.

Mr. Church spoke in the highest terms of the industry of the Indian women. He said they were universally industrious, "the most industrious of womenkind"—that the men also had done well, and were not averse to labor if properly treated and fairly paid. He observed, further, that a marked change for the better had taken place in the social relations of the sexes, and in the treatment of the women by the men. They had erected comfortable houses, furnished them with our furniture, and now used tables and sat down together at their meals.

The experiment which Mr Church has tried so successfully has a direct bearing, rightly understood, upon the Government management of the Indian tribes. He has demonstrated that Indians will use their industry to improve their condition if a factor can be found to stand efficiently and intelligently between their fabrics and the markets of the country. He has shown, further, that a proper system can be made profitable to the factor as well as to the workmen and workwomen. It needs, then, such a factor at each reservation, to devise for each a plan of industry as well adapted to the condition of each tribe as that of Mr. Church was to the Ojibwas. No two would be alike in the fabrics made, because the circumstances of the tribes are different; but the same destitution, apathy, and unemployed industry will be found at all alike, and the method of dealing with them would be the same in principle in all. Mr. Church alone has the genius and experience to establish a system of Indian industry upon all these reservations in the course of ten or fifteen years, provided the means were placed in his hands by the Government to accomplish the work.

Has the Government any obligation in this matter, it may be asked, especially when millions of our own people are suffering for employment? Assuredly it has, for reasons special to the Indian tribes. It has been the pleasure as well as policy of the Government to force the tribes generally upon reservations, thus changing abruptly their plan of life. In their normal state they were free rangers over broad territories, living by hunting and fishing, but with permanent settlements here and there, where some of them in a slovenly way cultivated maize and plants. Reservations are to them places of stagnation and death, since it forces upon them a life in which they have had no experience. At these reservations, as a rule, there is neither a market nor a demand for any fabric they might manufacture; and they are incompetent from inexperience to deal in the general markets of the country. It is the precise object of the factory system under discussion to create a profitable connection between their industry and these markets—a connection enjoyed by every American citizen.

From the condition of torpor into which reservation life plunges them, they need awakening by such instrumentalities as Mr. Church devised. The Indian women, by their industry, will solve the problem in every Indian tribe, and raise the Indians gradually into a vastly improved condition, if to their industry a fair chance is given.

With the presentation of this subject still incomplete, I must here leave it to keep this communication within reasonable bounds.

LEWIS H. MORGAN.

ROCHESTER, July 20, 1876.

Notes.

J. R. OSGOOD & CO. publish this month 'The Echo Club, and Other Literary Diversions,' by Bayard Taylor.——Hurd & Houghton have in press 'The Anatomy of the Head,' by Prof. Thomas Dwight, and the second volume of the 'Proceedings of the American Public Health Association' (1874–75).——A new illustrated "Kensington" edition of Thackeray's works, in twelve volumes; a second edition of Hobbs's 'Architecture'; 'Allen Bay,' an American novel, by S. O. Stedman; 'Diseases of the Skin,' by Louis A. Duhring; and 'On the Use of Ipecacuanha,' by Dr. Alfred A. Woodhull, U.S.A., are among the latest announcements of J. B. Lippincott & Co.——The sixth volume of the centenary edition of Bancroft's 'History of the United States' completes the work (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) The series, in point of handiness and attractiveness, leaves nothing to be desired.——In Col. Hoyt's transcript of the list of donations for the relief of Boston during the operation of the Port Bill, published in the last number of the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, it is curious to note that South Carolina contributed £1,403 in cash and more than as much again in rice. This sum was exceeded only by the Massachusetts Bay donations (cash £2,213). New Jersey stands third, with cash £594. New York apparently gave no cash, though liberally in other ways.——The Authors' Publishing Company announce for next month 'Common Sense; or, First Steps in Political Economy,' by M. R. Leverson, Ph.D.

—We have received from "Art Student" a rejoinder to Mr. Walter Smith's defence of his Normal Art School, which we shall publish next week.

—A convention of librarians is likely to be held in Philadelphia next October. The profession is awaking to a sense that it is a profession, and beginning to feel that it has as much need of and as much right to an organization as the teachers, or doctors, or dentists, or firemen. Conventions may not produce any very startling results; the papers read may be empty, or dull, or wrong-headed; the few valuable essays may find a tired or inattentive audience; but good-fellowship is likely to be promoted and *esprit de corps* increased, and, in the present case, something will be gained by the public recognition of the existence of the occupation, as one having certain special duties, requiring peculiar aptitudes, and deserving to be entered by an apprenticeship. As long as the chief libraries were those of colleges or historical societies, used by comparatively few readers, of whom a large part might be expected to be trained in investigation and the use of books, it was natural and not objectionable that librarianship should be a refuge for those who had failed in other occupations. With the growth, however, of city and mercantile libraries, dealing with large numbers of borrowers, where promptitude and despatch were all-important, a new class of men were secured—men having, if not business training, at least aptitude for business. And as the work possible to libraries has developed, and they have more and more come forward as companion educators to the public schools, it has further become evident that the man of business is not competent to do all that a librarian can do usefully. All librarians are more or less called on to assist investigation; if not supposed to be omniscient, they are at least expected to know where to look for any bit of information that is wanted. But the town librarian cannot be content with this; he must be qualified to direct the reading of his clientage; he should be in a way the literary pastor of the town; he must be able to become familiar with his flock, especially with the young, to gain their confidence, to select their reading, and gradually to elevate their taste. Like a minister, he must be content with slow progress and meagre results. It is only by flowery paths and gentle ascents that he can lead them from Braddon to Scott and from Tupper to Tenny-

son. But he will keep his object always in mind, and will never be satisfied but as he sees the percentage of fiction read decreasing and the proportion of travels, and history, and science, and philosophy increasing. There are librarians who have effected this, some by annotated catalogues, some by personal intercourse (that is, as it were, by the sermon and by the pastoral visit). If they can be brought together and made to tell their methods, others will be moved to imitate them. This, at least, was the result of the Convention of 1853 at New York—a meeting which has probably never been heard of by the greater part of the present generation of librarians. Frequent conventions may become wearisome, but one every twenty-three years can certainly be endured by the most indifferent of the profession.

—In his new book, 'Lessons from Nature,' which is throughout marked by a highly controversial, not to say capricious, spirit, Mr. St. George Mivart has reprinted in full his reply to the late Mr. Chauncey Wright's criticism on his former work, 'The Genesis of Species.' Mr. Wright's criticism appeared in the *North American Review* for July, 1871, and Mr. Mivart's reply was originally published in the same *Review* in April, 1872. Mr. Mivart states as the reasons for the present republication of his reply the fact that Mr. Darwin had Mr. Wright's criticism republished in England and very extensively circulated, thereby showing that he "must have thought Mr. Chauncey Wright's defence of him extremely important"; and, further, the fact that "I [Mr. Mivart] attach a very special value to the opinions formed in the United States, . . . and am therefore anxious that my reply to the one hostile critic I have there should be as widely diffused as possible." There can, of course, be no sort of objection to Mr. Mivart's giving this new circulation to his reply; but it is to be regretted that in thus reprinting it he omits to mention that in the number of the *Review* following that in which it was first published appeared a long and able rejoinder from Mr. Wright. In this rejoinder Mr. Wright not only effectively maintains the ground he had previously taken, but points out that in one important passage Mr. Mivart had misquoted Mr. Wright's words so as to obscure, if not to pervert, their meaning. In the reprint of his reply in Mr. Mivart's new volume, we regret to find the misquotation again making its appearance, and no attention paid to the fact that its erroneous character had been pointed out four years ago. This is the more noticeable from the fact that in his reply Mr. Mivart had brought a similar charge against Mr. Wright, and Mr. Wright in his rejoinder had fully acknowledged his carelessness in the omission of two words from a citation —words, however, which did not alter the character of the passage or affect the argument from it. Mr. Mivart's carelessness, or want of candor, ought to be held in mind in the formation of those opinions in the United States to which Mr. Mivart professes to attach "a very special value."

—Who was the "friend," mentioned by Longfellow, to whom Paul Revere entrusted the delicate and perilous task of hanging out a lantern,

> "aloft in the belfry arch
> Of the North Church tower as a signal light,"

on the night of the famous ride

> "To every Middlesex village and farm"?

At the centennial celebration of this event in Boston a year ago last April, it was stated that this friend was the sexton of the church, Robert Newman, and the evidence connecting him with the transaction, we are informed, was the testimony (1) of his son; (2) of an old lady, now 90 years of age, the grand-daughter of John Newman, a brother of Robert; (3) of Joshua B. Fowle, who remembers Paul Revere as visiting at his father's house with other patriots of the time; and (4) of William Green, who lives at the North End, in Boston, and whose sister, eighty-four years old, remembers Robert Newman. All these persons state that "it was the universally-received opinion that Robert Newman displayed the signal lights." But the Boston *Advertiser* of the 20th of July publishes a letter from Mr. John Lee Watson, of Orange, New Jersey, who claims the honor of hanging out the signal for a kinsman, John Pulling. Mr. Watson states that Pulling was a warden and vestryman of the North Church; that he was a member, with Paul Revere, of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety; that he was one of a committee, again in company with Revere, appointed "at a meeting of freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, to collect the names of all persons who have in any way acted against or opposed the rights and liberties of this country"; and that Revere and Pulling were "intimate friends from boyhood and always acted together." Paul Revere states, in his 'Narrative,' that he "called upon a friend and desired him to make the signals." Mr. Watson argues that Revere would scarcely have referred to the church sexton as his "friend," nor would he have entrusted "that most critical and hazardous part of the whole enterprise" to any such person, especially as both Revere and Pulling belonged to a union, of about thirty persons, formed to watch the movements of British soldiers and Tories, and every member of which was solemnly sworn not to reveal any of their transactions to any other persons than those belonging to committees chosen by themselves, and to these committees only Revere, Pulling, Hancock, Adams, and a few others belonged. We now come to one of the strongest points of Mr. Watson's letter. The sexton, Newman, suspected of hanging out the lights, was arrested and questioned, but protested his innocence, and declared that "the keys of the church were demanded of him, at a late hour of the night, by Mr. Pulling, who, being a vestryman, he thought had a right to them; and after he had given them up he went to bed again." Newman, thereupon, was released; but before Pulling could be arrested he was secretly warned, and escaped in the disguise of a laborer, reaching Nantasket in safety. Mr. Watson makes up his account—when his statements are of facts not already on record—chiefly from the letters of "a kinswoman," the grand-daughter of John Pulling, who writes with clearness and great positiveness; and also from his own recollections of conversations with his mother and aunt, who were sisters-in-law of Pulling.

—In *Notes and Queries* there are now appearing extracts from the MS. autobiography of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, Rector of Annapolis and, after his return to England, Vicar of Epsom. He taught school prior to his preferment to the rectory of St. Anne's, Annapolis, in 1770, and among his pupils was the stepson of Washington, "and this laid the foundation of a very particular intimacy and friendship, which lasted till we finally separated never to unite again on our taking different sides in the late troubles." The rector's view of Washington differs greatly from that generally taken. "At Braddock's defeat, and every subsequent occasion throughout the war, he acquitted himself much in the same manner as, in my judgment, he has since done—*i.e.*, decently, but never greatly. I did know Mr. Washington well; and . . . I cannot conceive how he could otherwise than through the interested representations of party have ever been spoken of as a great man. He is shy, silent, stern, slow, and cautious, but has no quickness of parts, extraordinary penetration, nor an elevated style of thinking. In his moral character he is regular, temperate, strictly just and honest (excepting that as a Virginian he has lately found out that there is no moral turpitude in not paying what he confesses he owes to a British creditor), and as I have always thought religious, having heretofore been pretty constant, and even exemplary, in his attendance on public worship in the Church of England. But he seems to have nothing generous or affectionate in his nature." However prejudiced the reverend rector might be in one way, he was not in another. He notes that "on the 24th of November, 1765, I baptized in St. Mary's Church one hundred and fifteen negro adults; and on the 31st of March, 1766, being Easter Monday, I baptized three hundred and thirteen negro adults, and lectured extempore to upwards of a thousand. I question whether so extraordinary an accession to the Church of Christ by one man, and in one day, can be paralleled even in the journals of a Popish missionary. . . . I had towards the last of my ministry there thirteen black communicants."

—Of the Loan-Exhibition of pictures now open in this city for the joint benefit of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Academy of Design we made mention in No. 576. A study of the catalogue of the paintings at the latter institution is not without interest, if it be granted, as it readily will be by those familiar with the best private picture-galleries of this city, that the collection is fairly representative of the taste of our collectors. The catalogue itself is poorly edited and poorly printed; it is entirely unworthy of comparison with the neat workmanship of the catalogues of the South Kensington loan-exhibitions; it is full of blunders; the foreign names are shockingly mangled; M. Couture appears three times as Conture; M. Toulmouche is Foulmouche; accents are constantly left out, notably in the names of MM. J. L. Gérôme and Jules Dupré; even the name of one of the committee on printing is misprinted in both places where it occurs; in the list at the end of the artists represented an American painter figures once as "Hicks, T. (N. A.), New York," and again two lines below as "Hicks, Thos. (N. A.), New York," while the deceased English artist, T. S. Cooper (R. A.), is seen in the same list as "Cooper, R. A., London, dec'd," as though the initials of his academic honors were those of his own name. The usefulness of the catalogue would be greatly increased if, in the revision which these manifest and manifold errors demand, there should be appended to the name of each artist in the final list the catalogue-numbers of his pictures—thus, for instance: "Cabanel, Alex., Paris—Nos. 97, 129, 167, 219, 298, 309, 375." If this were done, admirers of the artist would be able to see at a glance how many of his pictures there were on exhibi-

tion, and would not be likely to overlook, for example, because it is hung in a corner of a corner room, No. 375, "A Venetian Lady," here miscalled the "Power of Music," just as M. Gérôme's "Pollice Verso," No. 206, is here miscalled the "Gladiators." Taking the catalogue, however, as it is and not as it might be, we find it contains three hundred and ninety-eight numbers by two hundred and twenty-two artists, of whom all but twenty-three are living. Forty-five of the painters are Americans, and of these thirty-five belong to the National Academy. There are two R.S.A.s and but one R.A. Indeed, there are only five Englishmen at all, even if we include the Dutchman Tadema and the American Boughton, both now domiciled in London. Düsseldorf is represented by eleven artists, Rome by thirteen, Munich by sixteen, and Paris by one hundred and eight, or nearly half the whole number (222), and more than double the number of Americans (45). And the French painters are represented as generously individually as they are nationally. M. Bouguereau—whose handiwork to the casual visitor appears omnipresent—heads the list with ten pictures, M. Cabanel has seven, M. Gérôme six, Zamacoïs five, M. Schreyer four. There are but two works of M. Meissonier, and but one of M. Vibert. Of the American painters Mr. Boughton runs M. Bouguereau hard, having nine numbers to the Frenchman's ten; Kensett and Mr. Huntington have seven each, and Mr. Church and Mr. Eastman Johnson six each. If there should be a similar exhibition held here in ten years' time, a comparison of these figures with those to be obtained from the catalogue then would afford some indication of the change of taste and of the progress our picture-buyers may have made towards the appreciation of the best in art.

—Mr. S. J. Whitmee, an agent of the London Missionary Society, writes to *Nature* (of June 29) from Samoa to correct some popular notions as to the rapid disappearance of the inhabitants of Polynesia. The error has arisen, he says, from extravagant estimates of the population of different islands made by early visitors and residents, due to their inferring a proportionate population in the interior from the inhabitants of the coast, who really constituted the whole. That diminution has taken place since the first contact with civilized races is true, he continues, but from personal knowledge he feels convinced that the people were rapidly decreasing before such intercourse began. Nor is the decrease now universal, for if civilization has done something to accelerate, Christianity has done much to retard it, as is seen from the partial or complete cessation of native wars; the discontinuance of human sacrifices and even of cannibalism; the greater respect paid to women, which leads to their being relieved from drudgery; the increased care of infants and of aged people; and the growth in industry, by which the supply of food is made more regular. Nevertheless, on the whole, the Polynesians are losing ground, partly in consequence of the introduction of epidemic diseases, like the measles, which, for instance, decimated the Fiji Islands shortly after they had passed under the British rule, the King having brought it in his suite from Australia, whither he had been taken on a royal excursion; and partly and principally from the destructiveness of ardent spirits and syphilis—in the Sandwich Islands, of leprosy also. Quarantine and a prohibitory duty on spirits are the remedies which Mr. Whitmee suggests for some of these evils.

—M. Taine has just published in the *Journal des Débats* an interesting critical letter upon George Sand. He observes, first, that she is a literary figure whom we have altogether exceptional facilities for knowing and describing.

"In no case can one better apply the method of Sainte-Beuve, who, to understand a great individual, employed physiology, noted the links of consanguinity, observed the parents and the ancestors. We know with details the father and the mother of George Sand, and her grandparents to the fourth generation; we have their letters, we know their private life, we can follow from the King Augustus [of Poland], through the Maréchal de Saxe, Madame Dupin, the *commandant* Dupin, down to George Sand herself, the transmission of an original temperament, of particular faculties which, exaggerated, attenuated, renewed, or transformed by successive 'crosses,' attained their highest development and their most perfect harmony in the final genius who summed them up. There is not in human history another example equally instructive, a collection of materials so rich and going back so far, a case so precious for the light it throws upon psychological heredity."

M. Taine adds that upon George Sand herself information is abundant, and that her 'Histoire de ma Vie' is a complete record of the growth of her mind as well as of her external circumstances during her younger years.

"Then come her novels and her whole work, more than a hundred volumes, of which the weakest deserves a study, for she never wrote simply to write. Even into a tale of thirty pages she put a thought. No one has ever more continually and more sincerely turned over grave questions; she was possessed and beset by them; and in following the series of her novels one might by their testimony write the moral and philosophic history of the age. With a very fixed stock of persistent beliefs and aspirations, she always continued to develop; among her contemporaries she is with Sainte-Beuve almost the only one who voluntarily and deliberately renewed herself, enlarged the circle of her ideas, refused to rest content with answers made once for all. Better still, and through the simple progress of an intelligence which was always active, she passed spontaneously from bad answers to good ones."

She passed, says M. Taine, from the stormy and rebellious temper of her younger years to the quiet conservatism of her later ones; "without lowering her ideal, she reconciled herself to the regular course of life," accepted "work, good sense, reason, society, marriage, the family, all useful, salutary, or necessary things." M. Taine says (justly to our mind) that if George Sand's novels have not the solid realism of those of Balzac, their species is a higher one. "Only, to relish them, you must put yourself at a certain point of view, interest yourself in the portrayal of a finer and better humanity. That of Madame Sand's novels is two or three degrees superior to ours; the men have more talent and genius, the women more heart and devotion, than among ourselves; they all talk better and more eloquently than we; they are framed in a finer scenery, surrounded by landscapes and apartments that have been artistically arranged; it is an ideal world, and to keep up our illusion the writer tones some things down, suppresses others, and often, instead of painting an individual figure, sketches a general outline." M. Taine goes on to say that another merit of her novels is that they each contain, as a groundwork, "a general idea, a philosophic, religious, or moral thesis, a problem of the heart or the conscience, or a problem of education." He adds (but perhaps his confidence on this point is erroneous) that "it is these abstractions, these *tirades*, that will obtain for George Sand a permanent and sympathetic attention when the minute copies of the cleverest painters will have ceased to be understood, or have become mere documents for the historian." Lastly, M. Taine pays a vigorous tribute to Madame Sand's style:

"It places her beyond comparison. . . No one, since the classics of the last two centuries, has had so much eloquence, and this eloquence is never misplaced, for it is the proper tone of an artist who is handling 'questions' and who intentionally gives his characters genius or talent. . . . Nothing is forced, wanton, unequal; everything is abundant, spontaneous, and sound. Towards the middle of her career she had worked herself free of a remnant of a tendency to declamation, and had ceased to think of 'la phrase'; it is probably to her rustic novels and her studies on simplicity of style that she owes this reform. By the same stroke she had discovered a new and exquisite literary form. To my mind, allowing for the distance between poetry and prose, her rustic tales are almost equal to the 'Hermann and Dorothea' of Goethe. Their style is unique—as Greek as that of Goethe, with this difference: that Goethe's verses seem imitated from Homer, and that George Sand's narrative appears to have been inspired by Xenophon."

He finds an analogy between her dialogues and those of the 'Cyropædia,' and he says in conclusion that "in a civilization like ours, beneath such an encumberment of abstractions and theories, in the midst of a literature so complicated and so composite, this creation, this renovation of the primitive tongue, is an unexampled *tour de force*. No portion of the immense work of George Sand gives so high an idea of the originality of her genius and the flexibility of her mind."

RECENT FOREIGN WORKS ON AMERICA.*

THE works of intelligent foreigners upon this country will always possess a peculiar interest. Our own historians are all more or less affected by the glamour which surrounds the origin of this unique experiment in government and event in history; but the case of De Tocqueville shows how much value is attached to the calm judgment of a competent European observer. These requirements are clearly fulfilled in the case of Mr. Kapp. Born in Westphalia in 1824, he continued in the Prussian legal service (and we know what that requires) till 1848. Quitting Germany after the Frankfort rising of September 18, he passed some time in Brussels, Paris, and Geneva, and from 1850 to 1870 made his headquarters in New York, acting part of the time as Commissioner of Emigration, and again making himself familiar with, as he says, a majority of the States, not by mere railway travel, but on horseback, by road conveyance, and by sojourn among the inhabitants. The one moment when he was tempted to become an American citizen was at the first formation of the Republican party, but, finding himself too strongly drawn homeward, he has returned to Germany, and sat since 1872 as a member of the German Parliament. His book has a threefold interest for us: first, being written in German and published in Berlin, it is a report to his nation of the country with which they are perhaps more closely connected than with any but their

* 'Aus und über Amerika, Thatsachen und Erlebnisse. Von Friedrich Kapp.' Berlin: Julius Springer; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876.

own, and towards which so many are looking as their future home; secondly, it is a message to Americans from that vast tide of emigration which is swelling our population, with us but not yet of us, and still strangers in language, habits, and modes of thought; and lastly, as remarked, it gives the comments of a cultivated observer upon the current events of the New World.

The two volumes comprise a series of essays written at different times of Mr. Kapp's residence here, some in the form merely of a diary and others rising to the level of historical composition. The style is everywhere easy and attractive, and often brilliant, and the matter such as will repay even the exertion of reaching it through the foreign medium. Under the head of "Historical Retrospect" comes first an essay upon Washington, a very fair and well-balanced estimate of his character, but chiefly remarkable for the graphic way in which it sets forth the two theories of Hamilton and Jefferson—the Ormuzd and Ahriman, the spirits of good and evil—the two finger-posts pointing out the separate roads open to the new Republic. As an amusing touch of nationalism, we have noted the reflection that Quebec marked the downfall of France in America as Sedan did in Europe. It is also rather a striking observation how small were the causes of grievance of the colonists compared to those which led to the falling-off of the Netherlands from Spain, and correspondingly how moderate were the sacrifices and the spirit of determination which were really displayed by the American people.

Under the head of "Benjamin Franklin," a most interesting article, our author, usually calm and self-possessed, gives way to enthusiasm. Not only Izard, Morris, and Silas Deane, but such men as Jay, Laurens, and John Adams are represented merely as difficulties with which Franklin had to contend. In the recently published biography of John Quincy Adams, it is made to appear as if Count Vergennes was actuated by a desire of getting as much unfair advantage out of us and giving as little as possible, while, according to Mr. Kapp, Franklin had the greatest difficulty in softening the offensive manner of Mr. Adams, "professing himself entire confidence in the purity of the motives of M. Vergennes, who had not failed to give them satisfaction in any well-grounded demand." The articles upon the Declaration of Independence and the Monroe Doctrine are chiefly suited to the German market, as the matter, though very well presented, offers but little that is new to Americans.

The crowning portion of the work, in its interest for the American reader, is that upon the German Emigration. Those who remember Mr. Kapp's book upon the 'Trade in Soldiers for America by the German Princes,' know his power of presenting the romantic side of history, and in the present instance neither material nor treatment is wanting. A comprehensive view is given of this mighty movement of nations, not less extensive in itself or important in its consequences than that of the multitudes which poured "from the loins of the frozen North" to the destruction of the Roman Empire. If the circumstances which Mr. Kapp narrates as simple facts are true, the trade in emigrants in the last century between Germany and New York bore a strong resemblance to the African slave-trade. Even down to the fourth decade of this century, the fate of the unfortunates who trusted themselves to the emigrant ships was simply horrible, and as late as 1868 and 1869 the cases of the ships *Leibnitz* and *James Foster, jr.* showed that effective restraints upon the greed of ship-owners were not yet established. The North German Confederation first took the matter in hand, and the transfer of the trade to steamships with their better arrangements and shorter passages has affected great ameliorations. It is hard to say whether the picture given is more ludicrous or ghastly of the fate which up to 1847 awaited the German emigrant, ignorant of the language, on his arrival at New York; of the bands of swindlers and thieves who passed him along from thence to Albany and on to Buffalo, till, pretty thoroughly fleeced, he arrived at his final resting-place. Mr. Kapp relates with great approval the arrangements adopted by the Commissioners of Emigration, though in a note of 1875 he intimates that these officers are also falling into the political machine. Of all the materials for a humorous and sensational novel which lie ready for the hands of a Diedrich Knickerbocker, we know of none equal to Mr. Kapp's account of "the German settlements in Western Texas and the Mayence Union of German princes, counts, and gentlemen." But apart from the interest of the story, he uses it to point the contrast between the principles of colonization of the Teutonic and Latin races. The latter go out under the auspices of some high officials, are always looking for aid from home and to return thither, will not go to work, and fade miserably away. The former are traders or adventurers, who never look back, but, trusting to themselves, fight their way, often through incredible suffering, to independence. These Texas settlers went out about 1845 under the auspices of an august association which had a considerable, though quite insufficient, capital, and in comparative comfort. Inevitable bad management cut off their resources and plunged them into distress; but they would not help themselves, clamored about broken promises, lived upon the crumbs of assistance furnished them, nourished false hopes, and went from bad to worse, till drunkenness and rioting shared the field with disease and death. Strange to say, salvation came from ruin. One morning, Von Meusebach, who seems to have been of that type of heroes of which the Indian Mutiny produced samples of English blood, announced that the company they had trusted had failed and could do nothing for them. After the first burst of execration and despair, the survivors went to work for themselves. In 1870, New Braunfels, a thriving farming and manufacturing village of 2,261 inhabitants, celebrated with a festival the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. In an article upon "The Position and Future of the German Element," Mr. Kapp conducts an argument, which would not be necessary for an American, but throws light upon German aspirations, to show that the emigrants cannot form a permanent national element, but must, in the second or third generation at furthest, be absorbed in the general result of the many ingredients of race.

The second volume opens with a department of "Affairs Municipal and Ecclesiastical," and the cheek of every American must tingle with shame that such an account of the New York City Government can be published uncontradicted in Germany. Mr. Kapp's view tends, however, to confirm our impression that the conservative elements of New York hold the vast preponderance of real power, neutralized by utter want of organization. The respectables try to keep on with the absurd checks and balances which are "the theory of our institutions," while the Democrats have sought the fundamental principles of history and human nature in the "boss" system. When the other side make up their minds to a "boss" of their own—that is, a responsible government with the most searching publicity and directness of criticism—they will beat their opponents out of the field. We cannot agree with Mr. Kapp that any relief "can be expected from outside power," as the worst woes of New York date from its recourse to Albany. It is a case for his favorite maxim, "Help thyself." Mr. Kapp is, for a German, very mild in his views of the relations of the Roman Catholic Church and the Union. Doubtless, that body is accumulating large property, but our danger from it is not much more nor less than from other private interests, railroad rings, tariff combinations, etc., etc. Some stronger government has got to be arrived at to protect the many from the few, and, if not "responsible," it will sooner or later be "irresponsible."

Under the section, "Cotton is King" and "A Diary," we begin with the rise of the cotton power, and proceed to a graphic contemporary account of ante-war politics and the political side of the great struggle, most of which is for men of mature age "infandum renovare dolorem," but for men well towards the prime of life merely an historical retrospect. The volume closes with an account of the early Spanish invasions of Florida and a graceful sketch of Havana in 1852—a period when, to the present writer and his college comrades, that port was chiefly noted for the possession of an Italian opera company which annually bestowed upon New York and Boston better specimens of the art than have been heard there since. To sum up the whole, we think that Americans have no reason to complain of the presentation of themselves and their country which has been served up for the subjects of the German Empire.

Of the numerous books upon America called out by the centennial year, Mr. Becker's is one of the most conspicuous; being marked at once by considerable ability, by great industry in the collection of materials (provided they tell to the discredit of this country), and by the darkest and most depressing aspect of our affairs. It is preceded by an introduction by Friedrich von Hellwald (the author of a History of Civilization) in the same dismal strain. We have not read the whole book—it would be too disheartening a task—but so far as we have read we have not met one word or expression which would light up the pervading gloom, or would hint that we had a single virtuous statesman or a single encouraging feature, whether in public or in private relations. A preface addressed to Carl Schurz takes that gentleman roundly to task for venturing to express the hope that we still have a chance as a nation. Mr. Hellwald's introduction is devoted mainly to two subjects, the Press and the Census; and it is characteristic enough of the temper of the work that Gen. Walker is only mentioned to be cited in support of some unfavorable opinions, and that his excellent services as head of the Census are not hinted at. Among other things, we are told that the rising in defence of the Republic in the late

'Die hundertjährige Republik: Sociale und politische Zustände in der Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas. Von John H. Becker.' Augsburg: Lampart & Co. 1876. New York: L. W. Schmidt.

war was no work of patriotism—perhaps because the Republic had better perish and be done with it—and are assured that we are turning into Red Indians as fast as we can. Books of this type—of which Mr. Julian Hawthorne's 'Saxon Studies' is a specimen—do nothing to promote either good feeling or, what is more important, a good understanding between nations. Mr. Becker will undoubtedly, however, succeed in the object which was obviously foremost in his mind—and which is, indeed, strongly hinted at in the preface—of making the people of Germany better contented with their institutions, and thus checking the current of emigration. Their praiseworthy enthusiasm for their new empire will receive new stimulus from the assurance that they have nothing to learn or to emulate on this side of the water.

A very different book is M. Simonin's; a book, on the whole, the most profitable reading for Americans of all upon our list after Mr. Kapp's, because it is in a tone of serious but not unsympathetic criticism, and because the author was able to go deeper under the surface than is usually possible to a foreigner. M. Simonin, a prominent writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, made five visits to this country, not, it would appear, merely as a traveller but for special business purposes. Observations made in this way—that is, when the journey is not its own end, but has definite objects in the way of business or study—are by far the most valuable. Sir Charles Lyell's travels in this country afford a good and well-known example. Such a traveller really sees below the surface, which is impossible to any mere outside study, however ostentatiously philosophical. This book is devoted mainly to two subjects—the study of the mineral resources of the country, which appears to have been the author's principal object, and a description of the charitable institutions of New York. Apart from these, it is almost confined to the three cities of New York, Chicago, and St. Louis. An interesting chapter is devoted to "the West," where the author appears to have visited the rural districts as well as the cities. He pays comparatively little attention to politics, but a good deal to society.

The other books named below belong rather to the ordinary type of books of travel, of which they are fair specimens; all being the work of capable observers and men of impartiality and good temper, but with no pretence to any but a cursory view. Lieut. von Versen is a cheerful traveller, quite disposed to look upon the favorable side, and on the whole presenting a pleasant picture of his adventures in America; although, it must be confessed, he cannot forgive the authorities of Massachusetts for the difficulty he experienced in finding the wherewithal to quench his thirst. He gives considerable space to an account of our institutions, and does it clearly and on the whole accurately; he would convey a wrong impression, however (p. 225), as to the complete exclusion of the States from interference in city affairs. The only organizations in our system invested with substantial and original power are the several States and the United States. The author is better in politics than in literature; the only four authors mentioned by him are the poet Longfellow, the philosopher Franklin, the historian Bancroft, and Washington Irving. A considerable part of the book is taken up with South America; our Western States receive the largest share of attention.

The "Frenchman in America" is a lively Parisian, whose book consists for the most part of detached memoranda, jotted down with scarcely any attempt at connection, except that of sequence in time. A journalist by profession, he has a quick eye for what is amusing, and a correct judgment of the surface, and his observations and criticisms, good-natured enough and not censorious in their morality, represent fairly the average journalistic type.

M. Xavier Eyma, since his book was received, has died at the age of sixty. He was born in Martinique, and had written several novels relating to America. He here makes a rather more serious and continued narration than does M. Toutain; introduces with a graphic pen several entertaining and romantic stories—among them a thrilling tale of adventure in the great "caverne de Monmouth" of Kentucky—and accompanies the account of his journey with comments which, for the most part, display good sense and good temper. Both these books will be entertaining summer reading for any one who wishes to see the impression made by his country and countrymen upon intelligent Frenchmen, who can profit by fair criticism and is not too thin-skinned to enjoy banter or accept rebuke when deserved.

'Le Monde Américain: Souvenirs de mes Voyages aux Etats-Unis. Par L. Simonin.' Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876.

'Transatlantische Streifzüge: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen aus Nordamerika. Von Max von Versen.' Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1876.

'Un Français en Amérique. Yankees, Indiens, Mormons. Par Paul Toutain.' Paris: Plon; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876.

'La Vie aux Etats-Unis: Notes de Voyage. Par Xavier Eyma.' Paris: Plon; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876.

The Life of Alexander Hamilton. By John T. Morse, jr. 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1876.)—Mr. Morse has undertaken to give in the volumes before us what we have not yet had—a popular life of Hamilton. The spirit in which he has written is that of frank panegyric, and it is a manner of dealing with the subject which it is difficult for the coolest criticism to find fault with. Flaws may no doubt be discovered in Hamilton's career and character. It is a fact that he had a perhaps unnecessary quarrel with Washington; he made a bargain with Southern members of Congress for the assumption of State debts by the General Government; he engaged in a bitter newspaper warfare with an unscrupulous enemy who was a member of the same cabinet with himself; in his attack on Adams he made use of information he ought to have held sacred. But when in a time of civil war, followed by anarchy and intestine dissensions, such blemishes are all that can be found in the fame of one of the principal actors on a great public stage, who has left such a name behind him as Hamilton's, it is not too much to say that it would be almost a piece of presumption to enquire too curiously how such a life might have been improved. For, on the other side, it must be remembered that from boyhood to his death there was no field of human activity in which he engaged (and he engaged in many) in which he did not merely distinguish himself, but easily rise to a level with men who devoted the energies of a lifetime to success. As a soldier, he was, when barely out of his teens, the trusted aid and adviser of Washington; as a lawyer, he can only be compared with Marshall; as a financier, he produced a policy which shows that had he devoted his life to such subjects he might have become the foremost economist of his age; as an orator, we know that his eloquence was not merely so inspiring that it lifted crowds to the height of his own enthusiasm, but so convincing that it was able to destroy an adverse majority of a representative assembly on a question purely addressed to the reason, and turning upon considerations of public policy; while, as a writer, his papers on the Constitution remain to this day among the best dissertations on the art of government contributed to political literature since the Middle Ages. Hamilton's general excellence, indeed, in everything he undertook is a puzzle. He had almost no training. At the age of fourteen we find him conducting the business of a West India merchant; at seventeen, he addresses a public meeting, and he enters college, public life, and the army almost at the same time. With such precocity as this it would not have been surprising had his career proved commonplace, or had it proved successful merely in some one direction. But success in everything, and almost at once, and such success as Hamilton attained, is an extraordinary sequel to this early development. We can recall no other instance of the kind. Hamilton's fame, too, seems likely to endure and to grow. The great democratic wave which has since his day swept over the country, has hid from sight for a time the splendor of the achievements of the men who founded the Government and placed it upon such a sure and solid foundation that not even the madness of their enemies could destroy it; but as that wave slowly recedes, and we see the wreck it has made, the solid durability of the foundations it could not shake becomes every year plainer and more plain. The old Federal party can never be revived, but the reputation of the great men who composed it is sure to last as long as the Government they brought into being. Among them Hamilton must always retain one of the highest places. The only fault we have to find with Mr. Morse's life, which is throughout readable and instructive, is that he has made it too popular, or rather too familiar. The narrative is written *currente ca'amo*, and though Mr. Morse is generous in the use of praise and the expression of admiration, this does not make up for a slight lack of the dignity which the subject demands.

Comparative Zoölogy, Structural and Systematic. For use in Schools and Colleges. By James Orton, A.M., Professor of Natural History in Vassar College, etc. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876. Pp. 396, 12mo.)—Zoölogy we know, and comparative anatomy we know; but what is comparative zoölogy? Anatomy began with that of man, and so that of the lower animals came to be called comparative anatomy. Zoölogy is, and always was, "the natural history of animals," as our author defines it. So the adjective is mere redundancy and grandiloquence—to be tolerated for once, exceptionally, as when Agassiz imposed it upon the great Museum of Zoölogy at Cambridge, but intolerable if it is to become epidemic among ambitious writers of text-books. Comparative astronomy may come next, and with equal reason. A good book for instruction might be expected from Professor Orton; and this is inviting in appearance, is well planned, clearly written, and abundantly—not to say superabundantly—illustrated with clearly-printed woodcuts. For the fault we find with these the blame should probably fall upon the publishers—an old and prosperous firm, which should be ambitious to add to the old stock of xylographic illustra-

tion, instead of borrowing the thrice-borrowed and well-worn. Of the three hundred and fifty-one blocks, over three hundred are from European sources; most of them have already done long service in popular treatises and encyclopædias, and some, like the whelk, fig. 246, are not improved by reversion in copying. We should not expect too much. Not every one has the gifts and taste of Morse, whose figures in his 'First Book of Zoölogy' are all new as well as true—new to text-books every one, and nine-tenths of them original. But, at least, American text-books might be illustrated by American shrimps, lobsters, whelks, and other such common animals; and for the rest it should be quite as easy, as it would be more creditable and instructive, to draw from the rich store of excellent indigenous figures which the Smithsonian, the Government exploration reports, and the Museum at Cambridge—not to go further—have lavishly provided. Some may like such scenic views as the Greenland whale with iceberg background, the sexton beetles burying a dead mouse, and the metamorphosis of the mosquito, with section and surface of a pool, earth, and sky all pictorially combined and fearfully swarming; but they are not quite to our fancy in a text-book.

Lest we should be thought to have looked only at the pictures, we will note that *Astacus marinus* is not the proper name for our lobster; that the Axolotl is a salamander and not a lizard; and that it is unusually "comparative" zoölogy indeed which teaches that "the ornithorhynchus, kangaroo, and bat stand on the border-line between mammals and the feathered tribe." These are little things in a book which, on the whole, seems to be excellent. Let us except the few lines appended to the close of the chapters on the lower orders of animals:

"Such are the main divisions of the invertebrates—creatures which are commonly regarded with aversion, and considered our foes rather than friends. Many of them are unmistakable nuisances, and it is difficult to see the purpose of their creation. Yet not a few have put us under obligations. Protozoans give us sponge and chalk, radiates yield us coral, mollusks contribute pearls, and insects spin us silk. Nearly every grand group sends representatives to our tables: oysters, sea-slugs, and lobsters are staple articles with many people; bees gather honey; and Amazonian Indians make ants into salad."

The ants in the Amazonian salad may be set off against the annoyance they give to the housewife in her pantry. A little frippery on the one hand may vicariously abate a deal of nuisance on the other; and so some worthy idea of "the purpose of their creation" be attained! If this be comparative zoölogy, it is by no means superlative natural theology.

Sonnets. By Sir Aubrey de Vere, Bart. A new edition. (London: Basil Montagu Pickering. 1875. 12mo, pp. 104.)—The name of Aubrey de Vere would not have been so widely known as it now is had it been borne only by the author of this little volume; but there is a peculiar pleasure in finding, when reading these sonnets, that the same spirit informs them with which we are familiar in the poems of the son and namesake by whose pious care these verses are once more presented to the world—verses which, if devoid of poetic imagination and *lift*, are yet rich in the meditative fancies and the elevation of feeling which at once spring from and produce poetic culture. They are the carefully-moulded expression of the sincere and serious thoughts of a high-minded man. And if they are not the lark's song-dropping flight into the sky, they have something of the pleasing reiteration of a few notes that charms us in the "curious chanters of the wood," and a delicate reserve gives them enforced power. Sir Aubrey de Vere's own words afford an excellent description of his work:

"Time was when books, sent forth without pretence,
Elaborately wrought with studious zeal,
Were true exponents of the heart. To feel
Strongly came first: then speech, pure from offence
Yet vigilantly fearless. Handmaid to Sense
Will wrought for Reason: Satire probed to heal:
And Raillery, chafed spirits to anneal:
Thus, genuine instincts to fulfil, and thence
Good ends secure, the purpose was of all"

Those readers who are readers also of the living Aubrey de Vere will feel how close is the kinship in the poetic nature of father and son, but will feel no less the superiority in fulness, freedom, and exquisiteness of sentiment and expression of the later delivery of such refined and scholarly doctrine. Both preach with an effective indirectness the gospel of a pure life created by a devout faith, and strengthened by sympathetic companionship with man and nature; but in comparing the two together as poets, as one is constantly led to do by the similarities between them, one is frequently reminded of the many pretty comparisons in Mr. Aubrey de Vere's Spring Songs in reference to the advance of the seasons. As May following April, so does he advancing "lift a chalice of confirmed delights."

We quote one of Sir Aubrey's sonnets as a characteristic specimen of his powers of thought and expression:

"DESPONDENCY IN BAD TIMES.

"1817.

"O that the Spirit of my thought could spring,
As with an eagle's pinion, to that height
Where in the golden palaces of light
Yon Type of freedom dwells, throned like a King!
So might I catch upon expanded wing
And the replenished fountains of the sight
Gleams fresh from heaven, and stoop my earthward flight
The thunderbolts of vengeance scattering.
But, as it is, sorrow and shame, suppress
Bow down my heart; and fancy droops forlorn
(Like young birds by rude tempests overborne,
Or flowers in autumn winds fading full fast).
So I, amid this deepening gloom, unblest
Sit in my country's shade, and silent mourn!"

Sir Aubrey de Vere was born in 1788 and died in 1846—dying, as he had lived, in the home of his infancy, Curragh Chase, in the county of Limerick. He published several volumes of poems, of which the most considerable was a drama, 'Mary Tudor,' which has lately attracted attention by its similarity in subject and difference in treatment from Tennyson's 'Queen Mary.' The few agreeable pages of memoir by his son which serve as preface to this volume, confirm the impression of sweet and interesting character produced by the elder De Vere's own writings.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices*	
Bancroft (G.), History of the United States, revised. Vol. VI	(Little Brown & Co.)	
Buchner (W.), Der Rhein, der deutschen Lieblingstrom, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	
De Fonblanque (A.), A Family Tree: Novel, swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	$0 75
Gaborian (E.), File No. 113: Novel, swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	75
Helen's Babies, swd	(Loring)	50
Horweiz (A.), Zur Naturgeschichte der Gefühle, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	
Hoose (J. H.), Studies in Articulation	(C. W. Bardeen)	50
Hamilton (Mrs. C. V.), Woven of many Threads, swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	50
Journey of A. R. Margary from Shanghae to Bhamo	(Macmillan & Co.)	3 50
Jordan (Dr. D. S.), Manual of Vertebrate Animals	(Jansen, McClurg & Co.)	2 00
Packard, jr. (A. S.), Half-hours with Insects. Parts 9, 10, swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	25
Proceedings of the American Association for Advancement of Science, swd	(Salem)	
Osenbrüggen (E.), Die Schweiz in den Wandelungen der Neuzeit, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	
Riddell (Mrs. J. H.), Above Suspicion: Novel, swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	75
Schneider (J. P.), Die ungedeckte Banknote, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	
Stephen (J. F.), Digest of the Law of Evidence	(Macmillan & Co.)	3 00
The Portfolio for July	(J. W. Bouton)	
Turrill (C. B.), California Notes, Vol. I	(San Francisco)	
Wittmeyer (Dr. L.), Ueber die Leichenverbrennung, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	
Zittel (K. A.), Die Kreide, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)	

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(*Continued from page* ii.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 3, 1876.

The Week.

THE Senate has finished the Belknap case in a way which will be satisfactory to nobody except Belknap and his counsel. They have certainly succeeded in making the "High Court" and all its surroundings so ridiculous that impeachment is not likely to be resorted to again for a long time. On the first article the vote stood 35 to 25, the latter being almost a strict party vote, and turning, not at all on the question of guilt and innocence, but on that of jurisdiction, which the Senate had already definitively decided. When we recollect that only five months ago Belknap in shame and humiliation confessed his guilt and resigned from the Cabinet in disgrace; that the evidence of bribery consisted in proof of the direct and periodic payment to him of money by a man to whom he had given an office; that a majority of the Senate voted that the court had jurisdiction; and that a majority voted again that he was guilty, his escape is a simple mockery. It is worth while to notice, perhaps, that every lawyer of any standing voted "guilty" except, we regret to say, Judge Christiancy, and our great jurist Mr. Conkling, who, as each article was voted on, came out with a burst of rhetoric, such as "forced by the order of a bare majority"; "this being the first attempt in our history to stretch the political power of impeachment"; "Joseph Story and every other commentator on the Constitution," etc., etc, evidently mistaking the occasion for one of solemn historic interest. All the proceedings were thoroughly *bouffe*, and they could hardly have been made more so by music and a dance by all the company at the end. As it was, they terminated very well by a letter from Mr. G. F. Hoar, who conclusively refuted the charge made by Judge Black that his brother, Judge Hoar, had given a library of "costly literature" to the President. On the whole, though it is a great shame that Belknap should have got off in this way, we do not so much regret the farcical termination of the affair. For rascals like him—and he is a type of the rascals of the day in politics—trials by "High Courts," presided over by Senators, and opened with prayer, are altogether too pompous. The place for them is the dock of a criminal court, and the proper form of procedure a common indictment for crime, and the proper body to try them a common jury. It remains to note the fact that but one Democrat voted for acquittal, while Mr. Morton voted to convict, having, we are sure, an abounding sense of the folly of giving to his opponents in the coming Presidential campaign such a deadly weapon as the discharge of Belknap by his own party.

Bluford Wilson's testimony before the Whiskey Trial Committee does nothing more than to confirm the prevailing popular impression as to the relations of the President to the prosecutions; but its revelations of intrigue, corruption, servility, and lying in "Administration circles" at Washington make up such an exhibition as has never before been presented to the public. The testimony does not involve the President in the whiskey frauds, but it shows that the moment suspicion fell on Babcock the hostility of the President was aroused, and from that time his main interest in the case seems to have been to hamper the prosecution in every way possible. The evidence on this point is very strong, consisting as it does of proof of a series of acts, each one of which in itself might be of little consequence, but which taken together can only mean one thing. Thus, it seems that within an hour of the time when Wilson told the President that he had testimony to show that $500 had been mailed from St. Louis to Babcock, Babcock knew of it; that Babcock told Wilson that anything said to the President was as good as told him; that the President ordered the Attorney-General against his inclination to write his circular letter forbidding the use of accomplices' testimony; that the President had recommended that Bell, the detective, should go to St. Louis as a spy on the prosecution, with orders to report directly to the Attorney-General; that Henderson, the Government counsel, was removed by the President's orders just before the Babcock trial, in the face of a positive statement from the Judge of the United States Court that he had said nothing reflecting on the President, and in the face also of a prediction by all interested in the prosecutions that the dismissal would seriously interfere with the interests of the Government; and, finally, we find the President much chagrined at the refusal of the legal officers of the Government to turn over all the evidence in the case to a military court.

The explanation of the "Sylph" despatch is perhaps one of the most significant things in the testimony. Wilson says that General Porter, a close friend of the President, told him that "Sylph" was the name of a disreputable woman who had been trying to blackmail the President, and that Babcock and he had done him the favor to get rid of her, and that afterwards these funny dogs used to call each other "Sylph"; that this story was impatiently denied by the President; and that, instead of showing any indignation with Porter, he remained on the same friendly terms with him as before. With regard to Babcock, it appears that all the evidence tending to criminate him endeared him to General Grant until it turned out that Babcock had been involved in some way in the Black Friday business, and had made an assignment of his property to Gardner, who also happened to be the judge-advocate of the military court into whose possession the conspirators wanted to get all the papers. On this General Grant lost confidence in him. Perhaps the most curious part of the whole business is the evident suspicion on the part of the President, which the conspirators did their best to foster, that the whiskey prosecutions were part of a deep-laid scheme to ruin the Administration and make Mr. Bristow President. One of the best dodges resorted to was the fraudulent insertion of a reference to the White House in one of Wilson's letters, making it appear that he was trying to catch the President. This was shown to General Porter (by the press copy of the letter) to be a forgery, but the General, who is not a man to be easily convinced, reported the exposure to the President as a "claim" on Wilson's part that it was a forgery. As a fitting supplement to these scandals, the friends of Mr. Wilson are publishing the contents of some valuable papers which he has in his possession (notwithstanding an attempt, as the late Mr. J. Fisk, jr., would have put it, to "rescue" them), from one of which it appears that the cause of Attorney-General Williams's retirement from the Cabinet was the discovery that a number of blackmailing letters which had been sent to the President and various members of his family and Cabinet had been partly concocted by Whiteley, who, after being discharged by the Government, had been given employment by Mr. Williams, and partly by some one whose name is not given, but who is understood to be closely related to the ex-Attorney-General by blood or by marriage.

Mr. Schurz has written a long letter to the New York *Staats-Zeitung* in defence of himself against certain strictures of that paper on his course in supporting Hayes and Wheeler. He makes a historical comparison of the conduct of the two parties with regard to the leading questions of the day, showing, for instance, that although there are inflationists in the ranks of both, nevertheless, active support for the policy of resumption has only come from the Republicans, and its strongest advocates are to be found amongst them; that although the Republicans have not reformed the civil service, they have shown more disposition to do so than

the Democrats, whose recent dealing with this subject when they have had the opportunity, as in the case of the officers of the House of Representatives, has been deplorable, while the only sign of interest in it has come from Senator Gordon and Mr. Clarkson Potter; and he draws a somewhat dismal, and we think too highly-charged, picture of the effect of Mr. Tilden's election in stimulating disorder at the South. Our own solemn belief is that the less said on this point on the Republican side, the better; that the "outrage" argument serves and can serve the purpose of nobody in this canvass but the Republican knaves; and that the probabilities are that the South will be more peaceful under Tilden than under Hayes, and this for reasons which lie on the surface. Tilden is not a weak or foolish man. He will have no motive for tolerating disorders at the South, nor will his leading followers. On the contrary, they will perceive clearly the importance of tranquillity in that region to the stability of their hold in power at the North, while these disorders will actually constitute nearly the whole political capital of the Republican Conklings, Mortons, Chandlers, and Cornells, with whose support Hayes is, it seems, to be saddled. On this matter we hope reformers, even when supporting Hayes, will not lose their heads. If we elect Hayes on the "bloody shirt" theory, we are delivered bound hand and foot to the disreputable gang for whose overthrow we have been so long laboring.

The President has signed the Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill, accompanying his signature with a message expressing his dissatisfaction with many of the reductions effected, and generally with the insufficiency of the total amount. He has also sent a message to the Senate relating to the Hamburg massacre, which does not add much to our knowledge of the subject, and is objectionable on account of its vagueness and the loose references to the condition of Louisiana and Mississippi. General Grant is undoubtedly right in saying that "how long these things are to continue, and what is to be the final remedy, the Great Ruler of the universe only knows"; but there is one thing that we are perfectly confident of—that the remedy will not be through interference in South Carolina because negroes are killed in Mississippi, or *vice versâ*. Warrants of arrest have been issued against eighty-seven persons concerned in the Hamburg massacre, and they will unquestionably be tried and punished for their crimes in the ordinary course of law.

The "inside of politics" in this State is just now in a very curious condition. It is generally conceded, or at all events there is strong reason for believing, that New York will be the crucial State in the next Presidential election, and that whichever of the two candidates gets it will win. The nomination for the Governorship is, therefore, of considerable importance for its effect on the public mind. If the Republicans should put up a machine candidate, after all that has happened, it is safe to say it would be all over with them. If they, on the other hand, put up a man of real eminence for character and ability, it would do a good deal to counteract the unfavorable impression created by the continued retention of Chandler, Cornell, and their like in charge of the engine-room. But it seems that Mr. Conkling's soul is filled with rage and bitterness over the events at Cincinnati. When he thinks that Cornell went out with a powerful body of henchmen and a band of music, and offered the Convention a choice of nominating the "Favorite Son" of New York, the great orator, great thinker, great legislator, the peerless beauty of the party, and that he got hardly any votes outside his own Custom-house delegates, he feels that dark days are in store for his country, and vows vengeance. Accordingly, his plan is to nominate Cornell, and, if he cannot elect him, at least to clasp his enemies round the waist and roll over the precipice with them to common ruin.

Accordingly, the "machine" has been put in motion for Cornell, while the reformers under Mr. Curtis are trying to secure the nomination of Mr. Evarts, who certainly would arouse as near an approach to enthusiasm among its best men as so many years of Conkling and Cornell have left in the party. How the conflict will end it is as yet difficult to say, but there is no difficulty in predicting the result of Cornell's nomination. It will be a repetition of that of the great Conkling movement at Cincinnati. If any one wants to know how the machine works, he will find it in an account, in the New York *Times* of July 30, of the election of delegates to the Convention at Newburg from the First Assembly District. He will there see that "Jerry" Drew, a Custom-house weigher, was on the ground for many days "fixing the primaries"—that is, getting them ready for the "men of property and education" when they came "to attend to their political duties," and that Jerry "fixed" them so well that before the Convention met he had thirty out of forty-five delegates pledged to Cornell. At the Convention Jerry was likewise "on hand" and "fixed things" again, so that Cornell delegates to the State Convention were all chosen. He had in it all a select band of "co-workers," composed mainly of Custom-house officers. Now, look at Jerry's history. When the war broke out he was a guard at Sing Sing, then he became a harbor-master, and when General Grant came into power entered the Custom-house, and now has charge of the Conkling interest in the Highlands, where he has been a noted and able wire-puller for many years. If you asked Jerry what the great political evil of the day was, he would reply, with tears in his voice, "The condition of the South, sir; nothing but this to trouble any patriotic man. Oh, sir, when I think of the way the poor niggers down there are treated it makes my blood boil; and, mark my words, bad as it is now, if Tilden is elected we shall see far worse things. Why, sir, I know him well—have known him these thirty years. If that old huckster gets into the White House, the whole South will be a regular Siege of Jerusalem in three months." And then he will wipe his eyes and write a letter to Cornell telling him "how things are looking."

Strenuous efforts have been made during the week by the representatives of the Bonanza mine-owners, and by their inflation allies, to force through the House of Representatives some one of the bills which would secure the Government as an unlimited buyer of silver and, at the same time, increase the volume of currency. None of these efforts has met with success, although they have come so near it as to create apprehension, and to make it certain that at the next session of Congress the forces of the silver-mine owners, the inflationists, and the repudiationists will be massed to effect what cannot now be accomplished for want of time. If it were not a serious matter, it would be amusing to witness the zeal with which the worshippers of the "greenback," now that they discover a cheaper money in silver, rally around the silver standard. So long as the silver dollar was as good as the gold dollar they spurned it, but no sooner do they see that the depreciation of silver makes it worth less than the greenback than they become "bullionists" with a vengeance. At present writing, it seems likely that a commission will be authorized, something like the Parliamentary Committee of which Mr. Goschen was chairman, to collect facts respecting silver and the restoration of the double standard by the United States, and to confer with other nations which have the double standard, with the view of obtaining united action. If such a committee does its work properly, their report will be useful in guiding Congress at its next session and in shaping public sentiment as well. The belief in London, founded on despatches from this side, that Congress would, before adjourning, re-establish the double standard, and besides authorize the Government to receive all the silver bullion deposited with it, imparted strength to the market for silver, and the price advanced as high as 51½*d.* per ounce. With the changed tenor of advices as to Washington legislation the price fell back to 50*d.*, and the market at that was only nominal. If the "silver dollar of our fathers" had been in existence, the changes in its gold value during the week would have been from 84¼ cents to 86⅝ cents and back to 84⅝ cents; the promise of the United States to pay a dollar (the legal-tender note) has ranged during the week between 89 and 89½ cents.

If the Republicans, instead of wasting so much time in exposing the inflation and repudiation tendencies of the Democrats, had di-

rected their energies for the past ten or fifteen years towards actual resumption, we should not now be in the unpleasant quandary of having an act on the statute-book destined to bring it about on a given day, without any "supplemental" legislation to carry it out. At the present session of Congress, of course, nothing will be done; and no matter which way the election goes this fall, the present Congress has another session which begins next December and lasts till March, 1877. This postpones all effective action till that time; and if the Republicans are victorious this fall, the first meeting of a Congress in full sympathy with the Act of 1875 will be in December, 1877, or thirteen months from the day actually fixed for resumption. Judging the future by the past or by the present, it is safe to say that no scheme of contraction or violent attempt to bring about a restoration of paper to a par in thirteen months will be tolerated by the politicians of either party; and even if Mr. Hayes's Secretary of the Treasury were to begin operations of his own motion, as under the Act he is entitled to, he would only have twenty months to resume in. If the Republicans, when they fixed the 1st of January, 1879, as the day for resumption, had adopted a well-defined and carefully-matured policy on the subject, the work might by this time have been half done. But, instead of that, they passed an act which meant contraction to one party, inflation to another, and left the matter in such a position as to be at the mercy of the first hostile House of Representatives. We have no doubt that Mr. Hayes earnestly desires a speedy return to specie payments; but, even if he is elected, it must be remembered that it is through Congress that resumption or inflation must come, and Congress is likely in 1877 to be composed of very much the same timber that it was in 1875.

The *Christian Intelligencer* finds fault with some of our recent strictures on the government of the Indians by what we called the missionary expedient. It says, we presume speaking with authority, that Mr. E. P. Smith must not be regarded as "the most prominent representative" of this system, and that his removal did not indicate its failure, but was due to "his too great intimacy with contractors and others who preyed on the Government and the Indian," and it adds that it was Smith, one of the Indian Commissioners, who, "after his removal was determined on, proposed to turn over the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to the military"; that it was "when Mr. Smith and his friends found they could no longer run the Indian Bureau that they became willing and anxious to have it turned over to the War Department." We surrender Smith and likewise Delano to the *Intelligencer's* indignation, but when it goes on to ask us "how we can consistently favor turning over [the Indian Bureau or] any branch of the civil government to the army," and, "if army government is so good for the Indian, why not try it on" the Post-office Department, the Treasury Department, and the collection of Customs? it places itself in our hands and must submit to impalement. We have discussed this subject fully in the *Nation*, and if the editor of the *Intelligencer* has done us the honor to read what we have said on the subject, he must be aware that we advocated the transfer of the Indian affairs to the army officers not because they were soldiers, but because they were the only trained and responsible servants the Government had possessing any familiarity with Indian affairs. We held that the Indian Bureau ought itself to be made up of civilians as capable, as honorable, and as experienced as the army officers, and that, failing such a Bureau, the army was the next best resort, and that it was ridiculous to pass the army by and go to the missionaries; for, said we, (No. 527)—and here the process of impalement begins—if the missionaries are the proper persons to administer our Indian affairs, are they not also the proper persons to administer the Treasury and the Post-office and the Custom-house? In fact, the *Intelligencer* has taken our illustration and given it a little twist which it will not bear. Restoring it to its original position, it will be seen that while we propose the transfer of an important branch of the Government service to an able and highly serviceable corps of Government servants, the *Intelligencer* proposes its transfer to a body of volunteers whose only special qualification is their piety; and that while the transfer of the Custom-house and the Post-office and Treasury to the army officers would, we have no doubt, produce excellent results, their transfer to missionaries as such would be both ridiculous and ruinous.

The Pope has been making an extraordinary address to the Sacred College on the occasion of the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of his accession to the Pontificate, in which he dwelt strongly on the example of Tobias, who, when carried into slavery, did not abandon himself to grief, but kept a stout heart, till Sennacherib was killed by his own sons and the virtuous Tobias was enabled to return home; and His Holiness called the particular attention of the Cardinals to the fact that when he got back he recovered all the "rich possessions" which were his before he was carried off, and assured them "that the Church must triumph and the Revolution perish"; "that the fathers would kill the sons, the sons would kill their fathers, and all those born of the Revolution would devour each other"—which is a very unpleasant prophecy or suggestion as to what is to happen or ought to happen, and is capable of a somewhat repulsively literal interpretation. He threw some light on the kind of comfort he drew from the case of Tobias afterwards in his remarks to a deputation of the Roman nobility, when he pointed out that the humiliation of France and Austria by Germany was due to their having, though Catholic powers, successively abandoned the Holy See, and that the late Sultan lost his reason and committed suicide owing to his having "taken upon himself the protection of a handful of schismatics in the East." He said he would not speak of "the fearful punishments with which God had specially stricken now one and now another of the impious sectarians, dying in terror and fright and abandoned to the powers of infernal darkness"; but he would mention one little fact. He then told how Ratazzi, one of the leaders of the Revolution, having called in a priest in his dying hour, the priest was prevented by "a barricade" of infidels from getting to the sick man's bedside, and was told "that he would be called when there was need." In the meantime, Ratazzi died, and His Holiness evidently has no doubt about his present situation. These were pleasant little stories for a great ecclesiastical festival.

Except in a single quarter, the Servians have been on the defensive during the week, and the Turks have succeeded in entering their territory at several points—from Nissa, if we may credit the report; on the lower Timok, under Suleiman Pasha, who, after routing the Servians, took up his march for Radujevatz; and, to the south of Saitshar, by way of Gramada, under Hafiz Pasha. These simultaneous movements took place on Saturday. The next day Hafiz Pasha was joined by Ahmed Pasha at Derbent, and together they captured the place, thus getting between General Leshjanin and Alexinatz, and making it impracticable for Tchernaieff to go to his relief by way of Kujazevatz, which is now besieged. Meantime, General Antitch, whose objective appears to be the only remaining route for Turkish supplies to Bosnia, it said to have "completely defeated" Dervish Pasha, coming to the relief of Sienitza, and to have invested this post, shutting up Mehemet Ali Pasha. This success, for such it appears to be as far as it goes, would have much greater importance if the Montenegrins were on hand to complete the blockade of the Bosnian approaches. They have, however, had their hands fully employed in an opposite direction by Mukhtar Pasha, who began by defeating them with heavy loss near Nevesinje, and then followed them up as they retreated, apparently demoralized, toward their own frontier. On the 28th he attacked them with seeming advantage near Urbiza, when the tables were suddenly turned, the Turkish lines pierced, and the force nearly destroyed. Selim Pasha was killed, Osman Pasha (not he of Saitshar) taken prisoner, and guns and flags in large numbers fell as spoils to the victors. Mukhtar Pasha, with the remnant of his panic-stricken army, made his way to Bilek, but, not choosing to make a stand there, retreated to Trebinje. The fighting about Podgoritza, on the southern frontier of Montenegro, continues unfavorable to the Turks; but the town is still in their possession.

THE ONE-TERM GUARANTEE.

THERE is probably no subject on which Mr. Tilden is more puzzled what to say in his letter of acceptance than that of a second term. Mr. Hayes's utterances on this matter make it very difficult for a rival candidate to deal with it. If what Mr. Hayes has said was a good thing to say, it would seem necessary for his competitor to say it too; but is not the offer of such a pledge, immediately after a rival has offered it, and perhaps almost in his very words, likely to bear an air of insincerity or even demagogy? On the other hand, if Mr. Tilden says nothing about it at all, will he not furnish materials for many a scathing article and speech, showing up his unholy ambition and his determination to use the Government patronage to prolong or even perpetuate his hold on power? Will it not be produced as an unmistakable indication of what "Sammy's" professions of a desire for civil-service reform really amount to?

We, for our part, inasmuch as we desire to have both candidates as good and presentable as possible, as our best protection against the Republican "machine," regret that Mr. Hayes thought it necessary or desirable to offer any pledge as to the number of terms he would serve, and trust that Mr. Tilden will not follow his example. Indeed, we have no doubt that the value of the promises made by the former with regard to civil-service reform are weakened and not strengthened by his declaration against a second term. In other words, we believe that the President who is to reform the Administration must be not only free but willing to serve a second term, if desirable, and we cannot help considering Mr. Hayes's haste in binding himself a sign that he somewhat underestimates the difficulty of the task with which he has offered to charge himself. We shall be by no means sorry if, in the course of his canvass, he can find the means of relieving himself from his promise. Nobody seriously believes that he will receive any support from Congress, at the outset of his Administration, in restoring to the Executive the constitutional control of the civil-service. On the contrary, there is hardly a doubt that he will meet with a bitter and determined opposition, and that it will only be the second Congress of his term, and probably, as Mr. Schurz suggests in his letter to the *Staats-Zeitung*, only after an appeal to the people through the elections, which will give the proposed reforms even a lukewarm support. In fact, we do not see how, in even the most sanguine view of the future, Mr. Hayes can look for anything more than a beginning of his work before the third year of his term. And it is a work in which the beginning is after all but little, because even after the President had triumphed in his refusal to make removals except for good cause, or to admit Congressional influence in the distribution of the patronage, the change would have no character of permanence and security until it had taken root in public opinion—until, in short, the people had once more become sufficiently familiar with the application of business principles to Government work to look on it in the natural order of things, and anything else as too absurd to be thought of. As long as Congressmen and machine politicians felt that the reform had not taken hold of the popular mind, and was not yet looked upon as a true and integral part of the American system of government, but rested simply on the President's will, the one-term pledge would be a source of the utmost comfort to them. They would say, and with much show of reason, "We have evidently made a mistake in Hayes; we supposed that stuff in his letter about 'civil-service reform' was like the stuff which we used to put in the platforms—mere buncombe. He has, however, apparently taken the whole thing in dead earnest, and is disorganizing the party with his theories and nonsense. Luckily, however, he has pledged himself to go out anyhow in four years. It will not need very great skill to prevent his doing much mischief before then. A little passive resistance, or, better still, sham acquiescence, will keep him from getting too much excited, and when the next Convention meets we shall be wiser than we were at the last. But, blow us if we ever vote for a man again who doesn't understand 'politics' and has his head filled with imported monarchical fancies."

The fact is that it is difficult to see how our present Administrative abuses are to be cured permanently in less than ten or fifteen years. Before we can feel sure that the Government will hereafter be conducted on business principles, a generation will have to grow up and come into control of it which has never had any direct knowledge of the "spoils system," and has lost the Jacksonian tradition that the revenues of a nation may be properly collected or spent on a plan which would ruin a banker or merchant in a year; and which will laugh as heartily when anybody proposes to change the employés in the Custom-house after election as Brown Bros. would laugh if they were called upon, once in four years, to make "a new deal" of all their clerkships, without any reference to its probable effect on their profits. The strength of the present abuses, in short, does not lie wholly either in Presidential or Congressional connivance, but in the widespread and deep-seated popular delusion that Government business differs from private business, and need not be transacted on the same principles or by the same rules; and reform will not be achieved until a reforming President has not only overthrown Congress, but shown the people the more excellent way, and familiarized them with the facts that "government of the people, by the people, for the people," properly means government carried on by competent and honest book-keepers, cashiers, collectors, whose accounts balance and whose characters will bear inspection, and who are surrounded by the ordinary securities against temptation. It is not a mystic system, in which a body of noble and heroic men and women, after forming the loftiest ideals for themselves and their posterity, may collect a large army of thieves, liars, bankrupts, and broken-down people, and, handing over to them their funds and books of account and machinery of criminal justice and all their affairs, then show the world the spectacle of a pure and puissant national life; and then laugh and make merry when their employés begin to cheat, embezzle, call names, and get drunk, make false entries in the ledger, and sell the public stores to the junk-dealers, calling them "spoils," and blackguarding the European monarchs, all the while rotating in and out of office under an arrangement of their own making.

As matters now stand, the reform cannot be established in four years. We wish we thought it could be in eight, but in eight, at all events, it would be fairly out of danger. The reliance of politicians on the "machine" would have been broken up. Many of the old hands who were most skilled in working it would be dead or have betaken themselves to some other pursuit; and the public would be getting used to the new order of things and have laid hold of a higher ideal of republican government; and the chances of another reforming President would be greatly increased. At the end of four years we think not unlikely that the reactionary influences will be still strong, and there will be most of the minor objections to a change of Presidents which existed in 1864. So that a second term may be in the highest degree desirable, and it ought to be within the reach of the public, particularly as the public will be under no obligation to resort to it. If Mr. Hayes should turn out well, the country will want him longer; but if he should not, it would not be compelled to keep him. If he carries out his promises with regard to civil-service reform, he will be just as necessary to reform in 1881 as he is now, possibly more so. Indeed, any offer of a single term as a guarantee of reform shows a somewhat inadequate conception of the nature of the thing to be reformed. The great scandals of Grant's Administration, for instance, have not been due to his own desire to keep in office, but to a desire to keep Logan or Morton or Conkling or Spencer or Cameron in office, or to do whatever these illustrious men told him was necessary for "the good of the party." The very changes he is making now, which are causing so much consternation in the Republican camp, have nothing to do with a second term. He has no longer any hope of a second term, and yet he is dismissing Cabinet ministers and other valuable officers as if they were scullery-maids, simply because he is provoked and angry. His successor might act in just the same manner, and his vow not to serve twice would offer no protection against it.

BELLIGERENTS AND NEUTRALS.

WE have frequently had occasion to express the opinion in these columns that one of these days there might be reason to regret our hasty reversal of the traditional policy of the United States as a neutral power in our dispute with England over the *Alabama* claims. For a country, sure in the long run to occupy the position of neutral in nine cases out of ten, to be very ingenious in either inventing or promulgating rules of law doubtful in meaning and difficult of application, but framed solely in the interests of belligerents and calculated to make the position of neutrals in time of war more embarrassing than it even naturally is, has always seemed to us a great sacrifice, for which there ought to be stronger counterbalancing advantages than have yet appeared.

But it sometimes looks now as if our suddenly-developed zeal for the rights of belligerents had not been altogether a matter of choice, but as if it were merely part of an irresistible movement going on all over the world, which is gradually reversing the sympathies of mankind on the whole subject of international law. We pointed out, at the time of the Brussels and other conferences, the indications of this reaction. Down to the time of the Declaration of Paris in 1856, the development of international law had been based on the fundamental agreement of civilized nations that their common interests were bound up with the maintenance of peace, that war was an evil in itself and injurious to the general welfare, and that peace being the normal condition of international relations, the business of the world, on the breaking-out of war, was to see that it should be prevented, as far as possible, from spreading and from interfering with the ordinary operations of trade and commerce. To this view of peace and war and the international interests affected by them, may be traced almost all the accessions to the law of nations in modern times, whether actually carried into practice or advanced by the most enlightened countries as necessities of the immediate future—the abolition of privateering, the doctrine of "free ships, free goods," or, in other words, the protection of even enemies' commerce by neutral flag; that of "effective blockade"; and, finally, our own project, advanced as an amendment to the Declaration of Paris, for the exemption of all private property on sea except in case of contraband. We include here the abolition of privateering because, though in form merely a renunciation on the part of naval powers of a certain means of attack and defence, it was an alteration in the direction of increased freedom of commerce.

The reaction which has set in in Europe since 1856, and since the development of the large European armies and navies, has grown out of a feeling the very opposite of the one that we have just spoken of. It cannot be said exactly that there has been any abandonment of the idea that peace is the normal state of mankind, and war an evil to be restricted and limited in its effects; but, with the growth of the military spirit, each particular nation has acquired a growing perception of the advantages to be obtained in its own case by a strict attention to its own interests, regarded as a possible belligerent; and it is obvious, when several nations do this at once, the result is the riveting of public attention upon belligerent at the expense of neutral rights, and at the expense of a good many other things which are apt to fall under the protection of neutrals. Hence we have had the somewhat extraordinary spectacle of a government like Russia urging, in a philanthropic and benevolent spirit of reform and progress, the adoption of rules of war which make the defence of small countries, or countries unprovided with a large regular army, practically impossible, and of the grave formulation by a Prussian diplomat of the theory of "benevolent neutrality"—a kind of neutrality which consists of coming as near being a co-belligerent as possible without actually forming an offensive and defensive alliance.

It is in England, however, that the new way of looking at international relations is most noticeable, because in her case the change is not the result of "earth-hunger" or great military development, while it is directly opposed to all her supposed commercial interests and to the traditions which dictated her policy down to the period of the Crimean war. If any one had predicted, at the time of the Declaration of Paris, that in twenty years one of the most anxious questions of the future for English statesmen would be whether the doctrine of "free ships, free goods" ought not to be abandoned and privateering reintroduced, he would not have been believed. Yet such is the case. The argument in favor of a withdrawal from the Declaration of Paris already, as we ventured last year to predict it would, looks, from the only point of view from which it is now considered, unanswerable. As to privateering, there is, of course, for a great naval power like England, the same reason for resorting to it as a means of attack or defence that there is for her resorting to volunteer levies in case of an invasion. To be restricted to the use of a regular navy is to be deprived of half of her natural strength. To be compelled to adhere at the same time to the doctrine that neutral ships cover enemies' goods, is to look forward to a state of affairs in which England will lose her entire carrying trade, and at the same time be cut off from all use of her idle ships for military purposes. A great naval power going into a war on these terms is under a state of paralysis. We may fairly look forward, therefore, to the withdrawal of England from the Declaration of Paris (which, it must be remembered, is not a real treaty, and was never actually ratified as such), and the practical abrogation of the doctrines it embodies.

Instead of finding ourselves, as seemed likely twenty years ago, on the eve of a general exemption of all private property from capture or detention in time of war, we find that in land operations the practice of requisitions, perfected in the Franco-German war by Germany, has become the most effective and economical weapon of an invading army, while at sea the partial exemptions effected by the Declaration of Paris are already rudely attacked in public discussion. From the course of this discussion in England it seems as clear as anything in the future can be, that, in case of a general European war, neither the abolition of privateering nor the principles of "free ships, free goods" will be respected, and that when the storm subsides the only remnant of the Declaration that will survive the wreck will be the rule as to effective blockades. As to privateering, it is to be observed that in the only case it has been tried since 1856—that is, in the Rebellion—the prohibition broke down, and it always must, because in the nature of the case it is impossible to enforce it. A privateer is either a lawful ship-of-war or else is a pirate, and must be dealt with as such; and inasmuch as the civilized world recognizes a wide distinction between piracy and the irregular fighting under a letter-of-marque, there is little chance that the gallows will ever be used to put an end to it.

Whether these steps, which at first sight appear to be directly retrograde, are really so or not it is perhaps as yet too early to discuss. If it should turn out that the attempt made a generation ago to ensure peace all over the world by diminishing the number of effective national weapons, such as privateering and the destruction of enemies' commerce, had been a mistake, it would not be surprising. It may fairly be said that anything which makes wars shorter is in the interest of humanity, not merely because the world is sooner given an opportunity to return to its profitable occupations, but because the shorter wars are made, and the more certainly the fruits of victory are won, the less exposed is mankind likely to be to all the barbarism, cruelty, and crime which the inhuman passions engendered by long and doubtful wars are sure to cause. But for all this, we in the United States ought not to forget that the present reaction against neutral rights and the protection of commerce and private property from the effects of war is directly opposed, not merely to our traditional policy and interests, but, so far as it relates to neutral rights, to the whole tendency of international law down to 1856. There is this difference between a general agreement that the interests of peace coincide with those of neutrality, and a general tendency to make the most of belligerent rights—that the former is founded on a supposed common interest, while the latter is founded primarily on nothing at all but the determination at all hazards to get the better of your rivals. None of the nations which are now pushing forward belligerent rights

have any common object or interest in view, as had the half-dozen leading powers that signed the Declaration of Paris had. Russia pretends that the rule she wishes to introduce against irregular fighting is in the interest of humanity, but everybody knows that it is a mere pretence, and that what she wants is to stop the countries without regular armies from fighting at all against her. The fact is that in 1856 Europe was preparing for peace, and now each European state is preparing for war. If war comes, the United States will be the only power in charge of those interests which have been hitherto considered paramount. By a curious sort of madness, we have prepared ourselves for this trust by the invention of the not yet satisfactorily expounded "Three Rules" of the Treaty of Washington, though from the obligation under which we placed ourselves to introduce them to the rest of the world we are already practically relieved by the change of European sentiment on the whole subject of neutral and belligerent rights.

ENGLISH UNIVERSITY SYSTEMS OF LOCAL EXAMINATION.

AMID the immense development of the public-school system of the United States, which, although it now numbers its colleges and universities, was originally planned for the purposes of elementary and secondary education alone, it is not surprising that the function of private institutions for imparting secondary education has attracted comparatively little attention. In England, where the national schools are an innovation only affecting the elementary education of the poorer classes, and where schools originating in private endowments or conducted by private enterprise still hold such preponderant influence, the inquisitive spirit of this century has exerted all its ingenuity in bringing such schools to the test of scrutiny by an external authority, thus obliging them to reveal to the public their aims and methods, that what is good may acquire fresh authority and what is bad may be condemned.

In 1858, the system of "University Local Examinations" was begun. These examinations were designed for boys' schools of the middle class, where the pupils leave at sixteen or eighteen years of age to adopt practical avocations. They were not intended for the great public schools—Eton, Harrow, Rugby, etc.—and have not been used by them. For the benefit of schools of this class, a different system of university supervision has been now lately devised.

The three essential features in which local examinations differ from examinations held at only one centre are: 1. They are a vast economy of expense and trouble to examinees. Instead of the candidates from each local centre—often a hundred or more—being obliged to incur the expense and inconvenience of going up to the university for examination, a single representative officer from the university comes down to them. He brings with him the papers of questions, superintends the examination (which is almost entirely by writing), and takes the answers of the candidates back with him to the university, where they are submitted to the examiners, who report upon them through the local secretary at each local centre. The university fees charged to the candidates are small, varying from £1 to £2 for the different examinations, and the local committee—a volunteer organization which makes the local arrangements—charges a fee also, usually about ten shillings, to pay for the hire of an examination-room and other expenses. By means of these fees the examinations are entirely self-supporting. The second essential feature of local examinations is their wide range of *optional* subjects, which opens them, in a greater or less degree, to almost every grade of school and of individual talent; and, lastly, their wide extension has produced a fruitful comparison of local standards and methods of education.

The standard in each subject of the Senior Local Examinations (for persons under eighteen) is about that of an average college entrance examination. Like such matriculation examinations, the Senior Local Examination is intended as a survey and test of previous progress, and marks the close of school-life. The Junior Local Examination is somewhat easier, and is intended to test progress below the age of sixteen.

In 1865, the Cambridge Local Examinations were extended to women, and, a few years after, Oxford followed the example of Cambridge. In 1865, the University of Edinburgh instituted a system of examinations for both boys and girls. The University of Durham has also extended its local examinations to girls. It has, perhaps, been in their effect upon female education that the local examinations have most conspicuously shown their merits. Previous to their extension to girls, the work done in English private girls' schools, judging from the reports of the Schools Enquiry Commissioners, made about this time, was as superficial and ill-regulated as it is at present in most girls' schools in this country, except that, even then, English girls were probably better acquainted with religious history, geography, and English grammar than our girls, and possessed a familiarity with the history and literature of their own country which most of our young women might well envy. There, as here, natural science was a mere sham, represented usually in the school curriculum by "lectures" which involved neither real teaching nor learning. We do not know whether there prevailed in England to the same extent as there does here the curious notion that to girls competition is a moral bane, and that the marked distinction of good scholars from bad is to be carefully avoided, as if the whole of social life were not a continual comparison of individual powers and gifts, which men and women alike must learn, early in youth or never, to bear with generous acquiescence in the triumphs of others and with moral equilibrium amid their own advantages. The state of mathematical study among girls in England before 1865 may be judged of from the fact that at the trial examination, held by a committee of ladies in London in 1873, when Cambridge was contemplating the extension of the local examinations to women, out of the forty senior candidates thirty-four failed in arithmetic. How entirely this deficiency was due to faulty education was shown at the first local examination to which girls were formally admitted in 1865, when out of a total of 126 candidates, junior and senior, only three failed in arithmetic. Since then, year by year, the average quality of the work done at these examinations by the girls has risen, and the number of candidates has constantly increased. In December, 1875, the Cambridge Local Examinations were held at fifty-six centres for girls alone, and there were 1,552 female candidates. For the Oxford Local, which began on the 29th of last May, 583 girl candidates entered. All classes of schools, except a few ultra-conservative ones, now prepare their pupils for these examinations, and girls of every grade of social position, from the lower middle-class up to the highest aristocratic summits, enter yearly as candidates. The whole tone of school work has been invigorated, as well as the tone of home instruction by resident governesses, while a corresponding elevation has taken place in the character of women of the latter class. The better ones now receive the same salary as a male tutor, are treated on terms of equality by the family, and are in many cases entirely relieved of the care of their pupils out of school-hours. Among visiting governesses the demand for thorough instruction in "English" subjects has opened a field even to women professing no "accomplishments." Parents no longer expect to find in one person proficiency in all the arts and sciences. One lady recently told the writer that when she began her career as a teacher some twenty years ago, her most sanguine dream of gain never exceeded £50 a year. Now, by lectures in schools and private tuition in the English branches, especially physiology and geography, her annual income is £800.

The improvement in the private schools effected by the local examinations has prepared the public for a high standard in the great endowed schools for girls now being instituted in England, and they have made the existence of a college like Girton possible. The sad want of correlation between schools and the so-called colleges for women in this country is seen in the huge preparatory departments by which Vassar and Wellesley are hampered. In 1875, out of 384 students at Vassar, 159 were preparatory students. At Wellesley, out of 300 students who entered last autumn, some 250 were relegated to the preparatory classes by the test of the entrance examination. At Smith College, out of some 200 candidates for matriculation, fourteen were found fit to form a freshman class. If one asks at Vassar and Wellesley why the fatal incubus of preparatory students is endured at these institutions, the answer is that there are no schools to prepare them. It seems a pity that the strictly collegiate character should not be always maintained at the cost of a temporary loss of pupils, while, by throwing the onus of preparation upon the schools, their character might be improved.

The only movements in this country at all resembling the formation of a system of local examinations have been made by Harvard and Yale. One of these is the holding of matriculation examinations at Cincinnati and Chicago as well as Cambridge and New Haven, and the encouragement by the former of candidates to enter the examination who do not intend to become students of the university. In as far as this examination is held at more than one centre, we have here the germ of a system of local examinations, except in one of the essential features—*i.e.*, all the subjects of examination (except the new requisitions in natural science) are required, including the classical subjects. This at once shuts out all but the classical schools of high character and the more ambitious pupils in such schools. To this

matriculation examination only male candidates are admitted. The Harvard examinations for women, on the other hand, which will hereafter be held at two centres, Cambridge and the city of New York, offer the proper characteristic of local examinations, as to the option allowed in the number and kind of subjects chosen. They are, unfortunately, for women only; possibly, however, this feature may be altered in the future, and, as the case stands, the character of Harvard, the examining authority, forbids the supposition of a low or feminine standard in marking. In this respect of being for women alone, the Harvard examinations are similar to what the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations (for persons over eighteen years of age) were in England up to 1873. In that year they were thrown open to men, in deference to the opinion of the influential party who object to special educational systems for women. Up to the present year, however, no men have presented themselves, yet the standard has been maintained and excellent work has been done. In general, the ability of women to maintain an independent standard is still so doubtful that the principle of common methods and common tests of education for the two sexes is certainly preferable. It should not, however, prevent women from availing themselves of such an opportunity as that offered by Harvard, while the examining body should feel the necessity of awarding its degrees or certificates *as to male candidates*, lest such certificates be meaningless. If women are passed on a lower number of marks than men, each certificate is expressed in terms of an unknown standard, for which every man will substitute his estimate of female ability. For, owing to insufficient opportunities of evidence, a female standard of excellence does not exist. As yet the male standard is our nearest approach to an absolute measure of human power. Under a system of indulgent criticism, the examiners, indeed, may make valuable observations on the candidates, but to the public the immediate gain of information on the vexed question of woman's powers is nothing, nor can the salutary stimulus of "plucking" produce its effects.

One is much struck by the little interest shown in Harvard examinations for women compared with the quick response in England when university examinations were offered to girls. When Cambridge allowed girls to participate in its local examinations of 1863 on trial, at a fortnight's notice, and with only six weeks allowed for preparation, eighty-three girls were presented for examination When the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations, for persons over eighteen years of age, were instituted, ninety-one candidates attended the first examination. In 1875, there were, at ten centres, two hundred and twenty-nine candidates in attendance. In 1874, there were seven candidates for the Harvard preliminary examination for women; in 1875, five for the preliminary and three for the advanced; this year, five for the preliminary and only one for the advanced. This smallness of numbers as compared with the English figures cannot be accounted for by the opportunities which our public schools offer. A large proportion of the girls who come up to the local examinations in England correspond, socially, to the wealthy, leisure class here, which does not send its children to the public schools to any considerable extent. Of course, the successful application of the examination system to girls in England is largely due to the fact that local examinations had been in operation for the benefit of boys five years before it was thought of extending them to girls. There had been much able writing on the subject, and all its aspects were thoroughly appreciated.

The question is often asked how preparation for any special examination can be introduced into a school without its either directing too much the general school-work, or else isolating from their comrades those pupils who wish to become candidates. Practically, schoolmistresses in England have been glad of the guidance afforded by the local examinations as to a programme of work. In schools which undertake to prepare their pupils as candidates, a whole class works up towards the examinations, and then those girls who wish to enter, and who are fully prepared, are sent in. All the class meanwhile has shared in the benefit of association with those members who are working towards a special end, and in that of being constantly tested in writing papers at sight. The class is liable at any moment to be called into a separate room, where a paper is put before them covering any portion of the ground they have gone over. It is of the same length and grade as the regular examination papers, and the class are required to write their answers in the time allotted by the university to one paper. Thus, when these girls go in to the university examination there is none of the excitement and worry that parents and schoolmistresses, to whom the system is a novelty, dread so much for their young charges.

As to the danger of mere cramming, so often urged, it is a sufficient answer that if individual candidates are willing to stake their reputation on that method of preparation, school-teachers in general are not willing to risk theirs through their pupils in any such manner. Again, pure cram requires an amount of memory which is itself a rare talent.

For those girls' schools in England whose method has been perfected by means of the Local Examinations, the London University Examinations for women, and the Girton Entrance Examination, and which are worthy to frame their own curriculum, a new opportunity is now offered in the extension to girls' schools of the services of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, which has just taken place. This Board was formed in 1873 with special reference to the great public schools, such as Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Winchester. These schools, enjoying an exalted independent status, having the best specimens of university men as masters, and being partially tested by the subsequent career of their scholars at the universities, had never availed themselves of the local examinations. Lately, it has been thought desirable that these great bodies should be subjected to more direct scrutiny and brought still more closely into relation with the universities. The school applies to the university to have examiners sent down to it, and these examiners examine either in the general work of the school or in any main subject of instruction, or they examine the highest division of the school. This scheme is, of course, a far more expensive one than that of local examinations. It is not likely that in this country, for a long time to come, examiners will have leisure to run down to private schools for a stay of several days, nor that the schools will be prepared to defray any such expense. Some of the girls' schools in England are quite ready for this new opportunity, such as the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, Miss Bass's Collegiate School in the north of London, and others. The extension to girls' schools of this scheme was made by the universities under scarcely any pressure from without.

Looking at these great systems, and at the fine training which English women of the upper classes receive, one cannot but long that our American girls of the leisure class should awaken to their own intellectual needs. Nobody would venture to maintain that our fashionable girls' schools (with one or two honorable exceptions) give a solid education; and yet, year after year, many hundreds of dollars are spent on the education of each pupil, and she passes long hours of every day in the confinement of the school-room, only to leave it at eighteen, if naturally clever, with a despairing disgust for the culture she has vainly groped after, or, if a dunce, with confirmed self-complacency in her ignorance. The effect of such education is not only intellectual, it is a moral, blight, for its atmosphere is that of sham.

The ephemeral nature of wealth and position in a community like ours renders their effect on personal character enervating rather than stimulating, and this effect is most conspicuous in our women, to whom are left mostly the conduct of "society," in the narrow sense of the word, and the provision of the æsthetic element in domestic life. Thus their culture is in the arts of luxury; it is often very emotional, or, perhaps, one may better call it romantic; Swinburnian poetry and French fiction are conspicuous elements in it; it is intensely subjective and introspective. All this lends a powerful and subtle charm to our American women, but it leaves real education to be monopolized by those who seek it as a means of livelihood.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—XI.

AMERICAN ART.—II.

PHILADELPHIA, July 29, 1876.

THE want of accent and anxious gentility of most of the modern American pictures causes us to linger with considerable tenderness among their predecessors, the Colonial or early Revolutionary canvases. Here at least is the distinction of a past school of thought. Benjamin West, besides his rather melancholy masterpieces in the English Department, is represented, more relishingly, by a portrait of his American period, before the age of twenty-five; it is that of Stephen Carmick, "a signer of the Non-Importation Act," smug, hard as an icicle, sitting across a chair as if on horseback, the beady eyes turned self-consciously contrariwise to the direction of the head, and an air of false amiability worthy of Lawrence Sterne. The manipulation, timid and cold, is confined to registering the social proprieties of 1765. C. W. Peale is seen in two of his better works, where the unction of the subject has enticed him away from his usual dried formality; his General Cropper, a bluff yeoman warrior, and the sweet, young, rustic-looking Mrs. Cropper, give one a more human idea of the man of many ingenuities than would be looked for. His son Rembrandt's likeness of Washington, and Wertmüller's Washington, are here, too, for comparison with the superb monumental portrait by Stuart. Vanderlyn's "General John Armstrong," dark and faded as if seen through a veil, gives us the participant of the losses at Brandywine and Germantown in

his blacker mood; the same artist's "Ariadne" recalls in brighter guise the fame of the artist who was medalled by Napoleon. Dunlap's portrait of Thomas Eddy, black, strong, Brougham-like, and full of character, represented as studying the report on Hudson River exploration and canal navigation, is the work of a feeble portraitist battling with an opportunity beyond his strength. Morse's "Lafayette," with his eyebrows of perpetual amazement, who starts back in dismay from the busts of Washington and Franklin, is another of the curiosities of Room 44 in the Annex. A simpler portrait by Morse, the old woman in a mob-cap, who straightens herself up as if to deliver a repartee, is more intelligible in expression, but errs with the same Opie-like smeared touches. Stuart's smaller portraits—as the old, shrewd-looking gentleman who reads the "*Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 170," and the ornamental and well-preserved "Mrs. Nathaniel Coffin"—are almost always masterpieces; besides the character, the tender modelling, with little dwellings of the brush and lateral sweeps of color, is a lesson for painters; nine or ten specimens of this sensitive hand may be reckoned up, and they form a festival for the student. Stuart Newton, the nephew, represents, with W. S. Mount, the anecdote-painting of the next generation—the former by his "King's Poem," with the young literary king fastidiously showing his verses to a fat sycophant, and the latter by his "Corn-husking." Newton is shown, too, by his successful and precious cabinet portrait of Washington Irving. From these dead anecdotists and jesters we come down with a little fatigue to those who support the same rôles at present.

Mr. Eastman Johnson's jocular "Old Stage-Coach" forms a central object immediately opposite the entrance to the principal American room, where the unlucky silhouette of its dismantled carriage-body, cut black against the distance like an exaggerated Chinese puzzle, forms a greeting the reverse of conciliatory; the obstinate difficulty which this artist finds in inventing a pleasing composition is almost unprecedented. The "Corn-husking Scene" (recently criticised in these columns) is more felicitously composed, with a vista and point of sight and a harmony of arrangement; but the "Kentucky Home," with negroes irregularly studded upon a dark, close relief, is positively repellent, doing injustice to its own qualities of patience and pathos; "Milton and his Daughters" is a faded conventionalism, altogether too high-heeled and courtly to touch the heart; in a single figure the artist succeeds better. The lady "Catching a Bee" in a garden flower is the best work we remember of the author, and, though hung nearly out of sight, attracts and compels notice by its play of soft glittering sunshine and delicate type of feminine beauty. Mr. Johnson, however, is not the one to stand within a doorway to challenge visitors as the champion of American *genre*. The trouble with him is, not that he imitates any foreign school, not that he offends by any kind of pretence, but only that he is washy and that it is easy to forget him.

Of Mr. La Farge, there is to be said that it is a crying injustice and an undeserved cruelty for him to occupy his faculties with so many flower-studies, but that the extraction of the great "Saint Paul" from his studio for the adornment of the Exhibition was a magnanimous act, to be warmly appreciated. Mr. La Farge's flowers are better than other people's flowers—their groupings of color are, more than any one else's, like the groupings of a pack of gorgeous odalisques by Diaz, and they make the most harmonious ornaments imaginable; but a flower-study is for such an artist little more than a piece of graceful ballet posturing, and does not reward a very long attention, even when it appeals to human sympathy in the form of a votive wreath with a Greek inscription. The "Saint Paul" which Mr. La Farge exhibits is a large figure, intended in all honesty for a church, and, as well as the "Virgin" and "Saint John" which remain behind in the studio, to be considered as a legitimate specimen of monumental painting, mural decoration, and religious appeal, suitable less for gallery use than for ecclesiastical pomp. It is decidedly noble in conception; the moral purity, intellectual simplicity, transparent self-abnegation, are very perfect. We are not sure that so religious a picture has been yet produced by any countryman of ours. The color is of a certain deep sweet dignity and repose that goes well with the theme; as a matter of composition, it appears to us that the sudden brightening of the curtain behind the figure at a definite spot around the extended hand, done so as to relieve it unnaturally with white, and force an unwilling attention to the gesture, is an expedient rather of theatrical than of religious art; and the hesitating halo which throbs around the head is more dingy than subdued. A halo, one would say, should either be frankly and blankly displayed, as a symbol, or entirely omitted, if realism is the effect sought; none of the half-way trials at making traditional treatment look like natural accident deceive anybody—least of all, Mr. Holman Hunt's ingenious adjustment of the head of a naturalistic Christ in the circle of a naturalistic window. Mr. La Farge's "Saint Peter," as he stands in his utter provincial rudeness, his outlines floating, confused, and blotted against the simple drapery of an Eastern tent, planted well on both feet, dealing out the committed message with both hands, and retaining a great deal of the child behind the wrinkles and grizziness of old age, is a memorable figure, rich in the most touching and inmost attributes of religious art. Mr. La Farge likewise sends his life-size portrait of a boy sitting beside a large hound; it is a study of character and color, the tone of the flesh being conspicuously well carried off by a system of harmonious surroundings.

Paintings so individual as these are what we have best to show, among a crowd of works usually betraying with the utmost pride of subserviency the influence of a particular foreign master or school. After contemplating the Bierstadts, which positively boast of their resemblance to Lessing and Achenbach, and the Thomas Hills, which are pale reminiscences of pale Kuwasseg, and the Thomas Morans, which are violent lunges at Calame and Turner alternately, it is like coming to a reality again to find the landscapes of Mr. H. Herzog, now naturalized in this country, and painting American scenery in such a Teutonic tone that we expect to hear the traditional jödel and detect the traditional chamois among the hills. Mr. Herzog gives us a Yo-Semite scene, between Sentinel Rock and Union Point; it is painted with a brush of such experienced ease and certainty of effect that most of the American landscape looks experimental or straining beside it. As we watch Herzog's evening shadow creeping up the terrible precipice, we seem to see it move voluntarily like a climber, attaining every moment more giddy ledges and more treacherous fissures, among whose increasing difficulties the eye is pained to be led. The illusion is there because the artist had a definite theme, that of the afternoon shadow, and to this purpose broadened out his execution. We experience a sensation rather uncomfortable than otherwise before the large neighbors which the American gallery accumulates in each other's presence—the "Donner Lake" of Mr. Thomas Hill, the "Holy Cross Mountain" of Mr. Thomas Moran, and the "Settlement of California" of Mr. Bierstadt; as among the family of giants in a museum, we cannot but feel that an admiration is expected of us which can only be felt by falsifying our point of view, and that for objects to have panoramic proportions is of less consequence than for them to be pleasing.

Mr. Bridgman and Mr. Moore are fair examples of just what our young men are gaining by going abroad to study. Each such acolyte seems to show himself thereafter with the mark of "Paris" or "Munich" sealed upon his forehead. Mr. Bridgman sends a "Story-teller," a Nubian improvisatrice retailing the Arabian Nights to a half-score of beauties of the harem. The monstrous ear-rings of the speaker, who squats upon the ground like a hideous black idol in a harness of spangles and ornaments—these alarming ear-rings are the keynote of the whole picture: they are a little too pronounced; in this kind of delineation it is understood that the slaves must all be beautiful, the feet all arched, the eyes well fenced with paint, the nudity seductive, and in a general way the jewelry strictly set in front and the ethnology kept subordinate. Yet Mr. Bridgman is an honest, industrious, and skilful painter; his "Flower of the Amen" a girl toying with a peacock-fan, and his resolute-looking "Kabyle Woman," with her Jael-like head and fantastic ornaments, are excellent specimens of life-size portraiture; his scene where a Breton farm-lad drives a team of oxen is, on a smaller and more manageable scale, a good effect of landscape and *genre*, and one of his pleasantest works; but every picture mentioned is most obviously a work of tutelage, the composition and way of looking at life are European and conventional, and there is little to show that the clever student is engaged in plunging into his own American consciousness and simply stating his surprises and summaries. Something like this has been the difficulty with our literature; and although it would be absurd to expect a civilization formed of ready-made old-world habits to develop a new language in the arts, yet just as every artist or thinker of merit is original to some extent among his peers, so we rightly wish for American originality to have an accent apart from European originality. Mr. Humphrey Moore has always seemed to enjoy a rather deeper perception than his fellow-student; there was an audacity about his early experiments—Spaniards howling a ballad, or gipsies shearing a donkey, in rude, realistic presentment—that promised a way of his own in getting at the life of a country. His "Almeh," at the Exhibition, is rather cruelly used by the glaring skylight; but although missing the tone which it would acquire in an ordinary room, and looking somewhat rude, it is a surprisingly forcible work for a young artist. It represents one of the Moorish lords of Spain entertained by the dancing of his dark-eyed favorite. The point of sight is chosen rather low, so that the reclin-

ing nobleman, as if seen from the floor, has his knee in his mouth, and his feet are exaggerated by the foreshortening of the limbs and torso; this gives the more prominence to the "Almeh," seen in a simple standing attitude without perspective. The two heads are well painted, and the Alhambra lends a background of pale iridescent tints, and a tempered illumination which equably diffuses the light, so that there are no shadows, and the well-modelled flesh of the girl wears a sort of robe of gray air, as if seen inside an alabaster cylinder. This picture, for technical qualities, is certainly one of the most satisfactory in the American department, yet it is a satisfactoriness of promise rather than of fulfilment. It is almost mathematically easy to argue from the "Almeh" a future style of painting in which Mr. Moore will evolve certainty out of the pleasantly-glimmering effects which are tentative here; and with a rather simpler composition, broader chiaroscuro, and narrower insight, begin to utilize in historical or religious art his liking for Orientalisms. He sends, on a smaller scale, a merchant selling a sword to a pair of Bedouin cavaliers in some street of Cairo, in which the richly draped figures relieve against the whitened walls in the braggart style of Regnault—or rather of Clairin. There is evident muscle in Mr. Moore, and, as soon as he finds something to express, he will certainly deliver himself from the mere gymnasium in which he is exercising now, and begin to work.

Mr. Toby Rosenthal exhibits his "Elaine," a picture which has attracted a great deal of attention in California, and with some reason, for as an illustration of Tennyson it is truly extraordinary. Nothing gives a greater jolt to the mind than to be brought up with a good loud translation of our household Tennyson into the dialect of Munich, as in this, or the dialect of Strassburg, as in Doré's illustrations. Here is a robust, ponderous, German princess riding on the barge, steered by a servitor of the picturesque landknecht order, and both of them taken straight out of German opera scenery. The robust corpse ought to swamp the boat instead of riding so high out of water; and Lancelot would have had little remorse at abandoning a maiden so evidently able to take care of herself. But it is usually an objectionable thing in the critic to estimate a painting from its title. If the picture represents a situation capable of standing alone and being liked for its pictorial qualities, we need not mind whether it fits a given literary frame or not. And it must be confessed that Mr. Rosenthal's Teutonic nymph lies with monumental breadth upon her catafalque, and that the composition, half sculptural and half scenic, makes an imposing and impressive picture.

German or French influence is what usually makes the righteousness of our young painters' originality. Miss Anna M. Lea, and one or two landscapists who have been looking at Turner, are almost the only pupils of the English school who could be pointed out. Miss Lea paints in a rich, dusky, vailed, pastel style a series of splendid ladies who seem to have often saluted the ladies of Romney and Gainsborough. Her method, however, is conspicuously her own, and only a certain indecision of eye and a selection of laces and bric-à-brac from Wardour Street reveal London training. The stately lymphatic woman in Memorial Hall, who looks like a Birmingham Diana in moonlight, is inferior in treatment to all and any of those hung in the Annex. The "Saint Genevieve" and "Patrician Mother" are both rich and aristocratic models, painted with restrained force, colored with tender splendor, and in type reminding us of those women in society who seem born to fill panels in family portrait galleries. Besides these there is a likeness of an aged lady, more real and literal than any of the younger subjects, touched with admirable freedom and breadth, and arguing for Miss Lea a strange, haunting power over the spectator's mind; it is a portrait of which you long to know the original's history; and the painter's other subjects have something of the same strange "now I will tell you a story" suggestiveness.

E. S.

LES DANICHEFF.

London, July 15, 1876.

THE experiment of transplanting French plays from Parisian theatres to the London stage does not often answer. English translations of the best and most successful French dramas are generally bad, and English acting of French characters is almost invariably worthless. Alfred Wigan, who has now left the English stage, could personate a Frenchman without burlesque, and some of Mr. Hare's French characters are well conceived and acted, but these are the only English actors who of late years have been able to understand the character of our neighbors across the Channel. Adaptations of French plays are much affected here, but they are rarely successful. During the past season two adaptations from the French have had a fair run at one of the best London theatres, the "Court"; but the success of "Les Pattes de Mouche" and of "Une Partie à Piquet," transformed respectively into "A Scrap of Paper" and "A Quiet Rubber," is attributable to the good acting of Mr. and Mrs. Kendal and of Mr. Hare rather than to any intrinsic merit in the adaptations. Alexandre Dumas's popular drama, "L'Étrangère," has been carefully translated into English, and produced with some flourish of trumpets at the Haymarket Theatre in the height of the season. But it had hardly a night's life in it. The first audience condemned it on the opening night, and it has no resurrection. The leading actress wrote to the *Times* to explain that she had spent nights in Paris studying the action and the attitudes of Mlle. Croisette at the Français, but even this slavish imitation did not meet with its reward. The whole thing failed. From time to time, the wholesale importation of a Parisian company to London has been tried, but it has not often proved a satisfactory speculation. In the year 1871, during the Franco-German war, the company of the Français spent the weary months during which the siege of Paris was proceeding with us in London, and they had no reason to repent their lot. The house in which they played was crowded night after night with the best sort of audiences in the world—the intellectual élite of London society; and the refined acting and delicate portraiture of Parisian life which MM. Got, Delaunay, and the other distinguished members of the *corps dramatique* presented, were applauded and appreciated by the most critical members of a critical society. London felt that the ill wind which swept over France brought at least this good to it—that an opportunity was presented of seeing what real acting was. Since then till the other day there has been no good French acting in London. The rules of the Français forbid the members of their Société to perform elsewhere than at home. Companies of French actors and actresses have been among us, but we have not cared much about them, and they have returned to the Théâtre du Palais-Royal, or to Les Variétés, or wherever they have come from, disgusted with the want of taste exhibited by the non-appreciative Briton. But the explanation of this want of appreciation is a simple one. The bulk of playgoing people in London do not belong to the more highly educated classes. Shopkeepers, stockbrokers, clerks in offices, and idlers from the country form the majority of those who frequent the London theatres. These people do not understand French, and prefer the coarse burlesque of English manufacture and English performance. The more cultivated classes in London have so much to do during the season that they have neither time nor inclination to spend their evenings at a theatre. The dinner-hour alone—eight o'clock being the hour when most people dine—precludes the frequent indulgence in this form of amusement. If they go to the play they must change, for the day, their ordinary mode of life. This is not the case in Paris. The theatre is part of the business of society, and life is accommodated accordingly. In London, the classes who constitute society will not change their ways of daily life except for something which will repay them. If a very good play is brought out, be it in English or in French or in Italian, they will stretch a point and go to see it, but they will not do so for anything that is not first-rate. They went in crowds to see the company of the Français in 1871; they went in crowds to see Signor Salvini in *Othello* and *Hamlet;* they went in crowds to see your Mr. Jefferson in *Rip Van Winkle*, infamously supported as he was; and now they are going in crowds to see the company of the Odéon, reinforced by the accomplished acting of Mme. Fargueil, performing Les Danicheff. I went the other night to see this piece, having secured places with some difficulty several nights before the performance, and I was amazed to see so large and so brilliant an audience in any theatre on a hot night in the middle of July, when numbers of families had already quitted London for the country and the seaside. The house was full, and all around you saw well-known faces, leaders of society and leaders of literary and political coteries, vieing with each other in the interest they showed in the performance.

I do not think that this play has yet been performed in America, but as it doubtless will be before long, I think the following sketch of the piece may not be without interest.

The authorship of the play is not yet accurately ascertained. It has been attributed to a gentleman who has assumed the name of "Pierre Newski." This mongrel appellation has suggested a double authorship like that of Erckmann-Chatrian. It is supposed that the story and surroundings have been supplied by a Russian and the writing and dialogue by a Frenchman; indeed, the writing is so perfect and the dialogue so neat and epigrammatic that it has been supposed that they are the workmanship of M. Alexandre Dumas. But whether the play is the joint effort of a Russian novice and a French veteran or the production of an individual, is of small consequence. It might be interesting, if the first suggestion was the true one, as being typical of a possible alliance in the future on a political rather than a literary scale—a possibility which is neatly alluded to at the commencement of the second act, where the young French attaché of the piece, after recounting

the incidents of an encounter with a grizzly bear from whose embraces he was rescued by the Russian hero, is answered by his preserver with the remark—more keenly appreciated in Paris, perhaps, than in London—"When a Frenchman is taken unawares by a wild beast, what is more natural than that a Russian should go to his assistance?" There is, however, enough interest of a practical kind in the play itself to make it well worth seeing, without the necessity of speculating on its origin or its allusions.

The first scene opens in the country-seat of the Dowager Countess Danicheff during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, and therefore before the emancipation of the serfs. The Countess is seated in her own room, with her parrot and her basket of kittens, listening, in company with two elderly maiden ladies, her dependants and toadies, to Anna, a beautiful protégée of the Countess's, who is reading for the entertainment of these three wicked old ladies passages from the life of the Chevalier Faublas—"ce cher Faublas," as the Countess calls him—which, for the sake of human and especially of maiden nature, it is to be hoped that Anna does not understand. Anna is of servile origin, and, though educated and brought up by the Countess as her daughter, is legally a serf. To them enter Vladimir, the only son of the Countess, who has just received orders to join his regiment at Moscow, whither he has to start without delay. The drama is now about to commence. The Countess, proud of her son's prospective military distinction, is profuse in her professions of attachment, and Vladimir, taking advantage of this unaccustomed effusion on the part of his cold-hearted mother, has a solemn interview with her, in the course of which he informs her of his unalterable love for Anna and the reciprocity of hers for him. For a moment the Countess is beside herself with indignation, but she controls herself sufficiently to dissemble an acquiescence in her son's views. She exacts one condition—namely, that the matter should stand over for a year, and that Vladimir should be a constant visitor at the house of the Prince Valanoff in Moscow, whose attractive daughter, Lydia, will soon, in the Countess's opinion, put a stop to this romantic attachment. Vladimir agrees, and after a touching leave-taking, in which a black retriever dog plays a not unimportant part, he goes away. The Countess then appears in her true character—haughty, cruel, and imperious—the *grande dame* of the reign of Nicholas. She is arranging her "autumn marriages" among her serfs, and Anna is ordered to prepare at once to marry the coachman, Ossip, who is to be liberated from serfdom as well as to be married. At this point the drama becomes almost too painful to witness. The exhibition of feeling which Anna is called upon to display, while she throws herself now at the feet of the Countess, now at the feet of Ossip, and again at those of the priest, is realistic almost to excess, though as given by Mlle. Hélène Petit it is simple and natural and almost unexaggerated. But there is no escape for the unhappy girl. The Countess is resolute and deaf to her entreaties, and Ossip admits that he has loved her for years. In an almost unconscious state she signs the register, clinging against hope to a promise given her by Ossip that for a year he will regard her as a sister.

The second act opens in the drawing-room of the Princess Lydia at Moscow. It is filled with a brilliant company of the élite of Russian society, and it is made cool and pleasant to look at in this hot July weather by the device of a fall of snow which appears to be going on outside. The conversation is animated and amusing, and the epigrams and good things of a young French attaché, Roger de Taldé by name, are good enough to make the fortune of a dozen English plays. Vladimir is a constant visitor, but the only effect of his visits is, not that he has fallen in love with Lydia, but that Lydia has fallen in love with him, while he remains constant to Anna. The Countess joins the party and settles down to a hand at piquet with Lydia's father, while the young attaché proposes to Lydia. She rejects him, and he, like a true Frenchman, determines on revenge, and commences weaving designs to counteract those of Lydia on Vladimir. He tells the latter of Anna's marriage, and the news works as he desires. Vladimir demands an interview with his mother, and a stormy interview they have, ending with a declaration by Vladimir that he will at once leave Moscow, find Anna and Ossip, put them both to death, and then kill himself. The third act passes in Ossip's cottage, where Anna and Ossip are living as brother and sister, Ossip being, as he says himself, "resolute," and Anna "confiding." A dramatic interest hangs around them at this moment, as the audience are aware of Vladimir's resolve and are awaiting his appearance with some excitement. The Countess, however, intervenes, and makes proposals to Ossip regarding Anna, which, being now free, he treats with indignant contempt, and Vladimir enters bent on his murderous designs. Ossip explains the relations which exist between him and Anna, and offers to give her up, though he loves her dearly, as soon as a divorce can be obtained, and the curtain falls upon a reconciliation and not upon a triple tragedy.

The fourth act brings us back to the country-seat of the Countess. Anna and Vladimir are on the same footing while the negotiations for the divorce are pending as they were in the first act, except that Roger de Taldé finds some difficulty in knowing exactly how to address the half-wedded bride of one man who is the *fiancée* of another. The divorce negotiations have been, by some fatality, entrusted to the Princess Lydia, who arrives from Moscow with the sad news that the negotiations have failed, the Emperor refusing to listen to the proposal that one of Russia's nobility should marry a serf. Roger sees through this refusal. It is not the Emperor but the Princess who has raised the bugbear, and his ingenuity is not at fault. If Ossip will renounce the world as well as Anna, and become a priest, he will use one of Lydia's tools, a "brandy farmer" called Zakaroff, who, through an enforced gift of many thousand rubles to the Church, has great influence, to procure a dispensation to release Ossip from the marriage. The self-denying coachman consents, out of love for Anna and for Vladimir, to sacrifice himself. The dispensation is procured; he signs the book, and is divorced from Anna and wedded to the Church. Vladimir and Anna are made happy; the designs of the wicked Countess and the intriguing Princess are brought to naught. Roger de Taldé has punished the Princess and repaid the preserver of his life, and he ends a remarkably clever piece with the not inappropriate words, "And when I tell this story in Paris, nobody will believe me."

Correspondence.

NEED WE MAKE THE "OLD MAN" MADDER?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I infer from your last number that you find fault with Hayes and his adherents because they do not come out against Grant and Grantism. Is it not fair to consider that, should he do so, he would probably make a triangular fight of the campaign, with two sides against him, and so be pretty sure of a defeat? Please observe that Grant is still very strong with the official people (all influential), and also very strong with masses of the old-fashioned, honest, simple Republicans of the rural districts, including multitudes of soldiers. Millions of Northern people will not be convinced by a few or many bad selections for office that our Wellington, our Iron Duke, is altogether unworthy of respect, and should be attacked by his own party. I know honest and excellent men, old abolitionists and good patriots, who become very angry if one criticises Grant without mercy. Then there are the Conklingites, without whom we cannot carry New York, I suppose, and who are already sufficiently disgusted by the setting aside of their own champion and by Hayes's views on civil-service reform. To attack Grant and Grantism openly is to attack Conkling and the Conklingites, and to change them from cool friends into warm enemies. The result of such a policy would be Tilden and Hendricks instead of Hayes and Wheeler. Can you expect the Republican candidate to aim at such a result? Would it be best to have him do so? Ought we to advise him to (substantially) withdraw his name in favor of Tilden?

You doubtless fear for the chances of civil-service reform if Hayes comes into office with the aid of Conkling, Chandler, and that sort of tricksters. So do I. But if Tilden comes in, backed by the old spoils party and by a hungry "united South," civil-service reform will be dead for many a day. There will be an immediate "rotation in office" such as never was seen before. Eighty thousand men will go out and eighty thousand men will come in. Once more the public conscience on this subject will be stunned and slaughtered. Observe that the Democratic party has never done anything on this subject except in the spirit of Old Hickory. The Republican party has at least been willing to pretend to do something, and thus far to acknowledge the weight of independent opinion. My private belief is that Hayes on this point is sound and earnest, and that he will prove courageous and persevering.

But I have wandered from my text. My object was simply to argue that it would be impolitic and fruitful of injury to push Hayes and his adherents into a distinct attack upon Grant and Grantism by name. The President already believes that our candidate has assaulted him in simply refusing a second term. One of his intimates lately said to a trustworthy acquaintance of mine in Washington: "The 'Old Man' is as mad as hell about it." Well, the "Old Man" can do harm. He can perhaps trip us up, and perhaps means just now to do it. Why should we want to keep him mad or make him madder?

I admit, as all reform Republicans must do, that the situation is morally awful. But now that Hayes is nominated mainly in obedience to our bidding, now that he has hoisted our flag, I think we had better support him with a hearty good-will, and make as few difficulties as possible for him, hoping the best. If I were editor of a reform paper, I would say as little as possible about men, and as much as possible about principles. And, if I had to mention our candidate, I would be careful not to saddle him with the responsibilities of our present Sultan, who is only too anxious, I fear, to give him the political bowstring.

Meantime, within the limits of our respective States, let us outmanœuvre our Cornells and nominate our Evartses and Curtises. These home duties are often badly attended to—I might almost say, always badly attended to. We send partisan reprobates to Congress, we fill both wings of the Capitol with thimble-rigging wire-pullers, and then we rave at the incapacity and rascality of the Administration. Poor, honest, simple, soldierly, ignorant Iron Duke, there in the White House! We voters at home surround him with able scalawags, and then rave at him for being misled. I suspect that we shall do no better by Hayes if he gets in; and that then we shall trounce him for the inevitable results of our own laziness. Remember that a free people always has just as good a government as it deserves, and no better. Respectfully yours, ———

New Haven, Conn., July 24, 1876.

A JUST OBSERVATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am a great admirer of Carl Schurz, but I do not think he should predict that Mr. Tilden's election would rouse "false hopes among the lawless element in the South by their party victory and the increase of terrible excesses and reactionary efforts," without giving us some very strong reasons for his prophecy.

I have not forgotten that it was only two years ago that Massachusetts was implored to send back to Congress an "unbroken front," or else there would "go up all over the South a rebel yell," and fresh outrages would "begin again on a larger scale than ever." Massachusetts' front was badly (?) broken. A more peaceable reign at the South, and a change for the better in the Administration in dealing with the South, were results which immediately followed. No "yells" were reported. I had hoped Mr. Schurz would feel so encouraged about the future of the South that he would not help that class of politicians who are so anxious to divert attention from their misdeeds by cries of outrages and rebel persecutions; but it will not be surprising if Butler's and Dr. Loring's chances for Congress are improved by quotations from his recent political predictions.

It seems to me impossible to elect many men to Congress in favor of civil-service reform if we are to lay great stress upon the Southern question. Yours respectfully, G.

Waltham, July 27, 1876.

AMERICAN FLUNKEYISM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read with satisfaction in one of your contemporaries a protest, couched in stronger terms than I should venture to use, against the excessive homage paid to members of the English aristocracy when they visit the United States. Some time ago, Lord Dufferin was received at Chicago not merely with the respect and cordiality which are due to him, but with an amount of adulation which would scarcely have been paid to rank by its most servile worshippers in England.

We may be told these manifestations are to be ascribed merely to the hospitality in which, as all visitors to the United States will gratefully acknowledge, Americans have no superiors; but they are capable of serious misconstruction, and when reported in England and Canada they do practically a great amount of mischief. Do your people believe in the republican principle? If they do, let them be true to it. Let them be true to it in their demeanor for the sake of others, as well as in practice for their own.

An English Liberal.

THE MASSACHUSETTS NORMAL ART-SCHOOL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Exceptional circumstances have forced me to delay my answer to Mr. Smith's charge in the *Nation* of June 29, of falsifying in my letter of May 25. What I stated in that letter was almost entirely from my personal knowledge, and for several of the points I shall offer in proof Mr. Smith's official reports.

Mr. Smith quotes from my letter:

1. "In the reports of the Boston School and Drawing Committee are published the names of teachers who fail to comply with the rules and prepare for special examination in drawing." This he styles "*an absolute untruth*," and says "such a list of names has never been published." By turning to the report for 1875, the reader will see, commencing on page 19 (on the 18th page is the signature of Walter Smith), a list of more than a thousand teachers with a record against each name. A note at the beginning of the list explains it thus: "The sign — signifies that the teacher did not *take* the examination in the subject at the head of the column or did not *pass* it." The fact of such a record and the use made of it are well known to all concerned.

2. "A large per cent. of the first year's students at the Art-School were either teachers of drawing in Boston and vicinity or former students of drawing in the Lowell Institute." This he calls "untrue." I was not a member of the School during that year, but of fifteen students of whom I chanced to know something, *eight* were professional teachers of drawing and painting in the first schools of the vicinity. When I became a member of the School, I found the students who had *not* studied at the Lowell were exceptional. Since Mr. Smith's system had secured State patronage, it became necessary for teachers generally to acquire its methods.

3. "At the close of the [first] year only thirteen out of one hundred and thirty-three students could take the diploma, and yet each successive year the system is braced by increase of work." I made this point to show that the methods of the School prohibited any one from taking the diploma who was not willing to put aside every other consideration. Mr. Smith says that twenty-two obtained the diploma. In the report of the Board of Visitors, 1875, page 20, which closes a report from Mr. Smith, it will be seen that my statement is correct. The number is thirteen. In regard to the increase of work each year, Mr. Smith says: "I assert, and can demonstrate by the printed circulars, that no additional work has been required from the first year's students since the School opened." I will give a few of the many points at which the increasing pressure was applied. In my first year at the School, three hours of each session were given to lectures. In my second year, there was an increase of one hour, half of the extra hour being taken from the intermission. Up to last February the student who had passed examinations in any subject was excused from further attention to it. This had been looked forward to as a great relief. Since that time, students must keep themselves ready for further examinations in subjects already passed or lose so many marks. Every remonstrance was met by the rejoinder, "You will get more next year." This you will hardly see formulated in any circular.

4. "The School is no longer free, there being a charge of $20 a year. A debt of $20,000 has been incurred by the managers during the past year, which is given as a reason for the change." The director says that "no such debt exists, and no such reason was ever given for the fee of $10 a term for incidentals, *not* for instruction." That such a debt *did* exist in the spring, before the legislative appropriation was made, I have the word of an officer of the School. The students, having been invited to a free school founded by the State, petitioned against the tax of $20 a year, and to allay the agitation the managers made a statement at a regular session of the School, giving the money embarrassment as a reason for the tax. What is meant by "incidentals" is not clear, as nothing is furnished to the students in return for the $20 except room, instruction, and the use of models. It can hardly be for the purchase of models, since we learn on page 67 of the report of the Board of Education that the *State*, during the school year just closed, had paid Walter Smith $477 65 for models.

5. "The Finance Committee of the last Legislature refused to consider a resolution appropriating $14,000 to the School." Mr. Smith says "this is not true." This information I recalled from a conversation with a member of the Finance Committee, who advised the preparation of a circular to the members of the Legislature which would throw light on the matter when it came up for discussion. In his absence I have consulted the Journal of the House. On page 342, date of March 23, 1876, I find that the Committee "asked to be discharged from further consideration"—showing that they *did* consider the proposition so far as to make the above request. I am more than glad to make the correction. Mr. Smith says: "In spite of a libellous circular issued by anonymous persons, the necessary appropriations were made." He ignores the fact that these circulars were stolen after being deposited with the legislative postmaster; that the circular deals lawfully with a question of public concern, you will see from the copy enclosed; that it was not anonymous, you will see by the list of names I send of some of those interested in its preparation, which was given to the Finance Committee for use at the proper time.

6. "A special meeting of students was called by the managers of the School to express approbation of the system." This too is denied. That the circulars were abstracted in the interest of the management of the School is capable of proof, and that the meeting was called by this interest to make the testimonial to Mr. Smith was fully understood at the time.

7. To settle the question whether there is too much to do in the first year's course at the Art-School, Mr. Smith cites the case of "several Boston public-school teachers," who, every year since the School has opened, have done their regular work, "and yet have had time *in their leisure* to produce all the diploma-drawings, study the subjects, and pass the examinations in addition"—*i.e.*, to complete the course. The fact is, that up to last February, during two years and a half of the School, *three* had done what Mr. Smith says *several* do every year. Two of them are well known to me, and their experience is sufficient to deter others from attempting to follow their example.

8. Mr. Smith meets what was said in my letter about the number of graduates who find no employment by saying that no student has yet graduated nor can until the completion of the fourth year of the School, and he goes on to deprecate the employment of teachers on the strength of a year or two of study. On page 55, report of 1874–5, the Board of Visitors say that seventy-one have *graduated* in Class A, of whom thirty are known to be employed. On page 75 Mr. Smith himself says this difficulty has disappeared, and qualified teachers from the Normal Art-School can be secured by all the school committees requiring them, without delay.

In speaking of the injury to health inflicted by the grinding of the "system," I said that the director had advised a student, who complained of nervous prostration, to take morphine. This he declares is absolutely false, and he goes on to say that he didn't so much as know what morphine is. I repeat my statement, although it cannot be braced with proof.

My criticism was neither personal nor malicious. I did not attack the School or its director under the shield of anonymity. If I did not give my name, it was because the public had no concern to know it. My personal relations with the School have always been pleasant, and I wrote merely in the interest of art and health. MARY GUNNING ("Art Student").

WALTHAM, Mass.

Notes.

THE Conference of Librarians which we announced in our last number is now definitely appointed to be held at Philadelphia on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, October 4–6, in the rooms of the Historical Society. The committee in charge consists of Messrs. Justin Winsor, Wm. F. Poole, and Lloyd P. Smith. A programme will be ready in September, and will be mailed on application to the Secretary, Mr. Melvil Dewey, 13 Tremont Place, Boston.——*Bulletin* No. 38 of the Boston Public Library reaches "Cape Cod" in its Check-list for American Local History, and contains besides the bibliography of early explorations in America, beginning with the Cabots.——Mr. Joel Munsell, Albany, will receive subscriptions to a 'Memoir of Lieut.-Col. Tench Tilghman,' an eminent patriot of the Revolution, the aid-de-camp and secretary of General Washington, and subsequently the business partner of Robert Morris. It has been prepared by Dr. Samuel A. Harrison, of Easton, Md., and Col. Tilghman's descendants have added to it in an appendix his private journal of the treaty at German Flats, N. Y., between the Commissioners of Congress and the Six Nations; his diary of the siege of Yorktown; a number of his letters to his father from army headquarters, 1776–1781; and several of Washington's letters to him never before published. The work is in press and will appear shortly. It will contain a portrait of Colonel Tilghman.——Upon a single page at the end of the catalogue of the exhibit of the Newspaper Pavilion in the Centennial Exhibition is a "complete directory" or bibliographical list of the newspapers published in the thirteen colonies one hundred years ago. Few things so force into sight the enormous physical growth of these United States as a comparison of this page and its little list of 37 papers with the preceding 153 pages cataloguing the 8,129 newspapers published and on file now in the Pavilion. In 1776, New York had 4 newspapers, Massachusetts 7, and Pennsylvania 9; in 1876, New York has 1,088 newspapers, Massachusetts 346, and Pennsylvania 788, while five States unknown in 1776 surpass Massachusetts in 1876, viz., Illinois with 707 newspapers, Ohio with 568, Iowa with 401, Missouri with 378, and Indiana with 375. Thirty-six of the newspapers of the Revolutionary days were weeklies; the sole exception, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, was published three times a week. There was no daily newspaper then in this country, there are now 716; but the weeklies still hold their own, numbering 6,139, or more than eight times as many as the dailies.——Herr Arthur von Studnitz, whose address is care of Dr. Schumacher, General Consul of the German Empire, 2 Bowling Green, New York, has come to this country on behalf of the Prussian Minister of Commerce in order to study the condition of our working-classes and report thereon to his Government. He brings to the task experience derived from a similar study in the French part of Switzerland. He desires from any source documents of all kinds shedding light on the subject in gross or in detail. A circular-letter giving full particulars may be had by those interested on application as above.——The cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci, known as "St. Anne" or "The Holy Family," in the possession of the Royal Academy of Arts, is, by permission of the Academy, to be copied in permanent photography (size 24 in. by 18 in.), and will be issued at cost-price to subscribers for six shillings and sixpence. This payment will also secure a photograph of the small sketch of the subject recently acquired by the British Museum. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. Alfred Marks, Long Ditton, Surrey.——In the *Bibliographie de la France*, No. 25, June 17, 1876, is a chronological list of the works of George Sand (with the imprints), from 'Indiana' in 1832 to 'La Tour de Percemont' in 1876. Its pretensions to completeness may be doubted, as it omits, for one, 'Les Deux Frères,' the sequel to 'Flamarande.' But, in spite of all omissions, the tale of her literary baggage is still considerable, for it contains 108 items.

—A late number of the *Archiv für das Studium der neureren Sprachen* (Braunschweig) contains a paper "On some words derived from Languages of North American Indians, communicated by Dr. Th. H. Klein." In his communication Dr. Klein forgets to mention one fact about this paper—that it was read by Dr. J. H. Trumbull before the American Philological Association in 1872, and is now reprinted, word for word, from the Transactions of the Association for that year (pp. 19–32).

—A correspondent writes us from Boston: "I question if 'The Gladiators' is not a more appropriate name than 'Pollice Verso' for Gérôme's picture, No. 206. I have not seen the painting, but the engravings represent the thumbs turned *down*, which is *pollice presso*, and means to spare the conquered. *Pollice verso* is to turn the thumb up towards the chest, and was the signal for slaughter. Whoever gave the name seems to have made a blunder."

—Mr. J. B. Greenough writes us: "It has been suggested that in the second part of the 'Latin Composition,' lately published by Ginn Bros., Boston, more credit was due to some authors abroad than was indicated in the preface. As I am far from desiring to gain credit for others' work, whether my own countrymen or foreigners, I perhaps shall best avoid misconstruction by disclaiming any strict originality in the work, and at the same time expressing our particular indebtedness to Grysar's and Potts's directions on the subject and Nixon's directions and practice."

—In *Lippincott's Magazine* for August habitual readers of this periodical will find most of the contributors old acquaintances, but happily such as one does not object to meeting again, and often. Lady Barker, writing from South Africa, has to tell of a social entertainment given by herself, in which a performance by Kafir "witch-finders" (a now obsolete profession) took the place of private theatricals, let us say. Mr. Wilson's second paper on the "Eastern Shore" deals agreeably with the fish, game, and oyster harvests of the Chesapeake; and his figures in regard to the oyster traffic, mounting as they do into the millions, put imagination to the test. It marks the progress of the shoremen away from the condition of the prehistoric dwellers along the Atlantic coast that they accumulate no shell-heaps. "The shells are used in immense quantities for agricultural purposes, being burned into lime and spread upon the land as a fertilizer in combination with clover. They are largely used also in improving the roads and streets, making a firm and permanently dry and smooth road-bed." The decisive strategic movement for raising the siege at Chattanooga is described briefly by Mr. Kimberly, who, as usual, does not spare Gen. Rosecrans. Mr. Edward King's "Montenegro" is interesting as having been evolved not from books, but from an actual visit to the country, and on account of the illustrations which accompany it. Though he writes as a decided admirer of the people, it cannot be said that he conceals the barbaric aspects of the Montenegrin character. He denies the charge that they are superstitious, but it does not appear that he stayed long enough among them to qualify him to judge whether they are or not, while his disqualification is suggested by his remarking that "they are far too healthy and vigorous beings to become the prey of any absurdities." A paper on George Sand, the first of two, gives a half-pennyworth of personal reminiscence to a deal of information—by no means intolerable, however—mainly derived from her autobiography.

—A glowing account of Wellesley College (for women) occupies the forefront of *Harper's*. It is written in all sincerity, but in effect this institution is praised as if programme and realization were the same thing, and much as a writer in these columns lauded Smith College, which, like Wellesley, is only a year old. What we said then (No. 557) by way of criticism on unjustifiable pretensions, is applicable in a measure to Mr. Abbott's well-meant endorsement of Wellesley, which at present consists chiefly of a preparatory department, and started last October with a confessedly low standard of admission, which it means to raise from year to year. In respect of fine grounds and a fine building it seems to be equipped as few other women's colleges are. It is just a hundred years ago this month since the battle of Long Island was fought, and the tale is here told anew with the aid of a map and of numerous wood-cuts of "incidents" drawn to order, when a little more enterprise would have procured views of some of the old houses of the battle-field still extant, and of other relics. The map itself might have been larger, with the streets of modern Brooklyn overlaid. In both respects, Mr. T. W. Field's monograph on the battle, published by the Long Island Historical Society, would have furnished a model. Another seasonable article is one on Saratoga Springs. The memory of Rear-Admiral Shubrick has a proper tribute paid to it in a sketch of that officer's quiet and yet busy and honorable career afloat and ashore.

—Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for June 13 has two articles relating to the United States: one, an account of Lieut. Wheeler's second expedition to New Mexico and Colorado (1870); the other, a description, with warm praise, of Gen. Walker's 'Statistical Atlas.' The first is accompanied by a map showing the primitive settlements of the Aztecs and allied Pueblos in New Mexico. Another map is of the recently explored Franz-Josef Land, lat. 81° N. In the *Geographical Magazine* for July Mr. R. H. Major is allowed space for the reproduction of his article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* rehabilitating Verrazzano against Mr. Murphy's attacks upon him. Of more general interest is Mr. E. G. Ravenstein's paper on the Census for 1871 of the British Isles, considered with reference to birthplace and migration. The immense contrast which that nation affords to ours in homogeneousness, in stability, and naturally in conservatism, appears at a glance from facts like these—that the foreign element, including natives of British colonies and those born at sea, amounted to less than one per cent. of the population (0.81), and that 72.77 per cent. of the total population resided within the counties in which they were born. Nothing could well be more un-American than this stationariness, as our State censuses might show if they would take the trouble to follow up these county movements. The foreigners, on the other hand, numbered 258,677, of whom London contained but 66,101; while in 1870 New York alone contained 419,094, of whom 201,999 were born in Ireland. The distribution of the Irish in Great Britain receives particular attention from Mr. Ravenstein. In England and Wales there were, at the date of the census, 566,540 in England and Wales, 207,770 in Scotland—2.49 and 6.18 per cent. of the total population respectively. This is not very formidable, and there has been a decided falling-off since 1861. Nevertheless, the Irish have penetrated every county, and in Lanark and Renfrew form more than ten per cent. of the population. As these topics of "local element" and "Irish element" are admirably adapted for graphic representation, they are illustrated by two colored maps, on one of which is also indicated the Irish-speaking population of Ireland. This is, of course, strongest in the counties of Mayo and Galway, most remote from civilization, where more than half the inhabitants can speak Irish. But the number is rapidly diminishing through emigration and otherwise—from 23.3 per cent. in 1851 to 19.1 in 1861 and 15.11 in 1871.

—The doubts that hung over the fate of Mr. Henry M. Stanley have been happily dispelled by five letters from him which have been received by the London *Daily Telegraph*, and summarized in the *Herald* of July 26. The explorer probably reached Ujiji during the second week in June. His adventures since we last heard from him, now nearly a year ago, have consisted in mapping the western portion of the Lake Victoria Nyanza, and exploring its western tributary, the Kagera, where he again crossed the route of Speke, and in making a visit to the eastern shore of Lake Albert Nyanza, through Kabba Rega's country, in Unyoro. In this last important expedition he had efficient support from King Mtesa, whose lake capital served him as a base of operations. He traversed the high mountain called Gambaragara, and discovered among its upper residents a pale-faced African tribe. His route to Ujiji is not yet indicated further than that his last letter, dated April 24, was written from a place in Unyamwezi some fifteen days' march from Ujiji. His purpose now is to revisit the Albert Nyanza by the way of Lake Tanganyika, and to explore thoroughly the former basin. This will settle the question of a possible connection between the two lakes, which we suppose nobody now believes in. Singularly enough, while the next news from Stanley had been looked for by way of the Albert Nyanza, he failed to remain there long enough to encounter another explorer, in the Khedive's employ, Signor Gessi, who in April circumnavigated the lake, which he accomplished in nine days. He found it to be 140 miles long by about 50 wide, to be very shallow at the south end, very abrupt on the west shore, having harbors only on the east, and very perilous for boats; no rivers of any consequence flow into it. A few miles from its northern outlet there is a branch from the main stream running northwest towards the River Yei, a tributary of the Nile. If these rivers should prove to be identical, access to the Albert Nyanza is likely to be vastly facilitated.

—A genuine *tour de force*, and a much more useful one than such feats usually are, has been performed by the Rev. J. Goble, an American missionary in Japan. This gentleman, who, as he asserts, introduced into that country the *jinrikisha* (that useful little hand-cab in which a traveller on a good road can be trundled along by one coolie at the rate of eight miles an hour, and can make journeys into the interior of fifty miles a day as cheaply as and more comfortably than on horseback) has successfully turned his attention to a work even more philanthropic. He noticed that no effort had been made to provide a literature for the blind, or rather a literature that the blind could read. The great difficulty in the way was, not to make a raised type in Japanese but to make it so as to be legible by touch. In the Katakana, or current written language of Japan, there are seventy-eight characters which represent as many sounds; and many of them so closely resemble each other, and are, besides, so intricate in their composition, as to present a difficulty in the way of their application to a blind syllabary which can only be imagined by students of the language. Mr. Goble conceived the happy idea of applying the Romanized equivalents (which are seldom of more than two letters each, and never exceed three) of the sounds to the foundation of a syllabary. His success is unequivocal and complete; and he has now the satisfaction of knowing that he has placed at the disposal of the blind the very best solace for their dreary leisure. Pupils learn the new language with astonishing facility; and we hear that the Government of Japan is taking measures to have it introduced into the blind schools and asylums throughout the empire.

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION.*

HISTORIANS explain every circumstance connected with Puritanism except the one fact which needs explanation. The origin and growth, the triumph, of Puritanism have been amply explained both by friends and by foes. The reaction which overthrew the Commonwealth has been often described, and the causes which produced it have been often analyzed. Nor does the Royalist reaction cause intelligent students much surprise or seem, in their eyes, to need much explanation. Every revolutionary movement has been marked by vehement alternations of popular sentiment. Louis XVI. began his reign as the most popular of monarchs. In 1789, he was still regarded as the friend of his people. In 1793, he died on the scaffold, and neither his merits nor his misfortunes have regained for his memory the esteem of France. In 1793, the French people were mad with democratic enthusiasm; in 1804, the same people adored the Emperor. In 1848, Frenchmen could not tolerate the conservatism of Louis Philippe; in 1852, they welcomed the despotism of Louis Napoleon. Such ebbs and flows of feeling are the necessary accompaniments of revolutionary crises, and (as it would be easy to show) are not, in fact, signs of popular fickleness. That the stern rule of the Commonwealth should have been succeeded by the loyalty and dissoluteness of the Restoration is not a matter difficult of explanation. The true problem presented by the history of Puritanism is to account for the fact that the Puritans, when once defeated, fell as a party for ever. During half a century the strength of Puritanism seemed to wax greater and greater. Throughout the reign of James I. the Puritan opposition increased in power. The whole of the reign of Charles was a long struggle with opponents who defeated him first in Parliament and lastly in the battle-field. The death of the king appears the close of a long struggle; the rule of Cromwell looks like the sign of the permanent triumph of the Puritans. The accession of Richard is, from the very absence of personal claims on his part, a curious sign of the strength of the Protector's government. The rule of the Puritans had, no doubt, features which excited popular dislike; but the Puritans had performed achievements which generally conciliate national gratitude.

* 'The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution, 1603-1660. By S. R. Gardiner.' London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Their arms had saved the unity of the empire; their statesmanship had anticipated the union with Scotland and Ireland which was ultimately proved to be the necessary basis of British power; their diplomacy had placed England in the front of Protestant states, and had made her name respected throughout the Continent. Their government, moreover, had committed none of those cruelties which can neither be forgotten nor be forgiven for generations. The English Republicans left behind them no memories of a Reign of Terror, yet their struggle for half a century, their complete triumph, and their successful government gave the Puritans no lasting hold on national feeling. If the reaction of 1660 drove them from power, the Revolution of 1688 did not restore them to influence. The reign of William III. commenced but thirty years after the death of the Protector, yet the era of the Revolution seems to have been in feeling nearly as far removed as the present age from the feelings of the Commonwealth.

It is curious to contrast in this matter the history of the French and of the English Revolutions. The contrast is the more marked because fickleness is supposed to be characteristic of French sentiment, whilst Englishmen are apt to pride themselves on political constancy. Yet the so-called fickle nation has shown a tenacity of sentiment of which little trace is to be found in the annals of the Puritan Revolution. The French Republic really perished in 1799; it perished, even in name, in 1804; yet in 1830 the Republican party was still alive, in 1848 the Republicans forced themselves into power, and, though the Republic of 1876 is a very different government from the Republic of 1791, there is nevertheless a distinct historical connection between the Republicanism of Gambetta and the Republicanism of the Convention. Napoleon fell from power in 1815, yet in 1848 the glory of the Napoleonic legend had power to raise an unknown adventurer to the Presidency. That Imperialism should have survived Waterloo is nothing. It has risen once more to life from the ignominy of Sedan. The parties, in short, which had their birth in the French Revolution are still alive after the lapse of more than half a century. The Puritans died as a party within thirty years of their highest power. This astonishing fact presents the problem which historians of the Puritan Revolution are bound to explain. As a general rule, they neither recognize the problem nor even suggest its solution. They sometimes, indeed, evade the whole difficulty by the use of lax statements, quite unworthy of serious consideration. Thus Mr. Green, from whose talent and ingenuity something better might be expected, sums up his reflections on Puritanism in these words:

> "In the Revolution of 1688 Puritanism did the work of civil liberty which it had failed to do in that of 1642. It wrought out through Wesley and the revival of the eighteenth century the religious reform which its earlier efforts had thrown back for a hundred years. . . . The whole history of English progress since the Restoration on its moral and spiritual side has been the history of Puritanism."

An author who identifies Wesleyanism with Puritanism can easily prove that the failure of the Puritans was in some strange manner identified with the success of their principles. Less brilliant theorists will find in the admitted fact that Puritanism represented some of the most marked traits of English character an additional reason for wondering that the Puritans as a party should not have survived the fall of the Commonwealth. Mr. Gardiner does not write with the brilliant recklessness of Mr. Green, and the 'Puritan Revolution' suggests to careful readers some of the causes to which the failure of Puritanism may be ascribed. It is, however, to be regretted that Mr. Gardiner's studies have directed his attention mainly to the earlier period of the Puritan movement. He accounts completely for the growth of the Puritan power. He certainly does not do more than suggest the grounds on which the permanent decline of Puritanism may be explained.

The main point to be borne in mind is, that in this case, as in the case of all great historical phenomena, it is vain to seek for some one cause of a complicated result. The failure or success of a great movement is always due to a variety of conditions. The Puritan Revolution affords no exception to this rule. The fact that the contest between Protestantism and Catholicism was terminated by the Peace of Westphalia; the fact that the Revolution of 1688 at once relieved the nation from all dread of Roman Catholicism, and the Nonconformists from all intolerable oppression; the absence of all causes of social discontent, and other obvious considerations, must all be taken into account by any critic who wishes to explain the process by which triumphant Puritanism sank into tolerated Nonconformity. But there are one or two special causes for the complete overthrow of the Puritan party which deserve more consideration than they have always received.

It is, in the first place, obvious that the Puritan Revolution affected in England at least no social change. No large class was created whose interests were bound up with the maintenance of the Commonwealth. The small proprietors of France are as conservative a body as can be found in any country; but the small proprietors of France have, so to speak, been bound over to support, if not the Republic, yet the policy of the Revolution. Their material interests are now indeed secure, but the sentiment with which they still look on the Revolution is probably affected by traditions of the time when the Revolutionists abolished feudalism and relieved the farmers from tithes and corvées. Cromwell's soldiers were, as may be read in Mr. Froude's pages, settled regiment by regiment in Ireland. Had they received lands in England, the course of English history might have been changed. A body of proprietors who held their estates as a gift from Cromwell or the Commonwealth would not easily have acquiesced in the Restoration. The Puritans not only omitted to form a class whose material interests should be bound up with Puritanism, but, further, had the misfortune to rely for support on a class whose influence was on the decline. Small landowners or yeomen formed, it would seem, the backbone of Puritanism; but nothing is more certain than the fact that the relative power and influence of the small freeholders of England have, at any rate since the commencement of the civil wars, generation by generation declined. The power of Puritanism fell together with the influence of the class from which the Puritan movement drew its best recruits. But Puritanism also suffered from moral as well as material causes. Religious fervor was the source of all that was noblest in the Puritan Revolution. Religious enthusiasm is, while it lasts, the greatest force on which any man or party can rely; but the history of the world shows that it is a force which, from its very nature, ebbs and flows. To say this is not to deny either the reality of religious enthusiasm or the importance of the permanent effects which it has produced. A party, however, which relies on enthusiasm must be content to fall as the moral fervor of its supporters declines. If the party is to produce a lasting influence on the world, it must, during the age of faith, either produce a society or effect permanent changes fitted to survive the decline of enthusiasm. This the Puritans did not accomplish. No institution embodied the faith of Puritanism and preserved in England the result of their efforts for future ages. For what is permanent in Puritanism the historian must look rather to the work done in New England than to the results effected at home, either by the Commonwealth or by the Protector.

RENAN'S DIALOGUES.*

> "Encore une étoile qui file;
> File, file, et disparaît!"

THIS last production of a writer who at one time seemed, to say the least, the most exquisite literary genius of France, is really sad reading for any one who would gladly be assured that that country is robust and fertile still. It seems to us no less than an example of mental ruin—the last expression of a nature in which the seeds of insincerity and foppishness, which existed at the start alongside of splendid powers, have grown up like rank weeds and smothered the better possibilities. The dialogues which form the only new part of the book are simply priggishness rampant, an indescribable unmanliness of tone compounded of a sort of histrionically sentimental self-conceit, and a nerveless and boneless fear of what will become of the universe if "l'homme vulgaire" is allowed to go on. M. Renan's idea of God seems to be that of a power to whom one may successfully go like a tell-tale child and say: "Please, won't you make 'l'homme vulgaire' stop?" As the latter waxes every day more fat and insolent, the belief in God burns dim, and is replaced by the idea of a kind of cold-blooded destiny whose inscrutable and inhuman purposes we are blindly serving, with at most the relief of making piquant guesses and epigrams as we go about our Master and ourselves.

The dialogues are three in number. M. Renan warns us in his preface not to suppose that any of the speakers represents his confirmed opinion; but this, we take it, means not that he has any other set of opinions more confirmed, but that of these opinions, though they are his best, he is still sceptical. The personages are, as he says, the different lobes of his brain, and, though the word philosophic is on the title-page, we may say that never did a brain express itself in a less philosophic guise—visions taking the place of concepts, and vagueness that of definition. In the first paper, it is laid down as certain that the universe is a fatal mechanism, but no less certain that it has a mysterious final purpose, to which, in spite of ourselves, we are made to contribute. Our virtues and our passions alike undo us as individuals, but they help along the ends of nature:

* 'Dialogues et Fragments Philosophiques. Par Ernest Renan.' Paris: Calmann Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876.

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"She dupes us cunningly in view of a transcendent end which she proposes to herself, and which lies completely beyond our sight. . . . Religion is in humanity the analogue of the maternal instinct in the birds, the blind sacrifice of one's self to an unknown end, desired by Nature. . . . To preach to man that he shall not devote himself is like preaching to the bird that she shall build no nest and not feed her young. . . . . The fact is that there will always be voluntary victims to serve the universe's ends. . . . Nature acts towards us as towards a troop of gladiators destined to die for a cause which is not their own. . . . And we must not only be voluntary victims, but resigned ones. . . . We see clearly that Nature is a great egoist who deceives us. . . . Man, by the progress of reflection, penetrates more and more her tricks, demolishes by his criticism religion, love, the good, the true. . . But the great man ought to collaborate in the fraud which lies at the base of things; the finest function of genius is to be the accomplice of God, to connive at the eternal policy, to assist in spreading the traps and nets, to help to deceive individuals for the good of the aggregate, to be the instrument of this grand illusion by preaching virtue to men, while he knows all the time that they shall draw no profit from it. . . . We work for a god as the bee, unconscious, stores his honey for the use of man. . . . Virtue is an obstinate *amen*, said to the dark ends which Providence pursues through our instrumentality."

In the second dialogue an attempt is made to guess at the nature of this dark ideal end. It seems to be *consciousness*, self-knowledge on the part of the universe. Nature is a factory of thought; but as thought of a truly *distingué* order is rare, the expense of means is almost infinitely disproportionate to the object. The *savant*, the philosopher, is what, through all her sidereal systems, Nature is seeking to form. The improbability of his appearing in a perfect form on any given planet is compensated by the eternity of time and the infinite number of chances which the stars afford.

"Philosophy, which is the purpose of creation, lived formerly on the crumbs from the table of princes, who defended it against the universal stupidity and folly. To-day it lives on the crumbs of the world's table. This condition, humble as it is, is better than if philosophers were in the world what they seemingly should be. . . . It is certain that if each individual's place in society were proportioned to his ideal function, Descartes, Newton, Galileo, Huyghens should have been the princes and millionaires of their time. It is not possible to maintain that the services rendered by a banker are proportionate to the services rendered by Linnæus or Ampère in the ratio of a thousand to one. But when every reflection is made, it appears better that things should be as they are. Even if the earth did belong to *us*, it would be better to let it be governed by men of affairs, who by their superficiality, their heavy egoism, are preserved from our scruples and our awkwardness. The existence, so useless in appearance, of rich and fashionable people, has more value than may be thought. There must be such people to make horses race, to give balls, and, in a word, to accomplish the vain duties which would fatigue the Wise, and to absorb the dangerous enjoyments which would disturb them. We know not how grateful we should be to those who take the trouble of being rich for us. There is but a small number of brains capable of philosophizing. Toilets, drives in the park, carriages, the opera, and the races devour an activity which might otherwise become noxious. . . . All this noisy stir of the world is needful for a Cuvier, a Bopp, to be left quiet in their rooms, to have good libraries, and not to be tempted or obliged to waste their time in similar vanities. . . . That is why the *savant* willingly bows (not, however, without some little irony) before the man of war and the man of the world."

In the third dialogue we have apocalyptic visions of the actual course of history through future eternity, of which it may be said that none are cheerful, but that all are imaginative on a vast, vague, and original scale. The terrors of the Commune seem really to have organically affected M. Renan's brain, for the clearest and most reassuring image of the future which he allows us to indulge in is that of a league of savants who (when science has become so difficult as to be quite inaccessible to the mass of vulgarians, and is at the same time possessed of unlimited control of natural forces, by means of terrible machines which only a Cauchy or a Laplace shall be able to use) will keep the world in order by mere terror. "On the day," he says, "in which a few privileged children of reason shall possess the means of *destroying the planet*, their sovereignty will be created. This oligarchy will reign by absolute terror, for the existence of all will be in their hands; one may, in fact, call them gods."

How strange it is that the ultimate resort of every Frenchman, struggling with what he conceives to be an adverse destiny, lies in blowing-up something. Whether it be a Communard with the Hôtel de Ville, or M. Renan's "privilégiés de la raison" with the planet, the principle is identical; and it is truly entertaining to see the representative of culture join hands in this way by a secret affinity with his abhorred and dreaded brother with the petroleum can. Fear, mistrust of time and the persuasive force of what is good, seem to be ingrained in the bones of most of the present generation of Frenchmen; and in different ways the only providence they can believe in is a sort of Marshal MacMahon to protect them from their enemies.

The other papers in the volume show the same qualities and defects—sweetness of diction and delicacy of apprehension in detail, with vagueness, pretension, and deep ignorance of the subject where the subject is the history of philosophic thought. The best excuse one can make for them is that they are but half sincere. But, in a writer of Renan's peculiar pretensions, that is a fatal excuse. In his earlier writings all the suavities and many of the severities of language were employed in painting the distinction between the "âme d'élite," the "esprit honnête," and the common man; how the latter was wedded to superficiality and passive enjoyment, whilst the former found austere "joys of the soul" in the pursuit of wisdom and virtue. These surely imply sincerity. The gifted writer particularly congratulated himself on having preserved the vigor of his soul "dans un pays éteint, en un siècle sans espérance. . . . . Consolons nous," he cried, "par nos chimères, par notre noblesse, par notre dédain!" "The true atheist is the frivolous man" is one of his early phrases which has been often quoted. But already in his 'Antichrist,' published after the Commune, he spoke of the summit of wisdom being the persuasion that at bottom all is vanity; and if this book be really half trifling, he would seem practically to have espoused that persuasion—in other words, to have become a frivolous man, or, according to his own definition, an atheist. Indeed, if one were to seek a single phrase which should define the essence of religion, it would be the phrase: all is *not* vanity. The solace and anæsthetic which lies in the conclusion of Ecclesiastes is good for many of us; but M. Renan's ostentatious pretension to an exquisite sort of religious virtue has debarred him from the right to enjoy its comforts. That *esprit vulgaire*, Josh Billings, says that if you have $80,000 at interest, and own the house you live in, it is not much trouble to be a philosopher. M. Renan, after parading before our envious eyes in fine weather the spectacle of a man *savourer*-ing his *dédain* and enjoying the exquisitely voluptuous sensation of tasting his own spiritual pre-eminence, must not take it hard if we insist on a little more courage in him when the wind begins to blow. We do not know any better than he what the Democratic religion which is invading the Western world has in store for us. We dislike the "Commune" as well as he; but it is a fair presumption that the cards of humanity have not all been played out. And meanwhile, since no one has any authoritative information about the final upshot of things, and yet, since all men have a mighty desire to *get on* if they can, it cannot be too often repeated that they will all use the *practical* standard in measuring the excellence of their brother men: not the man of the most delicate sensibility but he who on the whole is the most *helpful* man will be reckoned the best man. The political or spiritual hero will always be the one who, when others crumbled, stood firm till a new order built itself around him; who showed a way out and beyond where others could only see written "no thoroughfare." M. Renan's dandified despair has nothing in common with this type.

The Andes and the Amazon; or, Across the Continent of South America. By James Orton. 3d ed., revised and enlarged. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.)—It is pleasant to meet with a book whose brand of "revised and enlarged edition" really means something. Professor Orton's lacks but a few pages of being doubled in size, the new matter consisting of notes of a second journey made, in 1873, across the continent from Pará to Lima and Lake Titicaca. There is no attempt at a continuous narrative, and a popular audience is still kept in view. The resources of the Amazon basin for trade and settlement are set forth in a thoroughly practical way. We learn something about the principal vegetable products, the varieties of timber, even the prices of imported necessaries; the cost of travel on the river; the climate and the prevailing diseases. It appears that while the United States takes 45 per cent. of the exports of Brazil, it furnishes but 5 per cent. of the imports—figures almost exactly reversed in the case of Great Britain. Prof. Orton does not urge Amazonian colonization from this country, yet makes the prospect entirely clear for those who are disposed to try their fortunes. Pará he dubs the future Liverpool of the region; Manáos the future St. Louis. "Santarem is of interest to the American reader, as it was selected for colonization by emigrants from the Southern States. Most of the colonists have left, only six families remaining; but these contain nearly all the enterprise and intelligence of the motley party that left Mobile in 1867. These have chosen their plantations on the slopes of the hills six miles south of the city, and are astonishing the Brazilians with the results of their industry." Rubber is to "Amazonia" what gold is to all mining countries. It depopulates whole districts by draining them of their able-bodied men, thus destroying agriculture and raising the price of provisions on the river. The "rubber collectors (*seringueiros*) are the most wretched and shamefully

treated class in Amazonia, as the *cascarilleiros* and miners are on the Andes. They live half the year on the feverish, flooded lands, in palm huts with a raised floor at one end, to which they retire at high water, famishing on farina and fish, and tormented by clouds of mosquitoes, piúms, and motucas. They are paid in clothing, groceries, and notions at quadruple Pará prices, and by the agents put under obligations *in futuro*, so that they are really slaves." "Under the Brazilian law a laborer cannot leave his employer till his debts are cancelled." The most interesting of the new chapters are those devoted to the trans-Andian railways of Peru, and the excellent medical notes contributed by Dr. F. L. Galt, among which the remarks on dirt-eating will attract attention. Amid much that is quotable from Prof. Orton himself, we select only the following, which will mildly shock admirers of the work in question—a very enjoyable one, by the way, and we suppose not wholly worthless. It ought to be said that in spite of all concealment, the date of Marcoy's journey was tolerably manifest from the context, and that the discerning reader early learned to make allowance for his romancing:

"The author of 'A Journey across South America,' which purports to have been recently made, betrays himself by saying that Iquitos consists of only thirty-five huts. Such it was in 1846. This work of 'Paul Marcoy,' so capitally written and splendidly illustrated, is one of the most remarkable impositions on the literary world. All dates are carefully excluded, and the English translator, Rich, coolly palms it off as a late expedition; whereas it was evidently made up from Count Castelnau's narrative, or by one of his party. The route and main incidents, as the death of Father Bobo, and the despatch of D'Osey to Lima, are precisely parallel; the views of villages are as they looked thirty years ago; mention is made of the reigning king of France (Louis Philippe); 'Count de la Blanche Epine' is a caricature of Castelnau; and 'Marcoy' descended the Amazons in a schooner, which he would not have done after 1853, when steamers were introduced."

Practical Botany, Structural and Systematic, etc. By August Koehler, M.D., Professor of Botany in the College of Pharmacy of the City of New York. Copiously illustrated. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 12mo, pp. 400.)—A neatly worked-up book upon a faulty principle. Nearly all the educational as well as scientific value of botany comes from the natural system; and this means the study of plants in view of their relationships as ascertained from their structure and morphology; it means the association of like things together, the nearer in proportion to the degree of likeness, so that they may throw light upon each other. Artificial keys to the orders, with all their disadvantages and dangers, are a necessity to the beginner, and, when judiciously constructed, a great convenience even to the somewhat advanced student. Beyond the orders there is little call for them, even on the score of convenience and labor-saving, except occasionally and in a purely subsidiary way. But Dr. Koehler's book is all artificial key, of the old dichotomal style (so, or not so, etc.) from beginning to end, not even recognizing natural classes or natural families, or the continuity or sequence of genera. "The author has good authority for believing that he has introduced a method hitherto not applied in American treatises on the science"; but he has not apprehended the reason why—namely, that this is a plan for ascertaining the name of a plant with the least possible expenditure of thought and investigation. It will lead surely and promptly enough to the botanical name, provided no stumbling-blocks happen in the way, but it leads to nothing else. A still readier way, and not much less instructive, is that of receiving the name from the lips of the teacher. All methods have their difficulties and trials. The better one may be likened to journeying on foot by daylight, in which toils and labors are well requited by what is seen and learned on the way; the other is travelling by night train, or rather is a groping of the way through a short cut by the light of a single candle, which at best dimly illuminates the passage, and is liable to go out without warning. Still, there are many to whom a work like this may be useful, giving them what they seek or need to know at short hand; and the book appears to be a good one of its kind. "Not what we wish but what we want," is the motto which pupils disposed to learn names rather than botany may inscribe upon the cover of their text-books of a higher aim.

The Historical Jesus of Nazareth. By M. Schlesinger, Rabbi in Albany, N. Y. (New York: C. P. Somerby. 1876.)—The origin of Christianity is one of the many important questions which, in our time, numerous scholars have attempted to solve. In the investigations concerning this great problem several Jewish savants have participated. Among them we need but mention Geiger, Grätz, Jost, and Salvador in order to show that they have written on the rise and progress of the early Christian Church, not only in a reverent tone, but also instructively and without any theological bias. The author of the book before us is an American Israelite. According to him, Christianity was the outgrowth of the Messianic idea prevailing in Israel, and he begins, therefore, by tracing this idea from its incipient stages down to the time of Jesus. He then examines the documents in which the beginnings of the Christian religion are recorded. Mr. Schlesinger, of course, refuses to accept the theory that the New Testament is one harmonious whole, but, like Baur and the Tübingen School, he considers it to be made up of independent records—a collection of the writings of several authors of often clashing tendencies of opinion, which the conscientious historian therefore ought to read very carefully and with a critical weighing of their contents. In a third chapter he ventures to state what, in his view, remains to be known of the historical Jesus, and he outlines the inner struggles and often contradictory opinions and ideas of the immediate disciples and followers of Christ, until the Christian Church became independent of the Jewish organism, and was really founded by the master-mind of St. Paul. Rabbi Schlesinger's book is but a small volume, and it does not lay claim to original research or new discoveries; yet it may well be of interest to all who have been born and educated in the Christian faith.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices*	
Arnold (T.), Selections from Addison's Contributions to the *Spectator*	(Macmillan & Co.)	$2 25
Broom (H.), Philosophy of Law	(Hurd & Houghton)	1 50
Campbell (Prof. L.) and Abbott (E.), Sophocles, swd	(Macmillan & Co.)	90
Dunham (Dr. W. R.), Theory of Medical Science	(James Campbell)	1 25
Housekeeper's Friend: Cook Book	(John Wiley & Son.)	1 25
Jevons (W. S.), Logic	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Johnson (S.), Vanity of Human Wishes, swd	(Macmillan & Co.)	15
Lange (H.), New German Method. Vol. I	(Macmillan & Co.)	1 25
Leland (C. G.), Pidgin-English Sing-Song	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Mahaffy (J. P.), Old Greek Life	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Majendie (Lady M.), Giannetto: A Novel	(Henry Holt & Co.)	1 25
Milton (J.), Lycidas, swd	(Macmillan & Co.)	10
Macaulay (Dr. J.), Plea for Mercy to Animals	(London)	
Merriam (Rev. G. S.), A Living Faith	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.)	
Richards (J.), Workshop Manipulation	(E. & F. N. Spon)	
Olney (E.), Science of Arithmetic	(Sheldon & Co.)	
Quackenboss (G. P.), Our Language	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Schücking (L.), Fire and Flame: A Novel, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	75
Stedman (S. O.), Allen Bay: A Story	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Storrs (Rev. R. S.), Declaration of Independence, swd	(A. D. F. Randolph & Co.)	75
Saratoga Illustrated, swd	(Taintor Brothers & Co.)	75
Taylor (Miss), Wise Nun, and Other Tales	(Kelly, Piet & Co.)	1 25
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White (J. W.), First Lessons in Greek	(Ginn Brothers)	1 50

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Schools.

(*Continued from page* ii.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1876.

The Week.

THE principal event of the week in Congress has been the presentation of Mr. Boutwell's report on the condition of Mississippi. The evidence on which the report is based is not, for the most part, new, as it mainly consists of a rehearsal of the facts of the Vicksburg and Clinton riots, of murders of some of the blacks, and of evidence showing a general resort to "intimidation" in elections. The Committee also find that Ames is still the legal governor of the State. The recommendations of the Committee are that the following measures may become "necessary and possible" in an "exigency": 1st, Laws may be passed by Congress for the protection of the rights of citizens in the respective States. This, we may be permitted to say, we suspected before. 2d, That States "in anarchy," or "wherein the affairs are controlled by bodies of armed men," should be denied representation in Congress. Now, everybody knows that each branch of Congress is the judge of the returns and qualifications of its own members; and that in all human probability, so long as the Democrats have control of the House, they will admit Mississippi Congressmen of their own party, while the Senate, so long as it is Republican, will try to keep them out; and that there is no provision in the Constitution or laws for Congress as a whole "denying representation" to anybody. The third piece of advice the Committee gives is that the constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government will "require" the United States, if these disorders continue and milder measures prove ineffectual, to "remand the State to a territorial condition," and, "through a system of public education and kindred means of improvement, change the ideas of the inhabitants, and reconstruct the government on a republican basis."

We confess that we find it difficult to speak with moderation of recommendations at once as wicked and imbecile as these. On the 1st of January, 1874, the entire government of Mississippi was Republican, with Ames at its head, and it is now nearly two years since the Vicksburg riot took place. In that case, Ames applied for, and Grant gave him, troops, and a Congressional Committee investigated the subject, and reported that they were both justified in what they did. After this there was an interval of profound quiet, but before the November elections of last year an attempt was made to get more troops, to which the President refused to yield. The result was that the State, as everybody expected, went Democratic; and now the President, who last year, after all the previous riots, thought troops were not needed, sits down and writes a letter (on July 26, before the appearance of this report) to Governor Chamberlain, confiding to him that "Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence, such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people." If he knows this now, he must have apprehended it then, and his refusal to interfere must be characterized as an act which "would scarcely be accredited to savages," much less to the President of "civilized and Christian people." And now comes this second Congressional report, and declares that the State is in a condition of anarchy (it has been, judged by all external signs, in a condition of profound peace ever since), and that we may have to make it a Territory and begin reconstruction at the point it had reached in 1865. In other words, we have Mr. Boutwell assuring us now, on the eve of an exciting Presidential election, that a State which General Grant last year treated as being in the same condition as Massachusetts or New York, is, and has for a long time been, in a condition of anarchy; and we have the extraordinarily impudent proposal that after the experiment of reconstruction has, according to Mr. Boutwell, completely failed, after a ten years' trial, and the State is in the condition of Mexico through the incompetency of himself and his party in pacifying it, we shall now entrust him and his party with the task of doing it all over again.

Of the value of the report as a whole we are unable to express an opinion until we see it in full, and the evidence on which it is based. But we must draw attention once more to the wretched position in all these matters in which the Republican party places itself by coming before the world, on a question so grave as the Southern problem, with documents drawn up on the eve of an election by so rabid a partisan, and a person with so little mental balance or judicial faculty, as Mr. Boutwell. What he says may be all true, but who can heed it or base any action on it, coming from such a source? We must say, too, that the unnecessary and somewhat heated letter of Governor Chamberlain to the President about the Hamburg matter, and the President's extravagant answer, cannot but make an unfavorable impression on those who want to see the South treated with patience and skill. It is impossible not to wish that Governor Chamberlain would silently and quietly and vigorously push the prosecution of the Hamburg murderers, and show, by so doing, whether or not the machinery of State justice is adequate to the protection of life and property; and avoid inflammatory correspondence with the President about State affairs until a lawful occasion for Federal interference has arisen. The condition of the South is too serious, we repeat, to be used as electioneering material. We are sorry to observe, too, that once more the campaign uproar and tumult breaks out in the two States where the negroes and their friends have a decided majority. How is it that peace and order reign in the States in which the whites are in a majority? We ask this question in all seriousness; a candid answer to it would go to the root of the Southern trouble.

The House has passed the bill repealing the date clause of the Resumption Act by a vote of 106 to 86, and also a bill for a commission of three Senators, three Representatives, and three experts to enquire, first, into the change in the relative value of gold and silver, its causes and effects; second, into the policy of restoring the double standard, and if so, at what legal ratio; third, into the question of the policy of continuing the legal-tender notes side by side with the metallic standard, and its effects; fourth, into the best manner of providing for resumption—the commission to report by the 1st of January, 1877.

We have ventured at several times to express the opinion that the belief, apparently prevalent among the Republicans, that the Bishop of Rome was in secret league with the Democrats for the purpose of breaking up our common-school system was unfounded, and have been often assured that we did not appreciate the bitterness of the feeling about the matter in Ohio and other parts of the country. It has always been our sincere conviction that the Democrats cared little or nothing for the Pope, and the Pope almost as little for the Democrats, and that the whole excitement was got up by General Grant and Mr. Blaine, and other politicians, as a good political cry. We have never seen anybody who, of his own knowledge, knew of a conspiracy against the public schools, though we have seen people who had seen somebody else who had "just returned from the West," and reported the most terrible state of feeling somewhere about it. But that it would be of any appreciable importance in the present canvass we have never believed, and the vote in the

House on the Blaine school amendment may be taken as full and conclusive proof that we were right. The amendment (which is a cruel blow at the Pope, and was devised by his greatest enemy on this side of the Atlantic, with the exception perhaps of General Grant) was passed by the Democrats in the House without any discussion or debate to speak of, by a vote of 166 to 5. This looks as if the Jesuits would be kept at bay for some time yet.

The sorrowful indignation of the Republican members of the House over the present moral condition of Mr. Proctor Knott is very entertaining. It almost equals the horror with which they looked on Mr. Brown of Mississippi last year when he attacked Mr. B. F. Butler, and Mr. Dawes talked of receiving him, as he would cavalry, in "a hollow square" and selling his life dearly. Mr. Knott, as the Widow Bedott would say, is not "a very fine man." But he is not a remarkably bad man, as men go. He was on the committee which looked into Mr. Blaine's railroad transactions and received the celebrated Caldwell despatch. He felt, as we think any one would have felt who knew anything about Caldwell, and had seen as much as he (Mr. Knott) had seen of the atmosphere of falsehood and concealment which surrounded these transactions, that it was, as he said, a "fishy" despatch, which would bear pocketing until he had made enquiries about it, although it was, even if made public, a very worthless piece of testimony. But Mr. Blaine, of course, knew he had received it, and knew he was keeping it back, and so rushed into the House and used it in the *coup de théâtre* which formed so prominent, and to honorable men so painful, a part of his "magnificent fight." The horror of the Republican members over Knott's conduct then knew no bounds. They could stand Ben Butler and Sanborn and Babcock and Spencer and Durell and Casey and Kellogg and McClure, and ever so many more pattern rascals, and did stand them for long years, but Knott was too much for them. To keep back a despatch from Josiah Caldwell, dated "London"—was ever such baseness known! Why, the man who did it would rob a church or withhold the pensions of the one-armed soldiers and sailors. After considering his case for several weeks, however, the Republican members of the Committee agreed to join in a report acknowledging that the telegram was not concealed by Knott from malicious motives, and the report was last week made to the House accordingly. But by this time Knott, the old sinner, had got his blood up under the abuse heaped on him, and as soon as the report was read determined he would make a "magnificent fight" too, and, accordingly, gave way to the worst passions of his corrupt nature by making a very ruffianly attack on Mr. Blaine, in which he insinuated that his recent illness was feigned. The Republicans at once got out their smelling-salts, and looked at the man with amazement, and declared that if they had known he was capable of such conduct they would not have signed the report, and they got it recommitted, and have since withdrawn their names from it, and are to make speeches against it—in other words, find that, in consequence of Knott's blackguard speech in August, he was guilty of malicious suppression of the despatch in June. In fact, it would appear, therefore, that the report was not an honest expression of opinion at all, but was concocted, like some of the papers in the Tilton-Beecher case, simply to reconcile the parties and humbug the public.

The Boston *Journal* finds fault with our charge that "Secretary Chandler, Mr. Cornell, and their subordinates and assistants in the canvass," will welcome the news of outrages on negroes as joyful and helpful intelligence, and tries to believe that we attribute this state of mind to these gentlemen as representatives of the Republican party. We do nothing of the kind. That the charge is true of them we have no sort of doubt, but we have never in any comments on them treated them as representatives of the Republican party. If we thought they were, we should have little hesitation in transferring our support, for what it is worth, to Mr. Tilden. We think they represent the base, unscrupulous, and corrupt element in the party, against which the Hayes movement, if it have any health, purity, or reform in it, is directed just as much as against the Democrats. We think the appearance of these two men on the surface as the executive directors of the canvass a most alarming incident, and one likely to prove very injurious to Mr. Hayes. Mr. Chandler has been for eight years the most determined and impudent opponent civil-service reform has had, and Mr. Cornell is the chief of Mr. Conkling's corrupt "machine" in this State. The section of the party they represent have for years had outrages as their sole political capital. They turned the Attorney-General's office into an Outrage Bureau; they converted the United States Marshals into promoters of disturbance; they covered the South with an army of corrupt adventurers, and filled the North with lying stories of murder and arson, and turned the United States troops into agents of political intimidation. To say they will welcome the news of outrages and murders is, indeed, putting the charge against them in a very mild form. The fact that concessions have been made to the reform element in the party by putting men like Mr. J. M. Forbes, of Boston, on the National Committee, does not call for any modification of our language. Mr. Chandler knew what he was about when he put Mr. Cornell at the head of the Executive Committee. In the peculiar kind of work in which they are both skilled they do not mean that men like Mr. Forbes shall be either "assistants or subordinates."

In the *Nation* of July 13, in commenting on the speeches of Judge Hoar and Mr. John M. Forbes at the ratification meeting in Faneuil Hall, we ascribed to Mr. Forbes the remark that much of "the recent talk about reform had degenerated into slander," and "was being used to shake the confidence of people in Republican institutions"—the fact being that this language was used by Mr. Carter, who followed Mr. Forbes; and we based on it some very unfavorable criticism, to Mr. Forbes's not unnatural surprise and indignation. The blunder was due to our having taken Mr. Carter's few remarks for the close of those of Mr. Forbes, having overlooked Mr. Carter's name in running down the report. Such blunders will occur occasionally in spite of every precaution, but the only thing to be done about them is to describe them truthfully and accurately, as they do not admit of defence.

The event of chief interest to Wall Street has been the action of the House relative to the Resumption Act. Speculators have been disposed to regard the step as favoring higher values; but, owing to the doubt whether the Senate may approve the measure, no operations have been based upon it. For the same reason, the repeal vote has had no effect on American securities in London. The Silver Bill, though still strongly urged by the Bonanza interest, has been sharply resisted by the immediate friends of Governor Tilden, who is understood to be opposed to it *in toto*, and there is every prospect of its being postponed to next session. The financial market, though still very dull, owing to the absence of operators, exhibits a somewhat more buoyant tone. The commercial markets very generally have a steadier aspect than perhaps at any period since the panic. The number of buyers in the city is larger than for several seasons past, and includes not a few who within late years have acquired the habit of supplying their wants at other distributing cities, and especially at Chicago. Upon the whole, the symptoms at the moment encourage the hope of some improvement this season upon the trade of the last three years.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into the cause of the decline in silver has not given much comfort to the English public, so closely have they followed their instructions. They simply tell why, in their opinion, the value of silver

has fallen, but refuse to express any opinion as to whether it is likely to rise again, or whether anything can be done to give it greater steadiness. The causes they assign for the fall are three in number: the increased production in the United States, the demonetization of silver by Germany, and the change in the pecuniary relations of India with England. As long as India was a great exporter, and took but little goods in return, and was borrowing heavily for local improvements, large amounts of silver had to be sent into it from London every year. Now, however, the greater part of English indebtedness to India is settled by bills drawn against the amount due by India for interest, and the export of English capital to that country for the construction of railways has well-nigh ceased. Therefore, instead of sending out about $60,000,000 of silver annually, England now only sends out about $15,000,000 or $20,000,000, and it now takes four rupees to do the work which three formerly did—that is, the salaries of all the Indian officials, the revenues of the Indian Government, and the income of its silver creditors, have fallen about twenty-five per cent., and they do not know where the fall will end; and, if the Committee knows, it refuses to say. Of course, panic has had more or less to do with the recent fall below 47*d.* in London, and it was caused by reports of enormous sales of silver—as much as several hundred tons a month—being intended by the German Government. This the London agent of the Imperial Bank, Herr Pietsch, writes to the London *Times* to contradict most emphatically. He says the German Government has never sold more than $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 per annum, and he estimates the quantity it has still to sell in order to complete the withdrawal of the thaler currency at about $40,000,000.

The suggestions and speculations as to the remedy are of course numerous. Mr. Bagehot thinks the present fall will cause such an increased demand for it, through, we presume, the stimulus it will give to the consumption of Indian goods, as will arrest the fall or cause a rise. Dealers, too, are looking anxiously to see whether the Oriental capacity for absorbing silver is really worn out, after having shown itself fully equal to the supply ever since the dawn of history. There is one consideration bearing on this point which we have nowhere seen noticed, and that is the probability that this absorbing power of the East has been diminished, and seriously diminished, particularly in British India, by the increased order and security. When the country was ravaged by incessant wars, by the raids of the Mahratta cavalry, by the incursions of robbers, and when simple plunder and confiscation of visible wealth formed a considerable portion of each sovereign's revenue, hoarding prevailed to a prodigious extent, and mostly by burial in the earth. For hoarding, investment has now come to be largely substituted, and the change cannot but make itself felt in the bullion market, and cannot but increase the anxiety as to the future. As to remedies, it has been proposed to demonetize silver in India, which would be a stupendous operation, from which the Government may well recoil, and to exact payment of the land-rent in gold, which the ryots would consider a piece of fraudulent tyranny. M. Cernuschi and some other Continental economists propose, as a means of giving silver a lift and keeping it steady, that all the countries of the civilized world should adopt a double standard, but this would, of course, amount in practice to the adoption of the more variable metal as the only standard in daily use. Nobody would pay in gold when he could pay in silver, and it would be impossible to keep a steady relation between the two. This relation used to be 1 to 15½; it is now 1 to 19½; what it will be a year hence nobody knows. The efforts of the silver resumptionists to make a market for the metal here are being watched with much interest by the European dealers.

The news from "the seat of war" has become a standing joke in Europe, and the joke loses none of its flavor by crossing the sea. The victories are usually won by both sides, with precisely the same losses received and inflicted. The nearest approach to a defeat which either side admits is a retirement to the position previously held before overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The reason for the failure of the English press to display its usual enterprise in the despatch of correspondence has never been fully explained. The Turks have peremptorily forbidden the presence of correspondents in their camp, knowing well, no doubt, that public opinion in Europe is against them in the present struggle, and that full accounts of their doings would not help them. But the Servians have apparently imposed no such prohibition, and a correspondent of the *Times* had, at the latest dates of that journal, got within a day's journey of the fighting, but his letter so far contained nothing more interesting than an account of his troubles with innkeepers and drivers. The great obstacle to the receipt of intelligence undoubtedly lies in the uncivilized state of the country and the character of the forces engaged. Servia, as well as Turkey, is still roadless and semi-barbarous, and the army is merely undisciplined militia, composed of men who have no great respect for life and have the habits which spring from the constant wearing of arms.

The Turkish invasion of Servia by way of Gramada has ended, after a week of steady fighting, in the capture and burning of Gurgusovatz, the key to the Timok valley. By this operation Saitshar was rendered untenable, and it has been abandoned by Gen. Leshjanin and taken by the Turks, the inhabitants of the valley fleeing in the greatest confusion and distress at their approach. The next stand will be made at Banja, and if this too falls, the fate of Alexinatz is not doubtful between the upper and the nether millstones of Osman and Kerim Pashas. The latter's movements from Nissa appear to have been dilatory, perhaps on account of Gen. Antitch's activity to the west of him between Sienitza and Novibazar. Nothing but a rapid concentration of the Servian forces, and ability to fight a pitched battle either with success or with great obstinacy on the line of the Morava, can prevent the Turkish advance on Belgrade. In Herzegovina, on the other hand, the Montenegrins hold Mukhtar Pasha shut up in Trebinje, and, as no supplies can reach him by way of Klek, his situation is very precarious. Roumania has been addressing a threatening Memorandum to the Porte, containing a list of grievances so trumpery as to indicate a set purpose to take a hand in the fight, and there is talk of the assembling of a Roumanian *corps d'armée* at Kalafat, opposite Widin. It remains to be seen what effect the recent reverses will have on her policy. There are already rumors of an armistice and mediation.

Mr. Disraeli, who at first met the report of Turkish cruelties in Bulgaria with a denial so jaunty as to excite a good deal of popular indignation in England, has since been better advised, and has submitted to the House of Commons the result of enquiries made by the British Minister at Constantinople, which show that although the earlier stories were exaggerated, they have had a good deal of horrible foundation. There has been much burning of villages, considerable slaughter of peasants, and much selling of children and young girls, though Sir H. Elliott says it has not taken the form of "a regular traffic." The origin of the disturbances was doubtless due to some partial risings on the part of the Bulgarians under the influence of the news from Servia, which were promptly met by the Circassians, who are settled in considerable numbers along the Balkan ever since 1856, and are constitutional robbers and fighting men. To their assistance the Porte in its extremity sent up bodies of Bashi-bazuks or irregulars from Asia Minor, largely Kurds, who cannot conceive of war without pillage and the cutting-off of heads and the capture of women. When these forces were fairly in the field, and operating on the general idea that every Christian was a public enemy, the result for the peasantry may be imagined. The peremptory remonstrances of the foreign ministers seem to have caused these banditti to be checked, and one of the Bashi-bazuk chiefs has, by the latest accounts, been hanged for committing outrages, but he probably to his last hour was unable to conceive what he was blamed for.

THE DEMOCRATIC LETTERS.

THE eagerness with which the candidates' letters of acceptance have been looked for in the present canvass is a striking proof of the small amount of confidence reposed in the regular platforms. There has been from the very first a strong and widespread feeling that the candidates would in their letters make their own platform, and that it was on the letters that each party would go to the country; and there is now no doubt that this expectation was well founded. There has been since Mr. Hayes's letter appeared little or no attention paid to the Republican platform, and now that Mr. Tilden's has appeared, there will be little or none paid to the Democratic platform. In fact, the discussion of the campaign seems destined to run almost wholly on the likelihood of the candidates' living up to their promises and professions. Mr. Tilden has written a long but exceedingly shrewd letter. He was well aware that it would not do for him to write a short one. He is not, as Mr. Hayes is, a comparatively unknown man. On the contrary, he has been long prominent in public life, and has borne for twenty years a leading part in the politics of his own State and in the management of his own party. He has acquired a good deal of fame as a lawyer and man of business, has made public finance the subject of long and attentive study, and is, if any one in the country is, familiar with all the abuses, dangers, and difficulties connected with the distribution and tenure of offices. Moreover, he has been more or less mixed up in political episodes and transactions of a doubtful character, or has acted in politics with men whose subsequent career is now one of the weapons used against him. Though last, not least, he could not content himself with simply taking his stand on the St. Louis platform, because it is well known that he controlled the Convention with a master-hand. He had, therefore, to speak out for himself, and to speak fully, and in speaking fully he has addressed himself with great dexterity to a condition of the public mind of which the Republican managers do not take sufficient notice. We mean the prevalent weariness of the "plain, blunt man," and "the simple-minded, sagacious man," who is honest and means well and tries to do "about right," but is constantly led astray by bad advisers. The country has had about as much of this kind of man as it can stand, and longs now, as we heard a shrewd observer remark recently, for a "President with a head on his shoulders." It longs for a man in charge of the Government who knows a rascal when he sees him, and is familiar with the mechanism of government and the indirect effects of legislation, and can be counted on to take care of himself when the wicked men get around him. It is sick of the plea of ignorance or imbecility when offered for the grossest blunders by the elected magistrate of a nation of 40,000,000. We doubt, therefore, whether the short letters of Mr. Hayes, from the camp and elsewhere, showing his honest devotion as a soldier, which have been published as models of political correspondence, do him as much good as his friends imagine. If epigrammatic expressions of patriotism or military zeal in the field proved a man's fitness for the Presidency, General Grant would be the best executive officer we have ever had.

It is only the most wretched and hackneyed partisanship that will deny the force and soundness of Mr. Tilden's views. What he says about the public burdens is true; so is what he says about the South; and so, let us add, is what he says about resumption. He acknowledges that to resume we must either redeem the greenbacks in gold or convert them into bonds, which is simply advocating the great Democratic bugbear of contraction. He holds that the accumulation of the gold necessary for this purpose would not be difficult, but that this accumulation ought to be made, and the necessary steps for funding ought to be taken, before a day is fixed for resuming; and his criticism of the Republican plan of fixing a day, and then making no preparation whatever to resume on the day fixed, is unanswerable. But we must say that the plan of the St. Louis platform which he offers in lieu of this is cloudy in the extreme, coming from a people in whom no desire for resumption has ever shown itself, and whom he has had to lash into any rational utterance on the subject. From a real hard-money party, which had long fought for specie payments and was firm in its hostility to paper-money, we might well be content with such phrases as "a judicious system of preparation for resumption," or from the candidate of such a party such phrases as "the proper time for resumption is when wise preparations have ripened into a perfect ability to accomplish the object with certainty and ease." But we cannot overlook the chaotic condition of Democratic sentiment on this subject, nor the gross ignorance on financial questions displayed by the leading men of the party; and we cannot forget that, however excellent Mr. Tilden's plans might be, he would be dependent on a Democratic Congress for the means of carrying them out. What is to be expected from that quarter may be inferred from their bovine eagerness in Congress to repeal the Resumption Act. Their principal argument against that measure now is that no preparation has been made to execute it at the time appointed, and that therefore the Government will be unable to resume on the day named. Another is that, as Mr. Hendricks says, "the country has been embarrassed by the anticipation of a compulsory resumption for which no preparation had been made." Two such arguments on the same side do not emanate from heads competent to take charge of national finances. A resumption act which, as is plain to be seen, cannot be carried out, cannot embarrass anybody but the persons who passed it; and what object is served by its repeal beyond rendering the country ridiculous it is hard to see. Who believes that any wise "finance" can emanate from such worthies as passed the repeal in the House last week as if it were a master-stroke of policy? How is Mr. Tilden, if he is elected, going to manage such people?

His utterances with regard to civil-service reform are, like Mr. Hayes's, substantially an appeal for confidence in himself. He asks us to believe that he will, with regard to the finances, enter on a system of "wise preparation" for reform by "raising the standard by which the appointing power selects its agents," and by "holding to account and displacing untrustworthy and incapable subordinates." When the public has thus been familiarized with the exhibition of better examples, we may, he says, go on to "the patient, careful organization of a better civil-service system." This is all good. If we could be sure that Mr. Tilden would do this, and that his party would support him in doing it, we should have nothing more to ask. But here, there is little doubt, Mr. Hayes's antecedents will serve him in better stead than Mr. Tilden's will him. After the experience people have had of the dealings of the Republican party with civil-service reform, of the impudent repudiation of the party doctrines on this subject by the party chiefs, headed by Mr. Chandler, the present chairman of the National Committee, they will be more disposed to trust a man who has not grown old in the business of party management than one who has, and they will feel that in the struggle with the professional politicians which any such attempts at reform as Mr. Tilden foreshadows would be sure to bring on, Mr. Hayes's training would probably make him the more likely of the two to put his foot down vigorously and say No firmly.

But after every possible criticism has been made on Mr. Tilden's utterances—Mr. Hendricks's have little that is worth comment—the voters may be fairly congratulated on the prospect before them. The platforms of the two parties, as well as the letters of the rival candidates, differ only, so far as they differ at all, in the earnestness and clearness with which they announce their intention to rid the Government of the evil accretions of the war. The candidates themselves are men who are, after taking their merits and defects equally into account, by no means unequally matched, and the contest will be decided, we doubt not, by the greater or less confidence of the country in their ability, considering their political surroundings, to perform what they promise. Nothing is more remarkable or more cheering in the situation than the position they both take up with regard to the reform of the civil service. When the *Nation* first began the discussion of this matter nine years ago, no other paper thought it worth notice, and by politicians it was generally regarded as

an absurd crotchet. When we denounced the appointment of Tom Murphy to the Collectorship of this port as the sign of General Grant's entrance on a course which would end in the still further degradation of the Government and his own disgrace, our remarks were generally treated as a bit of superfine morality. When we see the change which has since occurred in public sentiment with regard to the Murphy school of politicians; the rise of civil-service reform into a political question of the first order; the competition of the two great parties for public favor through advocacy of it in their platforms; and the prominence which the two candidates for the Presidency give it among the objects of their devotion,—it is impossible not to hope that the coming ten years have changes in store which will again place the Government under the full control of the higher intelligence as well as higher morality of the country.

THE PROPOSED SILVER SWINDLE.

WE drew attention some time ago to the remarkable change which came over the friends of irredeemable paper-money since silver began to fall rapidly in value. We need not remind our readers that two years ago there prevailed in a large and growing portion of the community, and found constant expression in Congress through Messrs. Butler, Kelley, Morton, and others, an opinion that gold and silver coin was a relic of barbarism; that paper promissory-notes, issued by the Government and non-exportable, were the money of the future, the true money of democratic communities, and the best standard of value. Butler, indeed, went so far as to deliver a lecture showing that a really good measure of value ought to have no intrinsic value of its own any more than an arc of the equator. They made no distinction between gold and silver coins; both were equally objectionable; and the redemption of the legal-tender notes *in either* was denounced as an act of gross oppression, which, if perpetrated, would be perpetrated in the interest of heartless capitalists and money-lenders. Nor did they confine themselves to economic praise of the greenback. They threw a poetic halo about it. Not only was it the "best currency the world ever saw," but it was the "battle-born, blood-stained" greenback by which the Union had been saved. In the memorable debates of 1874–5 in the Senate, Morton, Logan, and Cameron talked as if gold and silver coins were an infamous invention of kings and priests for the impoverishment and deception of the poor and lowly, and so on through a round of folly and ignorance which no sensible man can now run his eye over without shame and disgust.

Now, there has been, as everybody must have noticed during the last year, a considerable falling-off in this admiration for paper-money. In fact, it is now some months since we remember to have seen any open and plain-spoken advocacy of paper-money. The inflationist orators have changed their tune. They no longer call with the same vehemence for more greenbacks; they no longer extol Government paper as the only true money. They simply protest against contraction and against resumption on a day named. They talk of coin with a certain indulgence, and even tenderness, as a good thing to have, and as something which the Government ought to "accumulate."

The reason of this is that, suddenly and owing to circumstances which nobody even two years ago could have foreseen, one of the two precious metals commonly employed as money has fallen so low relatively to gold as to be worth less than the paper legal-tender. It, therefore, seems to offer to every debtor, including the Government, the means of paying his debts in coin with less value than he received or than the creditor expected. It thus has that delicious flavor of broken faith which many of the inflationists so much prize in any large pecuniary transaction, and the promise of its growing abundance gives it that element of uncertainty as a standard of value which made them clamor so fiercely for arbitrary Government control of the volume of the greenbacks. The prospect of a rich yield of silver is, of course, as good as the prospect of a plentiful issue of legal-tender notes. Silver, they think, if it is abundant, will reach "the poor man's" pockets by the same mysterious process, which they have never revealed, by which the fresh issues of greenbacks were to be applied to "the wheels of industry." In fact—we cannot avoid the conclusion—as soon as a species of coin presented itself with which they could cheat as effectually as with paper, they dropped the paper and became hard-money men. We do not say that every silver resumptionist is a knave or inflationist, but we are quite sure there is no knave or inflationist in the country who is not a silver resumptionist.

They, accordingly, are now making desperate efforts to have silver made a legal tender for an indefinite amount, and, unhappily, in this they have supporters among persons who in the days of the inflationist agitation were on the side of honesty and common sense. These latter now say that as both gold and silver were a legal tender when the Government bonds and notes were issued, there is nothing dishonorable or objectionable in paying them off in either gold or silver coin. In 1873, an act was passed, like so many other things without adequate debate in Congress, it is true, but not without abundant notice out-of-doors, demonetizing silver, and making gold our sole standard. It excited but little attention at the time, both because we had no coin in circulation and because silver was worth a little more than gold, and would therefore, even if in circulation, not have been used as a legal tender except in very small amounts. Had the then relation in the value of the two metals remained unchanged, we should never have heard a word of objection to the act in question. In fact, it seemed then, and seems still, to all rational and honest financiers a step in the right direction, and it is a step which all civilized countries are taking, or trying to take, because the increase in the production of the precious metals and in the volume of exchanges has made the inconveniences and dangers of a double standard pretty plain to all who have thought much on the subject. But, strange to say, the very reasons which are operating among other civilized nations to demonetize silver are producing no impression on many honest and intelligent men among ourselves, and they are now urging our return to the position from which Europe is eagerly escaping, solely because the Government would thus, they think, be able "to resume specie payments" more readily than they can do in gold.

To the great army of rascals who love whatever is tortuous and tricky, who enjoy keenly all roguery which is not punishable by the courts, and with whom there is no use in arguing on the morality of a transaction after they have discovered that "there is money in it," we here have nothing to say. But it is fair to ask such promoters of "silver resumption" as the Chicago *Tribune* and Cincinnati *Commercial* whether they really believe that honesty is merely a question of words, and that, as long as the name of an act is unchanged, its nature and results are of no consequence. They seem to suppose, if a man promises to pay a debt in "coin," for instance, that it makes no difference what changes in value the coin has undergone in the interval between the promise and the payment—a piece of moral obfuscation which flows, we cannot help thinking, from the fact that in the currency discussions of the last ten years we have become used to "payment in coin" as a synonym for honesty. But the only virtue in coin, as money, is its stability. It is better money than other things mainly in proportion to its stability. Coin which varies greatly in value is no better, or little better, than Government paper. The reason why men clung to gold and silver so long as standards of value was that they furnished a man who parted with his property to another better assurance that he would get it back again than anything else did. If either of them loses this power, calling it "coin" does not make it honest or useful money. Silver has lost it; and to put it in circulation, therefore, is to furnish knaves with an instrument of knavery, and not to furnish civilized men with an instrument of exchange. To go back to it when it is low because it enables you to pay a debt which you contracted when it was high, is to be guilty of knavery, no matter what name you give it. Even if the Act of 1873 had never been passed, and silver was still a legal tender, for a great Government to use it to

pay its debts with would be a very questionable transaction, and for precisely the same reasons which forbid it to pay its debts in paper—viz., because it would disappoint the just and reasonable expectations of its creditors. If a convertible Government note were a legal tender, and it suddenly became irredeemable and depreciated through a fresh issue or a war, or other public folly or calamity, payment of debts in it might still be lawful but would cease to be honorable. This is an almost exact parallel to what has occurred in the case of silver, and, in fact, is a favorable one, for we have discarded silver, and it is proposed we should return to it.

It may be said, and is said, that if silver had remained a legal tender, and had risen in value, the creditors of the Government would not for that reason have abated any portion of their demands. Very likely not. As a general rule, men take all they can get; but if, through any extraordinary social revolution, silver had risen in value relative to gold and to commodities as much as it has fallen, it would undoubtedly have been the duty of the Government to demonetize it in order to prevent injustice being done; and, for the same reason, it would have been its duty to avoid taking advantage of the disturbance in dealing with its own debtors and taxpayers. The discovery and practice of the various tricks which are possible in the payment of debts and the sale of commodities through defects or differences in the various species of legal tender, are things usually left to the lowest order of exchange brokers. The present attempt to have them made a branch of statecraft carries us back to the Middle Ages, and ought to diffuse hope and joy through all the penitentiaries in the country.

Happily, however, the immorality of the proposed measure is not the sole objection to it. There is another one, which moralists like the Chicago *Tribune* will appreciate more distinctly—it would inflict frightful injury on the Government credit. To go back to silver now, after having formally abandoned it, would be, in the eyes of the world, the equivalent of a fresh issue of legal tenders for the payment of the bonds. It would depreciate the bonds, not only on account of the discount on silver, but on account of the vague alarm as to the future excited by what would be considered a shameless breach of faith, and matters could not be set right by saying that we agreed to pay the bonds in "coin," and here was the "coin." Quibbles of this kind may go down in caucuses, but they are, as all sharpers and blacklegs know, of little use among clear-headed business men. There is—owing, doubtless, to a composition of causes—a strain of dishonesty running through the political world just now which makes politics consist largely in the concoction of tricks and evasions, and political criticism consist largely in exposures of the kind which in better days was confined to the police courts. Let us hope that the election of Hayes will bring in a better era.

A MISCONCEPTION.

B——, taught by Pope to do his good by stealth,
Nor 'twixt a noun or verb the difference feeling,
In office placed to serve the Commonwealth,
Did himself all the good he could by stealing.

INTERCOLLEGIATE BOAT-RACING.

THE Harvard-Yale boat-race that was rowed at Springfield on the last day of June attracted upwards of four thousand spectators, among whom the undergraduates, alumni, and friends of the two colleges were very largely represented. The general Intercollegiate Regatta at Saratoga, three weeks later, was witnessed by less than fifteen hundred people, the great majority of whom were the regular summer loiterers at the Springs. This was a smaller attendance than had honored any similar occasion since the introductory race of 1852, and the proportion of collegians among the spectators was smaller than ever before save at the Ingleside regatta of 1871, when only two of the smaller colleges ventured to compete with Harvard. Though a dozen boats, representing half as many colleges, contested in three separate races at Saratoga, the assembled "friends of the crews" numbered less than a third as many as at Springfield, where only two boats contested in a single race. It might almost be said that at Saratoga the only college colors to be met with at all were those of Columbia and Cornell; and so few were the Harvard men in attendance, that when their boat crept up to within four seconds of victory at the finish line, their attempt to honor it with a cheer met with a sorry failure. Indeed, there was but little cheering on the part of any one, and the streets of the village on the evening of regatta-day maintained their wonted quiet. All accounts agree in saying, that whatever interest or excitement or enthusiasm has been aroused by the intercollegiate aquatics of the centennial year, has attached to the trial on the Massachusetts river rather than to the trial on the New York lake; and the opinion that there will never be another general college regatta seems hardly less unanimous.

To account for this state of things there have been offered various contradictory explanations, of which perhaps the most curious is that of the Democratic editor who points to it as a logical result of Republican misrule. As for the less recondite explanations, they seem to us to fail in their reasoning because basing it upon the assumption that excellence in oars manship is the chief, if not indeed the only, thing by which a college regatta excites the attention and sympathy of the public. How far this assumption is from the truth readily appears when we recollect that a large majority of the patrons of such spectacles cannot tell good rowing from bad, and that the regattas of non-collegiate boat-clubs, no matter how excellent the oarsmanship displayed, attract only a faint local and professional attention. Whatever else the Rowing Association may have proved, it has at least completely exploded the very plausible *à-priori* argument that Harvard and Yale—from their superiority, in the numbers of undergraduates to select from, in aquatic facilities, traditions, and experience, and in wealth—would necessarily vanquish at a trial of oarsmanship all colleges less favored in those respects. As we recently remarked, the two old colleges, in retiring from the general regatta, leave the field with a considerable loss of the prestige which they had six years ago, when no one ever dreamed that the "Aggies," and Amherst, and Columbia, and Cornell, and Wesleyan were about to outrow them both, and that Yale was also to be outrowed by Bowdoin and Williams and Dartmouth. Of the sixteen races managed by the Association, Harvard has contested thirteen and lost all save the Freshman race with Brown in 1871, while Yale has contested nine and won five (the University, Freshman, and single-scull races of 1873, and the single-scull races of 1874 and 1875); but, on the other hand, Harvard, though competing in all six of the University races, has never been worse than third at the finish, while Yale has been sixth in two out of the three University races which it has contested—no account being taken of the trial of 1874, when the Yale boat was fouled and withdrawn. In the face of this record, it is evident enough that the prestige of college oarsmanship at Cambridge and New Haven, as it existed up to the time when the Worcester quarrel of 1870 induced Harvard to establish the general regatta, can never again be regained.

Experience may be said in a general way to have demonstrated that "one college is as good as another," so far as concerns its capacity to turn out occasionally a creditable racing crew; and that the size of a given body of undergraduates, and their wealth, and their nearness to a rowing course, are not by any means decisive factors in ensuring successful oarsmanship. No University crew of Yale ever suffered so disgraceful a defeat as that of 1872, which was the last of six, being one and two-thirds minutes behind the winner, and fourteen seconds behind the fifth (Williams); yet three members of it belonged to the crew of the next year, which defeated all ten of the competing colleges and left the last one (Williams) almost three minutes in the lurch. In like manner, half of the winning Columbia men of 1874 rowed in the crew that was defeated a minute and a quarter in 1873; and the Cornell captain whose crews have now won two successive victories, set the stroke during the two previous years to crews which were decisively defeated. As an extreme illustration of the variation in the same men's capacities may be mentioned the Worcester races of 1859, when Yale was first defeated an exact minute by Harvard, but in a second trial on the following day, bettered its time by sixty-four seconds, and defeated Harvard by a boat's length. All the men were in equally good condition on both days, nor was the phenomenon explained by any accident to their boats.

Now, were the newspapers correct in their assumption that the public interest in the College Regatta depends upon the excellence of the oarsmanship displayed, the absence therefrom of Harvard and Yale, which have lost their aquatic prestige and pre-eminence, of course could not lessen that interest. Other defeated colleges, like Brown, Trinity, Bowdoin, Williams, Dartmouth, and Hamilton—and even victorious ones, like the two colleges of Amherst—have dropped out of the Association from time to

time without exciting any particular notice or reprobation ; but no sooner did Yale and Harvard announce their intention to withdraw than a chorus of abuse and vituperation was raised by all the friends of the Association, and the actual withdrawal of Yale was followed by the most spiritless and uninteresting regatta on record, confirming the belief that after Harvard has also withdrawn no more regattas will be rowed. Other reasons are assigned for the actual failure of this year and the probable break-up of next, but the opinion seems to be pretty general that they are really the results of the Yale-Harvard withdrawal, though the holders of this opinion are naturally rather puzzled to reconcile it with their theory that good rowing is the chief thing requisite for a spirited and exciting regatta.

The fact of the matter is that the interest which the great mass of people have in such spectacles is a purely vicarious one, and quite independent of the quality of the oarsmanship exhibited. The reason why they are more excited over a college regatta than over an equally well-rowed contest of non-collegiate amateurs is this, that they accept the result as proving not "which is the better crew" but "which is the better college." To arouse their enthusiasm over a non-academic race, it is necessary that the contestants should be taken as representatives of rival cities or States or nations. Few people care whether the Atalantas or the Argonautas win in a regatta on the Harlem, but a very great number of our fellow-citizens would have felt a trifle prouder of their country if the Atalantas had defeated the Londoners in the trial on the Thames in 1872 ; just as many an eminently respectable personage among us cherished in his secret soul a vague desire that our "Benicia Boy" might succeed in pummelling Mr. Thomas Sayers when he crossed the ocean for that reprehensible purpose, sixteen years ago. A rowing-match is indeed a sort of gentlemanly substitute for a prize-fight, and the real inspiration and support of all such vicarious trials spring from the savage longing of the unregenerate human heart to settle everything by an appeal to the ultimate argument of force.

Harvard and Yale, being by far the oldest, richest, and most famous of our colleges, are the accepted standards by which all college affairs in America are popularly measured. The thought of Harvard's greater age, wealth, and renown does not alter this fact at all, nor would it be altered by a demonstration that some of the less prominent colleges are in reality more meritorious and successful than the two which—rightly or wrongly—have become exceptionally famous. The habit of continually comparing these two approved standards leads to a widespread popular belief that Harvard and Yale are ardent rivals for the first place in public esteem, and there is nothing analogous to this in the case of the other colleges. No two of these are considered distinctively as rivals by any large body of the public, and no one of them is singled out as being in any special sense a rival to either Harvard or Yale, though the popularity of all is in a general way measured by the degree in which they approach to or surpass the Harvard-Yale standard.

The man without college affiliations of any sort rejoices over a victory of Amherst or Columbia or Cornell in the regatta, out of no special love for them, and he would rejoice just as heartily over a victory of Trinity or Union or Wesleyan, at the other end of the alphabet. He hurrahs simply because the two old colleges are defeated, and because he is in the nature of things a partisan of "the field" which is opposed to them, though he is quite indifferent as to which particular part of "the field" ensures their defeat. As for the partisan of any particular one of the smaller colleges, his first wish also is that Harvard and Yale may suffer defeat, his second wish is that his own college may be the victor that shall defeat them. It is a pleasure to him to witness a public demonstration of the fact that, in one respect at least, the two famous colleges which date back to the seventeenth century are inferior to the more obscure institutions which were founded in the eighteenth and nineteenth. To have his own college serve as demonstrator is only a slight additional pleasure. In the same way, it is conceivable that the partisans of Yale may feel a keener exultation in a victory of their crew over Harvard than those of Harvard can feel in a victory over Yale, because of the fancy that it helps a little towards closing up the gap between 1636 and 1700.

The non-academic public, whose joy at Harvard's defeat in 1871 was intensified by the fact that the very existence of the victorious college had previously been unknown to them, and whose only regret was that Yale had not been present and shared in the defeat, though they may take less interest in college aquatics hereafter, under a system which allows only one of the two old colleges to be vanquished, and vanquished only by the other, will nevertheless bestow what interest they have wholly upon the Harvard-Yale trial. These two names have at least some familiarity and significance to them, and they can readily find reasons for arraying themselves as partisans of one or the other ; whereas, in a contest between Brown and Bowdoin, or Cornell and Columbia, or Tufts and Trinity, or Wesleyan and Williams, there is absolutely nothing to which an outsider can fasten a preference or prejudice. If any or all of these or of a dozen other colleges stood a chance of defeating Harvard and Yale, the non-academic public would be their most devoted partisans ; but to the settlement of the question of their relative superiority to one another, it is impossible that that public should attach any consequence. Intercollegiate boat-racing will henceforth be like intercollegiate ball-playing in this respect, that the contests between Harvard and Yale will attract by far the largest attention, both on account of the larger body of undergraduates and alumni connected with those institutions, and on account of the sympathy of the outside public with the rivalry between them ; while the contests between the less famous colleges, however interesting they may be to the special friends of these, will be matters of indifference to all others save that small fraction of the public who admire a fine display of athletic sport simply for its own sake.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—XII.

AGRICULTURAL HALL.

PHILADELPHIA, August 5.

THE most of what is conspicuously interesting in Agricultural Hall is American, and what America has to show of general interest is very largely included in its immense collection of agricultural implements—implements blazing with polished steel and nickel-plating, gilding, varnished wood, and red paint. Some exhibitors seem to have ignored the fact that visitors interested in these appliances of the food-producing art, can give them no fair judgment unless starting with the assumption that they are intended for the rough work of the fields. To such visitors, all of this superlative refinement of finish is a point to be overcome before the real merit of the article shown can be judged ; and when it becomes a question of admiring a grain-drill which is said to have cost several thousand dollars, and which is displayed in a glass case, one gets a touch of dissatisfaction with all such absurdity that is not easily shaken off in passing through the vast collection of reapers and mowers, grain-drills, and other highly finished machinery. For my own part, I found myself entertaining the same regard for several of the more widely advertised manufacturers, on looking at their resplendent exhibits, that I have before received from the many-colored chromos representing their machines acting in the capacity of trotting-wagons drawn by a fancy span of high-steppers along a smooth highway.

It would be wrong to say that nearly all of the American manufacturers are subject to this criticism, but it is not an exaggeration to say that the tone of the whole show, so far as implements are concerned, is very much lowered by the use of these appliances for attracting the popular eye. Should we ever have another such congregation of objects representing the most important branches of our industry and constituting a strong element of our claim to world-wide renown, it is to be hoped that one of the leading conditions of the exhibition will be a requirement that no implement of any sort shall be shown with even an extra coat of varnish ; that what we have to examine may be presented to us in its sensible and useful condition as an implement of agriculture, which of course nearly all of these machines by no means are. If we want to see polished steel, the cutlers in the Main Building can satisfy us, and the manufacturers of painted and unpainted carriages have reached, without exceeding the limit of appropriateness, a finish that is only offensive when applied to ploughs and harrows.

However, if one has the patience to go beyond the paint and gilt and to investigate the mechanism of these implements, one's admiration for the ingenuity and skill of a people who have had to supplement their dear labor or to reduce the area of their large fields by the use of machinery, becomes really very great. We are all more or less familiar with the history of the mowing-machine, the grain-drill, the reaper, the thresher, etc., and have come to regard them as familiar facts in the history of our industry ; but even to one who has known with some intimacy several of the more celebrated machines, the mass of ingenious minor devices and skilful combinations to be found here becomes little less than amazing. It would be impracticable to illustrate what is meant by anything short of a detailed description of some of the more modern machines, and, indeed, the interest that they excite is cumulative rather than positive ; the vibrating cutter-bar of the mowing machine, driven by a crank-shaft worked from the main axle, is familiar to us all, to our eyes and to our ears ; but here we have a machine—the "Haymaker"—in which the vibration of the cutter-bar is produced by an extremely ingenious and almost silent combination of bevelled cog-wheels, one of which works in a gimbal-joint. This is certainly a new departure in agricultural mechanics, and seems to involve a princi-

ple whose ultimate application promises success in more than one class of implements.

County fairs, and State fairs, and field trials, and the great exhibitions in the larger cities, have long ago familiarized us with the self-raking attachments to reaping machines, which, driven at their natural speed by a belt from a general counter-shaft, lay over the heads of the grain until enough for a gavel is accumulated, and then sweep it off on to the ground neatly prepared for the hand of the binder. Some of the appliances for the working of these self-rakers are marvels of ingenuity. Then comes another class of machines, where the fallen straw is moved forward by a curious clawing movement, and carried by a similar movement to an elevated table where the binders stand—these binding the bundles and throwing them to the ground complete as the machine moves forward. The crowning success in this branch of the art seems to have been achieved by another machine, where the straw is not only carried up from the binding-table, but where, by the unaided action of machinery driven by the forward movement of the reaper, the gavel is actually bound with wire and thrown to the ground.

In a description of the Exhibition written for the agricultural public, it would be profitable to go on and enumerate similar evidences of progress in the manufacture of all the higher class of American agricultural implements, but the above may be taken as a type of what Agricultural Hall has to offer that is of interest to the curious investigator. The American department of the implement side of the hall is literally filled and crowded with the triumphs of American industry in every class of tools from the hoe to the steam driven threshing-machine. Canada sends some tools which are worthy of examination, and offers especially the only really good self-opening gate that we have seen. Russia shows very cumbersome but apparently very effective steam-motors, threshing-machines, and other large implements, and there is a little here and there, scattered through the Exhibition, from other countries which attracts attention. I note especially a very ingenious plough from Norway with a revolving sole and landside, which ought to be valuable appliances; also the long-known Norwegian harrow (made up of some thirty revolving four-tined forks). Japan shows ploughs of the American form, yet evidently made at home, and of very fair workmanship. But after wandering through all the foreign exhibits we come back with a feeling of relief to our own department, with its excellent fence-making machinery, Collins's gang-plows, steam-diggers, sulky cultivators, Gov. Randolph's ditching-machine, and the clumsy big plough used by Daniel Webster in 1837.

With excessively shrewd ingenuity, the State of Iowa exhibits—together with a map indicating the counties from which they are taken—many specimens of her soil, being sections six feet deep displayed in large glass columns; soils where three or four feet of rich-looking vegetable mould are underlaid with a loose porous subsoil, constituting the most perfect underdrainage. For some incomprehensible reason, the directors of the Exhibition have placed in Agricultural Hall, though far away from American implements, the working model of Burden's horseshoe-making machine, which is as much out of place here as it would be in the Carriage Annex of the Main Building—a machine which is a triumph of American mechanics, and which would find its appreciative visitors almost exclusively in Machinery Hall. Adjoining this, Seth Green illustrates his system of artificial fish propagation and preservation in well-arranged aquaria, which, however, seem to have but little to do with agriculture, interesting though they are. Perhaps, after all, Burden's machine is displayed in this department because of the very full adjoining exhibit of horseshoeing, which gets a certain appropriateness from its juxtaposition with the capital display of anatomical models and preparations of horses, including the well-mounted skeleton of that wonderful horse "Trustee."

Only a very small corner of the Hall is occupied by the Japanese exhibit, but nowhere else is space more profitably filled, chiefly because of the very complete and thorough way in which the important silk and tea industries of the country are illustrated and explained with the greatest detail. Those who are disposed to condemn the agricultural display as being commonplace—which agricultural displays are very apt to be—will find, on studying this exhibit, a salient, interesting, and most instructive feature.

In displays of products, the United States leads the van, especially so far as tobacco and food-preparations are concerned; but these displays, like those of the products of the wine-growing, whiskey-distilling, and beer-brewing countries, are apt to become after all a display of packages. We have tin cans by the thousand, wooden boxes by the hundred, and bottles and barrels without number—all with the unusual addition of gilt and paint and chromo-lithography, which furnish no means whatever of judging of their contents. In the Netherlands department one would get the impression that a chief industry of the country was to make and label bottles and fill them with gin and cordials, and to make glass cases and fill them with cigars—though the agricultural societies of Gelderland and Zealand send quite complete trophies of more strictly agricultural products.

Austria and Hungary seem especially rich in odd-shaped scythe-blades.

England is noted for its beer and whiskey—barrels and bottles, at least—and Spain, France, and Germany are great in the production of still more filled and decorated bottles.

Russia, Brazil, Liberia, and the Argentine Republic present really interesting and instructive exhibits of their products and of the industries of their countries and peoples. They occupy, indeed, very creditably a field which was equally open to some of the more important of the foreign countries, which have sadly missed their opportunity. In each and all of these there is very much to instruct the visitor and to cause him to form a really favorable idea of their agricultural and forest resources.

Several of the collections of local products are unusually good. The Landreths have a beautiful collection of seeds, including about thirty samples of different varieties of wheat in the sheaf. There is a fine show of pine cones from California; Joseph Neumann, of San Francisco, makes a capital silk-worm show; and the States of Iowa, Oregon, and Massachusetts enable one to form a really fair idea of their agricultural capacity. The show from Massachusetts, indeed—skilfully arranged by Dr. Sturtevant—is as perfect and extensive an exhibit as could be given in the space of the character and variety of the products of the fields and forests of that State, accompanied by well-arranged statistical charts, which may almost be read as one runs, and surmounted by a trophy of local implements and utensils. It shows, in fact, what the possibilities of an international agricultural exhibition are, and how very much the present one falls short of what it might have achieved—but has not.

However, in spite of the undertone of grumbling and fault-finding that may appear herein, it is only fair to say that the impression given is the impression that one gets from an attempt to study the whole ten acres of such various objects in a single day; and that one can hardly halt for a careful examination of any of the objects—except the bottles and barrels and cans and boxes—without the conviction that any farmer who will give time to the study may learn more of his art here than anywhere else that he is likely ever to find himself. G. E. W., Jr.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Paris, July 14, 1876.

THE Eastern Question has finally culminated in an open insurrection of the Servians against the Sultan. It would be very interesting to follow it through its first diplomatic stages. There are always matches in the East, to use a phrase of Lord Palmerston's, to which fire may be set. The first match was the small mountainous district of Herzegovina; the insurrection in that province was the first sign that the Great Powers intended to revive the Eastern Question. After this insurrection had lasted a little while came the famous note of Count Andrássy. This note exposed the state of Turkey and the suffering of the Sultan's provinces. The Andrássy note was considered as the sign of an accord between the three Emperors of Germany, of Russia, and of Austria. When it was presented to Lord Derby, he endorsed it; but it was not sufficiently remarked at the time that he made important *reserves*. He specified that the position of the Turkish provinces might be improved, but that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was still to be respected.

The next stage was the Memorandum of Prince Gortchakoff, which followed the interviews of the Emperors and their Chancellors at Ems. For the first time, Russia came distinctly forward as the leader of the movement in the East. The authority of the Chancellor had suffered somewhat within a few years. It was not said, but it was rumored, that he had not taken sufficient advantage of the services which Russia had rendered to Germany at the time of the war of 1870. Germany had had the lion's share; it was time, said the Muscovite party, that Russia should assert herself. Her credit was high; her loans were taken with avidity in the city of London. She had an ambassador in Constantinople who had become omnipotent. General Ignatieff had assumed a position similar to that once held by Sir Stratford Canning. The Old Russians felt that something must be done in the East. The Government of the Sultan had become a disgrace to the world; the ruin of Turkey was imminent.

Time will show whether Russia entered upon her great enterprise sufficiently well prepared, but that enter she did can hardly be wondered. Every rising country must have an ideal, a great thought, which becomes her pole. What "manifest destiny" is to the American Republic, what "unity" is for the Italians and the Germans, what the defence of "civil and religious liberty" has been for England, the deliverance of the Christian *rayas* and Constantinople are for the Russian people. We must remember that the Turks were for a long time a great danger to Europe. There was a time when the representatives of the Great Powers were very humble before the mighty Sultan. The Great Powers were then Venice, the Emperor of the Roman Holy Empire, the King of France. You will read in old books that the ambassador of France, under Louis XIV., could only approach the Sultan dragged in a sort of blanket by four slaves; he was thrown on his knees before the Commander of the Faithful. At the very time when the Sultan assumed such a position, one petty chief alone refused to submit to this ignominy. He had asserted his rights even before he was an emperor, when he was only the Grand-Duke of Muscovia. The Sultan treated this Scyth, this barbarian, better than the representatives of the greatest sovereigns of the world. And the reason of it is obvious. The Duke of Muscovia was the head of the religion to which most of the Sultan's subjects belonged. The Slavonians of the Balkans, of the valley of the Danube, all looked upon him as an ally and a natural protector. Can Russia throw overboard her "manifest destiny," her mission? She cannot; and from time to time she looks towards Constantinople and Saint Sophia, now desecrated by the infidels. Every child in Turkey is taught that the day will come when the "White Czar" will enter Saint Sophia on horseback, and when the Cross will take the place of the Crescent. The Russians are probably sincere when they tell you that they do not want Constantinople; the official classes are afraid of a crisis which would transport the capital from Saint Petersburg to Constantinople, from the north to the south. Meanwhile, the Christian population of Turkey have never ceased to look upon the Russians as their deliverers. Constantinople remains, in the eyes of the Russian people of the Orthodox party, as a sort of Holy Land, to which they must be taken, as it were, by the hand of God.

Prince Gortchakoff invented the famous expression "La Russie se recueille" after the Crimean war. He probably thought that this *recueillement* had lasted long enough. The time had come when "something must be done" The Memorandum of Ems assumed at once an extraordinary importance. It seemed to show that the three Emperors had between themselves proposed a definitive settlement of the Eastern Question. It was sent to France and to England, and the continental Emperors condescended to ask for the signature of insular England and of impotent France. When the Memorandum was placed before the Duc Decazes he was thrown into great perplexity. Some of his friends argued: "Now it is time to say also 'La France se recueille.' Why should you tie your action to that of three Emperors who did not take you into their councils, and who don't let you know their future plans and their final arrangements? Has France, deprived of her old provinces, still in the process of reorganization the right to enter into any adventure? Is not her first duty to herself? What did Russia do for her in her great trouble? did she not by her alliance with Bismarck allow Prussia to throw all her forces into France? If Russia wants your help now, it is her own fault if you cannot help anybody. Do not sign the Memorandum." Other friends came and said: "Seize at once this opportunity. France, since 1870, has been a sort of outcast among the nations. Now she can take her place, she is asked to take her place, in the 'European concert.' To be sure, you do not know what may happen if Turkey refuses to accept the propositions of the Memorandum; but if worst comes to worst, you will not be alone, you will have shown your goodwill to Russia, and Russia will not allow Germany to attack you again. Sign the Memorandum." The Duke signed it, and very hastily. He did not even satisfy himself that England would or would not give her signature. In fact, he was absolutely convinced that England would sign, and it is said that he had received an assurance of it from Berlin. It would perhaps have been more natural to make direct enquiries in London, but Prince Orloff was very pressing, and Lord Derby was not directly consulted. England did *not* sign; Lord Derby objected to the latter phrases of the Memorandum, which involved, in case Turkey should resist, an interference or intervention of the Great Powers in the Turkish provinces. This intervention was already openly spoken of; it was said that Austria would occupy Bosnia, and that Russia would occupy Bulgaria.

The refusal of England was like a thunderbolt in a blue sky. It was not unexpected to those who knew the character of Mr. Disraeli. A strong reaction has taken place in England against the economists' school, the doctrines of Mr. Gladstone; it is felt that the prestige of England lost much during the reign of the Liberals; and Mr. Disraeli thought the time had come when England could again assert herself. He had already made a great *coup* when he bought the shares of the Suez Canal; he had, by this bold action, shown his determination to preserve the road to India free for England. The English army has been considerably increased within three years; her iron-clad fleet is probably irresistible. Europe had become accustomed to the idea that England would witness any change in Europe with as much indifference as she had seen the downfall of Austria, of Denmark, and of France. Disraeli understood the proud and pugnacious people of England better than the timid Liberals, who had made non-intervention their permanent rule. After buying the shares of the Suez Canal, and showing to the tribes and chiefs of India the heir to the English throne, he made Victoria Empress of India, notwithstanding the opposition of all the English aristocracy and of what is called "society." He anticipated a struggle with Russia, and was preparing for it. Disraeli is very cautious in the expression of his thoughts; he did not come forward with an imprudent plan of intervention and a programme; he acted, and waited for his opportunity. He had converted Lord Derby to his policy, much to the surprise of those who had known Lord Derby when he was called a radical lost among conservatives. Lord Stanley, when he still bore that name, seemed quite destitute of all the qualifications of a Minister of Foreign Affairs; he was only interested in matters of social reform. Now, Lord Derby has shown that he could have an objective as well as a subjective policy; he carries out the objects conceived by Mr. Disraeli with prudence as well as decision; and his former habits of mind have only given more method to a policy which is as bold and as ambitious as the policy of a Pitt or a Palmerston.

When the Memorandum of the Powers was sent to him, nobody conceived in Europe that England would be so audacious as to refuse her sanction to the views of the Continental emperors. Count Andrássy asked Prince Gortchakoff: "Are you sure that England will give her signature?" The Russian Chancellor only smiled, and said: "I would wager anything you like that she will; but it would be robbing you of your money." Andrássy was quite right in his doubts; he had telegraphed directly to Count Beust, and Count Beust had answered that it was very doubtful if England would agree to the resolution of the Emperors if they implied a plan of action against Turkey. The diplomatic comedy soon was changed into a fearful drama. On the very eve of the day when the Memorandum was to be presented to the Sultan, a revolution took place in Constantinople. A pair of scissors cut the veins of Abdul Aziz and the Gordian knot of diplomacy at the same time. Before the revolution broke out, Russian influence was completely in the ascendant in Constantinople. General Ignatieff was omnipotent; he had his own bodyguard, he had his instruments in the Seraglio. He saw Turkey bankrupt; and the weak Sultan—threatened by the old Mussulman party, by the Softas, the Ulemas; in fear of those who would not allow him to choose his own son as his heir, contrary to the rules of Islam; in fear of his nephew, whom he intended to deprive of his heritage—had ceased to believe in anybody but Ignatieff. The revolution was hastened by the rumor that the Sultan had made an arrangement with Russia in virtue of which a Russian force was to occupy Constantinople itself. Whether this was true or not, it served the interests of the Turkish party, supported by English influence. The Sultan was dethroned, and, under the name of his weak nephew, the real rulers of the country are now the heads of the old Turkish party—those who believe only in Islam and in the sword. Midhat Pasha has amused public opinion with projects and plans of councils of state, of reforms, of semi-representative government: in reality, the Minister of War is the true head of the Government. The Turks lost an energetic defender in the person of Hussein Pacha, murdered by the young Circassian officer who used his revolvers so well; but the spirit of Hussein remains in the Turkish army, which he had reorganized and furnished with good arms and a good organization. The elements of government in Constantinople are now in reality these: the power is in the hands of the Minister of War and of the representatives of the warlike and fanatical Mussulmans. Ignatieff has lost all his influence, and is obliged to protect his own life. A powerful English fleet is in the Bay of Besika, and is expected to land a strong force in Constantinople on the day when Russia enters the Principalities on her way to the Balkans. The prestige of England is in the ascendant, and the situation is nearly the same as it was at the time which preceded the Crimean war.

What I have said is only a sort of exposition, a *lever de rideau* of the great drama which has just begun. I will, if you will allow me, soon return to a subject which is likely to absorb for a long time the attention of the world.

Correspondence.

INDIANS AS SHEEP-GRAZERS.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The suggestion of Mr. Lewis H. Morgan as to a pastoral system for the wild tribes of the Plains has been anticipated in practice within my knowledge. In the winter of 1874–5 the Quahadda tribe of Comanches, the most troublesome of the five, were for the first time forced on to a reservation, large herds of ponies being captured from them in the course of the campaign. The Indians were placed on a portion of the territory near Fort Sill, and their pony herds sold by Gen. Mackenzie, commanding at the post, the proceeds being converted into sheep for their benefit. They were much pleased, and seemed eager to try the experiment, which is a thing quite unusual with them. As the sheep had just been received last fall when I was at the post, of course I can say nothing as to the success of the attempt to turn these restless creatures into quiet shepherds ; but the occupation is certainly more congenial to them than any mere manual work, which they can rarely be compelled to, and seems naturally the first step in reclaiming a purely nomadic people, the country itself being peculiarly adapted to it.

Wm. Nelson.

Yorktown, Va , July 24, 1876.

MORE LOOSE VIEWS ON THE *ALABAMA* AWARD.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : There is one point in the *Alabama* payment question which has not, I think, been examined. I would respectfully ask for its consideration for my own satisfaction and in the interest of justice and of the good name of the nation. As a legal, or at least as a commercial rule, it is clear to me that the underwriters, having paid the insured, subrogate their rights. But is this principle without limitations ? Suppose that in a certain neighborhood incendiary fires became so frequent that the price of insurance was greatly increased. After some years, the loss is traced to a man of property, whose wealth is made available for payment of losses in full. Would it not be right that those whose increased premiums were caused by him should recover their loss in this direction, although their losses by actual fire were repaid ?

Now, the precise point I wish to bring out is this : Underwriters, in making up their tariff of premiums, take into account certain contingencies, the carefulness and other good habits of insurers, the probabilities of partial salvage, etc. All those considerations which go into this account become morally a part of the contract of insurance. But if there be an unknown resource, which neither insurers nor insured have in mind when the contract was made, shall the insurers alone reap the benefit ? If in the case supposed above neither party dreamed of a responsible agent who might be brought to account, and consequently his liability formed no part of the considerations expressed or implied in the contract, is it right that the insurer alone should be benefited by the discovery ?

So in the *Alabama* case. If the responsibility of Great Britain was a contingency in the mind of merchants or underwriters when the contracts for insurance against the Confederates were made, it seems to me clear that the underwriters are morally entitled to a full recovery. This was one of the chances for which they paid. It may fairly be assumed that, if they thought of it as even a remote contingency, they would be inclined thereby to accept a lower premium for their risks. But if this contingency was unknown and not taken into account, if no consideration was paid for it in lower premium, then it seems to me they have no right, exclusively at least, to absorb it.

If the decision at Geneva binds us legally to pay the insurers alone, of course the question is settled as a question of law, but not necessarily as a question of moral right. The bar seems to be divided as to this, and I do not pretend to judge, though I read the arguments with great interest.

Yours, G. S. G.

Cincinnati, July 31, 1876.

[Our correspondent's question *was* submitted to the Tribunal, and decided adversely to the claimants, on the ground that the damage thus done was "indirect," and therefore too remote to be capable of estimation by that or any other court. So also, on considerations equally sensible, the Tribunal refrained from investigating the state of mind of the insurers and insured when making each contract, knowing that such an enquiry would be futile, and only worthy of a club of transcendentalists. It inferred their state of mind from their acts, under a well-established rule of law drawn from the long experience of the commercial world. It knew that all insurers were familiar with the fact that foreign powers had before now been held responsible for the destruction or capture of insured vessels at sea, and that the underwriters had received the compensation, and that the same thing might happen again. Exact moral justice the Tribunal did not undertake to do, being well aware that to this task no human tribunal is equal, though Congress asks us to believe that *it* is. Supposing, however, as is now asserted, that the United States, as one of the litigants, has the right to revise the award in the interest of "moral right" after drawing money under it, had not Great Britain, the other litigant, the right to do the same thing before paying the money ? Suppose she had done so, whose "moral right" would have prevailed, and what would have become of the arbitration ? When asking such questions, and, in fact, when discussing the whole subject, the enquiry is again and again suggested, what has become of the robust, legal, and political sense which even forty years ago made America a fountain of manly and honest jurisprudence ? Have we nothing left of it but a muddy pool of dishonest sentimentality ?—Ed. Nation]

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : There is something almost funny in the suggestion contained in your article in No. 578 on the Geneva Bill, that Congress should have enquired of Mr. C. F. Adams whether insurance claims were included in the Geneva award.

Mr. Adams is a good lawyer, and his embarrassment at being called upon to answer the question without showing too plainly the simplicity of the questioners would have made the job the most delicate of his life. He could only have said in substance, clothed, of course, in official phrase, that this submission to arbitration was like all others from the time when the memory of man runneth not, etc., in one respect—to wit, it was in writing, and that the judgment upon the submission was likewise in writing ; that these, with a journal of proceedings of the Tribunal, constitute what is called its record, and that the said record imports absolute verity. What it shows to have been submitted was submitted, and all else was not submitted, although every member of the Court might solemnly aver that it was. What it shows to have been determined and passed upon and considered, was so determined, passed upon, and considered, and nothing else, although the whole Court and all who were in attendance upon it were to say otherwise.

This answer would doubtless have displeased you, but it would nevertheless have been the only one Mr. Adams could have made, unless he chose to violate all the proprieties.—Very respectfully,

C. W. Thomas.

Hotel Aubry, Philadelphia, July 30, 1876.

[No, it would *not* have displeased us. It would be exactly what we contend for. The submission was in writing, and so is the award, and neither is, or ever was or ought to be, in the breast of Messrs. Frye, Butler, or Hale ; and Professor Seelye's 'august tribunal of history' has nothing to do with the case.—Ed. Nation.]

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The ground taken by some of your correspondents respecting the Geneva award suggests this enquiry : On what ground could our Government present claims for damages on account of vessels which had been insured ? Had any one a right to damages in the case of such vessels ? Evidently the owners had not, for they were indemnified by the insurance companies ; and these companies had not, for they had secured themselves against loss by charging higher premiums. Does it not appear that in these cases a great wrong has been done, and that a large part of the money ought to be refunded ?

If this is not the case, would it not be the proper thing to put nearly the whole fund into the National Treasury ? Most of us have presumed that the war-premium merchants did not bear the whole burden of the increased rates of insurance themselves, but tried to equalize it a little by charging a higher figure for their goods. If we are to be perfectly just, ought not every such merchant who presents a claim to be required to present his books for examination, that we may see whether this is true ? If it should

prove that they generously sacrificed their private interests to the public good, and charged no more for their goods on account of this increased expense of insurance, they ought to be indemnified. If not, since the people have been the real sufferers, ought not the people to have the money?

ENQUIRER.

SABULA, IOWA, August 2.

Notes.

A WORK, designated as an American Centennial Book, and written to prove that the population, the political leaders at all epochs, and the true greatness of the United States have been derived from Ireland to an extent only expressible in superlatives like "largely and chiefly," "large majority," "decided and overwhelming majority," "foremost and truest," is announced as in preparation by Wm. E. Robinson, ex-member of Congress from Brooklyn.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. announce 'At the Councillor's,' from the German of E. Marlitt, by Mrs. A. L. Wister; and 'A New Treatise on Steam Engineering,' by John W. Nystrom, C.E.——Estes & Lauriat, Boston, who have acquired by purchase the plates of 'Osgood's Library of Novels,' have incorporated them with their own series, and have begun to reissue them in uniform style.——We have received the supplement to the Classified Catalogue of the St. Louis Mercantile Library. The additions (from January, 1874, to April, 1876) amount to some 4,500 volumes. The librarian remarks that "no change has been made in the system of classification adopted" in 1874. This was perhaps to be expected in a supplement; but the system in question should not be endured a day longer than is necessary.——We have also received the unpretending little catalogue of the Jacksonville (Ill.) Library Association, which is still in its infancy; and the Special Report of the Free Public Library of the City of Worcester, Mass., which would be a good tract to throw in the way of rich men not knowing how to use their means to the public advantage. It gives the history of the institution, which was founded by private generosity, and is maintained in part by the proceeds of the license on dogs. This was the first public library in New England to keep open on Sunday, and the experiment has been successful. We should like to quote the statement of the function of the librarian in aiding readers to find what they want. A heliotype of the building accompanies the report.——Another lesson in public spirit is contained in the 'Proceedings of the Dedication of Hodgson Hall by the Georgia Historical Society' (Savannah, 1876). The fine building in which the Society is, in its thirty-eighth year, now housed, and of whose hall there is given a captivating photograph, was the gift of the widow of the Oriental scholar, Mr. Wm. B. Hodgson, and of her sister, Miss Mary Telfair.——An International Convention for the Amendment of the English Orthography will be held next week at the Atlas Hotel, Philadelphia, during the four days beginning Monday, August 14. Prof. F. A. March will deliver the opening address.

—Our readers should make the following corrections in the article on English University Local Examinations printed in our last issue: (1) The trial examination held in London, before girls were formally admitted to the Cambridge Local Examinations, was in 1863, not 1873. (2) When the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations were instituted, *thirty-one*, not *ninety-one*, candidates attended the first examination. (3) The mistress of the North London Collegiate School is Miss *Buss*, not *Bass*.

—A wrong impression having somehow got abroad as to the time of meeting of the Oriental Congress this year at St. Petersburg, the Committee of Arrangements desire to call attention anew to the fact that the appointed day is the 1st of September, according to the reckoning of that day in Europe generally—the Russians themselves, as most people know, still dating by "Old Style." It is to be feared that the matter is not one of practical importance to any very large number of Americans. The Committee has made public two lists of questions or subjects to be discussed at the meetings; the first was nearly confined to matters relating to Asiatic Russia; it was published in the 'Proceedings' of the American Oriental Society in June last; the other is on more general matters, and has been reproduced in the London *Athenæum*. Another International Congress, of "Americanists," or persons interested in the study of that part of American history and civilization which is not European, is to be held next year, in the same month (beginning September 10), at Luxembourg. Such a meeting has been convened but once before, namely, last year at Nancy. It is held chiefly under French auspices. The topics proposed in its prospectus for the second year's discussions are grouped under the heads of history, archæology, linguistics, palæography, and anthropology and ethnography, and are divided out among four days. Among them are: The comparison of Aztec and Inca civil legislation; the mound-builders; the Maya architecture; the Maya and Mexican modes of writing; the grammatical comparison of the American and the Ural-Altaic languages; the antiquity of man in America.

—It seems somewhat anomalous that our first detailed account of the doings of the late expedition of the American Palestine Exploration Society should come from abroad. We find in the last issue of the *Verhandlungen* of the Berlin Geographical Society the report of an address delivered at its session of April 8 by Mr. R. Meyer, assistant-engineer. He indicates the route pursued in the preliminary reconnoissance which turned out to be the sole employment of the expedition. The return to Beirut was made on the 6th of November, and, some time after this, Colonel Lane, says Mr. Meyer, made to the Advisory Committee there a preliminary report—the document to which we lately referred as not yet having seen the light. We also learn from the same source that Colonel Lane asked leave to return temporarily to New York in order to strengthen the engineer corps and to assist in raising the funds necessary for the increased outlay thus occasioned. "This plan was approved, and is now being carried out; and next fall, early in September, we shall take the field again, in order to begin on the plain near Bozra the measurement of a base-line. The complete report, with the results of this expedition, and with data of places and elevations, will be published immediately in New York." September is close at hand, and the statement as to the resumption of field-work and the beginning of a thorough survey still remains to be corroborated by the publication of the report, in regard to whose early appearance Mr. Meyer seems to have been misinformed. He adds that "Colonel Lane estimates the duration of the work at three years, and the cost at $25,000 annually." Have the Society's patrons as yet had any intimation of this; and if not, how are they to be stimulated to contribute further to the success of the exploration, which as yet has only been marked out? Is it not time, too, to remind them of the agreement with the British Palestine Exploration Fund to divide the field by the Jordan, the Americans surveying the east side? Mr. Meyer is confident that there will be no failure to fulfil this obligation, and that it will be regarded as a national duty and legacy to complete in this way the investigations of Robinson, Lynch, Thomson, and Barclay. Ought the Society to be less confident?

—A well-known publishing firm in Western Massachusetts writes us as follows:

"Without putting our remarks in the form of a communication for publication or wishing to appear personally in public, we take the liberty to ask your attention at some proper time to a serious oversight in the new postal law, and to suggest that as the law is indefinite some ruling of the Post-Office Department should be made public at once by which the people may govern themselves. The law specifies 'unsealed circulars.' The same term was used in the old law of three or four years ago, and at that time we corresponded for a considerable time with the officers personally and through our local postmaster without learning what a circular was considered to be. Finally, without expecting such attention as we received, we sent to the Postmaster-General a large package of catalogues, price-lists, hand-bills, circulars, cards, etc., issued by us, perhaps as many as fifty, asking him to have them marked and returned to us, indicating which were circulars. Quite unexpectedly our request was granted, but we were but little wiser. The only rule we could discover was, that if the advertisement commenced 'Dear Sir,' or 'Gentlemen,' with a date, and closed 'Yours truly,' etc., it was a circular; otherwise, not. This, of course, is a very unreasonable distinction; in fact, the exception in the law is unreasonable and, in our judgment, useless. Nevertheless, as it is the law, there should be some ruling to guide the public. All manufacturers and publishers have frequent occasion to send packages of price-lists, catalogues, etc., by mail to their various agents and wholesale customers, as well as to the general public, and as the insertion in any package of even one such print as may be termed a circular will subject the whole to double postage, it is very desirable that we have some guide in the matter."

—The case reported above is only one of the numerous instances of Post-office legislation and rulings which have neither rhyme nor reason. The changes which Congress introduces in rates and regulations, at short intervals and without thought of the annoyance and loss occasioned by them, are as unscientific as its tariff tinkerings or adjustment of taxes. Take the provisions of the latest postal law which reduce by one-half the rates on transient printed matter, and permit the sender to "write his or her name or address therein, or on the outside thereof, with the word 'from' above or preceding the same," or to "write briefly or print on any package the numbers and names of the articles inclosed." Now, we heartily approve of these changes, but as we do not know how long we shall enjoy the privilege they afford, we ask whether there is nothing in the history of the Post-office in all countries, or in our own experience, to determine whether one cent an ounce or one cent for two ounces is the proper rate for printed matter; whether it was not always reasonable to allow the sender to put his name in the book or on the wrapper; and whether it will not always be so. If it is

not mere caprice which gives us this liberty, we should hope to see it extended instead of being abridged or abrogated, so that the recipient's name as well as the sender's may be inscribed in a presentation volume (we lately paid $1 30 for an author's autograph inserted in this wise); that typographical corrections may be made with pen or pencil; and that manifestly old marks, such as are likely to occur in old or second-hand books, may pass without a fine. It seems to be forgotten by our legislators how much the temptation to write surreptitiously on printed matter, or to send writing within it, has been removed by the advent of the postal card. Above all, the frequency of the changes we have been discussing is a perpetual trap to the unwary. It is still, for example, a delusion with some of our contributors—certainly not the least intelligent of the community—that authors' MS. can go at printed-matter rates; and for how long a time will the simple-minded continue to pay one cent an ounce instead of the new and lower rate for printed matter?

—A correspondent writes us from Cincinnati:

"A late reviewer in the London *Quarterly* states that Haydon's picture, 'Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,' is now in Philadelphia. This error the writer might have corrected from a thorough perusal of Mr. Frederick Haydon's life of his father; and Mr. Stoddard, in a preface to a reprint of this work, has aimed to do it, as follows:

"'Mr. Frederick Haydon mentions that "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem" was bought by two Americans at the sale of his father's effects in 1823, and sent to the Public Gallery at Philadelphia, but he does not appear to have heard that it was destroyed by fire, precisely when, my present knowledge does not enable me to state.'

"Mr. Stoddard, with less excuse, has also fallen into error with regard to the fate of the picture in question. Its history after the burning of the Philadelphia Academy has been given to the public, and that, too, if I remember rightly, in the columns of the *Nation*. The 'Jerusalem' now leans against the walls of St. Peter's Cathedral in Cincinnati. It was bought from Nicholas Biddle, for a small sum, by a friend of the church, about the year 1845; the exact figures of date and price Father Purcell is unable to recollect. In the imperfect light and position now allowed the picture (it is tilted backward from its pedestal—a confessional-box—and shrouded by dust and soot) a complete judgment of its details can scarcely be formed. Still, one can make out with sufficient clearness a crowded and ill-arranged composition, defective both in drawing and in color. The attempt at a striking effect in 'high art' seems to lie in an unwonted exaggeration of foreground forms and an immense canvas."

—A subscriber to the *Nation*, writing from Albury, New South Wales, under date of June 26, points out a typographical mistake which had escaped our notice. He says: "Permit me to correct an error that appears in the letter from your Melbourne correspondent published in No. 558. Speaking of finding food in the Australian bush, he refers to a Captain *Horel'*. This is, I am sure, a misprint. Your correspondent evidently meant Captain William H. Hovell, who, with Hamilton Hume, proceeded overland from Sydney to Corio Bay (part of Port Phillip) in 1824. They crossed the Murray or Hume River near this place, and a mile from where I am writing stands a tree bearing the inscription HOVELL, November, 1824, deeply cut in the wood. Another one marked *Hume* was accidentally destroyed years ago. These trees were marked by the explorers when on the journey above-mentioned."

—The following remarks, suggested by our recent article on "Educated Men in Politics," are worthy of consideration. They are made by a correspondent in Knoxville, Tenn.:

"How far President Woolsey and Professor Diman are correct in their facts concerning the influence of 'educated men' in politics so far as the Northern States are concerned, I am unable to form an opinion, but so far as the Southern States go, I feel quite sure that it will be found that of the natives who have wielded any considerable degree of political power a large majority have been 'educated men.' Especially was this the case before the war. This fact is to be attributed almost entirely to the fact that the great business of the South—farming—might be carried on under the old system of labor without the constant supervision of the owner of the land. The landowners were, therefore, at liberty to enter into politics without incurring any material diminution of their incomes. Owing to this fact, the South sent her very best men to Congress, politics was kept respectable, and as a rule men made no money out of it.

"Now, if it be true, as it is said to be, that the 'educated men' of the North do not take a controlling part in politics, I think it is largely due to the fact that the profitable employments of the North cannot be carried on without close personal supervision. And as the majority of Americans, whether 'educated men' or not, have to make money for a living, the inevitable consequence is that the 'educated men' are compelled either to keep out of politics or make politics pay. But it is barely possible that if President Woolsey and Professor Diman will look more closely into the matter, they will find that the root of the trouble lies in the character of the education which men get at college. When Harvard crews fail time after time to keep up with Yale, you very properly advise them to reform their stroke. Now, is it not possible that the stroke that is taught at the colleges where educated men are trained is not the stroke to win in the race of life?"

—Dr. T. M. Coan contributes to the *Galaxy* a stirpicultural article called "Reforming the World," in which he lays it down that the reformers of the future will attempt, not to make foolish people wise, or idle people diligent, or stupid people clever, but, on the contrary, to "get people born right," to "give them sound minds and bodies at the start." This could be accomplished partly by careful breeding and partly by killing off the vicious, unhealthy, or ignorant, or at any rate preventing them from reproducing their kind, "just as you would weed the squashes out of the melon patch." Dr. Coan seems to think sentimental objections are almost the only ones that stand in the way of the higher stirpiculture, but this is hardly accurate. The objection to killing off the baser members of society is that there is so little perfection in the world that it is impossible to draw the line. If we undertook to "weed out the garden" we should probably begin with habitual murderers; then, reflecting that murder is closely connected with crimes against property, we should probably weed out the burglars; the fences, pickpockets, confidence-men, and "sneak-thieves" would go next. This would be followed by a general massacre of "news sneak-thieves" and "professional politicians," and finally by a slaughter of unrepentant rebels, citizens who do not attend the primaries, and other suspected classes. In fact, stirpiculture of this kind was tried in France a hundred years ago without much success. But, leaving killing out of consideration, the difficulty of placing restrictions on reproduction is that it is a matter which, for obvious reasons, it is impossible to control. Restrictions may be placed on marriage, such as those to which Dr. Coan refers in the case of insufficiency of the means of support. Marriage deriving its validity entirely from the law, such restrictions are easy enough to enforce, but any attempt to give the Government the right to prevent marriages of the vicious, the ailing, or the incapable would break down, because in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred no two people would ever be able to agree whether the marriage ought to take place or not. The utmost, it seems to us, that could be done in this direction would be to make marriages of persons convicted of certain crimes illegal; but even this is open to objection unless accompanied by a thorough registration of criminals, and an easy method of identification, which it is difficult to see how to provide. Probably, the "Habitual Criminals Act," if it were really enforced, would be better than any stirpicultural reform that we could have.

—*Scribner's* sets the fashion this month of coming out as a "Midsummer Holiday number," made up principally of articles by distinguished or well-known hands. For August we have "H. H.," Celia Thaxter, Bryant, Turgenef, R. H. Stoddard, H. James, jr., Sidney Lanier, and other familiar names, including Bret Harte, who finishes his story of "Gabriel Conroy," which will doubtless have a success as a book, notwithstanding the depreciatory criticisms of the pampered literary minions of the British aristocracy, who find fault with it because the plot is not well developed or sustained, the characters neither true to life nor interesting, and the whole moral atmosphere of the tale revolting. To any sympathetic reader, however, it is perfectly evident that the author is a believer in art for art's sake, and does not mean to allow any antiquated scruples to stand in his way. Cannibalism, murder, perjury, theft, fraud, and hypocrisy have, therefore, a "fair show" given them, and the hero of the tale is so completely devoted to rascality that the mind of the reader is mostly occupied while following his checquered career in wondering whether it is by thunderbolt, or earthquake, or the avenger's knife that he is finally to be disposed of, when in reality it turns out that a happy marriage, with great surrounding prosperity, is what has been in store for him. The plot will not be appreciated except by those who prefer the intricate to the intelligible, but any one who likes crime and stupidity can enjoy the characters. As to its closeness to life, we cannot pretend to express a decided opinion, but, if it is lifelike, all we can do is to echo the sentiment of a degenerate son of the West, to the effect that the highest civilization of the East is not at all too good for us. The chief poetry of the number is provided by Mr. Bryant and R. H. Stoddard, the former contributing a characteristic poem called "The Flood of Years," marked by that cold smoothness of style with which readers of his poetry are so familiar. Mr. Stoddard's "Hospes Civitatis" we have not space to discuss here as it deserves, and the other poetry is of the usual minor-magazine order, excepting the "Alpine Picture" of Mr. Aldrich, who to our mind writes more polished and pleasing verse than any of his rivals. There is a great deal of readable prose in the number, the prose of magazines being perhaps to the jaded mind of the critic usually more readable than the poetry, though we must exempt from this the editorial discussion of the "Social Evil," which, in a family magazine "personally conducted" by a clergyman, is not appropriate for the midsummer holidays. "The late Grand Jury," we are told, has "forced the topic upon the press," and "it must be met and disposed of." This is

a question of fact which we doubt. We should advise Dr. Holland, however, to leave it to the ladies, who in England and elsewhere have undertaken the task with a will. He ought to trust them, inasmuch as he himself obviously takes what may be called the ladies' view of it.

—Miss Harriet W. Preston discusses in the *Atlantic* the Arthurian books, and the modern version of them as given by Tennyson. She does not agree with those who think that "he has defaced the *naïveté* of ancient story by infusing into it a too modern scrupulousness," and expresses the belief that "the endeavor to cast off the conscience which we know, and to substitute for it the supposed conscience which regulated a by-gone state of society, almost always fails deplorably, sometimes disgustingly"—*e.g.*, William Morris's Arthurian verse and Matthew Arnold's 'Tristram.' This obviously raises a good many very broad questions which can hardly be dismissed in so summary a way. Whether it is possible to write a modern epic; whether the artist or poet should confine himself to what he knows and has seen, or may launch himself in the past; whether in that case he should be realistic, or allow his imagination full range—all these questions are suggested anew by the appearance of a poem like the 'Idyls of the King,' and are to this day as unsettled as they were a hundred years ago. Perhaps as near as we can come to settling them is to say that no dogmatic, *à-priori* decision is possible, and that each new poem must stand or fall on its own merits. In the case of Tennyson, however, it is not his "conscience" that we should be inclined to quarrel with in the Arthurian poems, for it seems perfectly possible to conceive conscience and the introspective tendency of modern times introduced into poetry relating to the period of the Round Table without offence; but it is the total want of dramatic and narrative power which has always characterized Tennyson. The story is always dragging, and the people are always pale and characterless. If a poem of this sort is to be what it purports to be, it must have a lively motion and the characters must be distinct. But to talk of Tennyson as a *raconteur*, in any sense of the word, sounds more like a joke than anything else, and his dramatic powers, though he has succeeded in writing a "great historical play," we cannot consider as proved until he succeeds in getting for it more than a *succès d'estime*. We say all this with an extreme fondness for Tennyson, and with a profound recognition of his great lyrical powers, which are, perhaps, nowhere so strongly apparent as when they give us little oases of song in such a desert of dramatic and narrative feebleness as the great waste of the 'Princess.' It was on this account, it has always seemed to us, a hazard for him to attempt a poem of great length in which lyrical and descriptive powers should be least important, and those of a story-teller or dramatist the most absolutely essential. That the result should have proved on the whole a success with the contemporary public is the strongest proof of his great talent that we know of, for it is almost demonstrable that this success has not been due to the inherent merits of the Arthurian poems themselves.

—We can all remember that the best procurable maps of France during the war of 1870–71 broke down occasionally when some obscure village suddenly became the scene of a great battle. It is therefore not to be wondered at that a country so indifferent to science as Turkey, and so neglectful of civil and even of military topography, should, when it became involved in a domestic conflict, prove the despair of our map-makers. The only American-made map of Turkey we have yet seen is a reissue by the Messrs. Colton, of this city, of their atlas plate, which cannot be praised in any particular. In the forthcoming number of the *Geographical Magazine* we are promised a sketch-map of the seat of war containing only the places already made prominent. Best of all now accessible is Kiepert's; and that in Stieler's 'Hand-atlas' (published with Part 24) is good as far as it goes, and cheap. In No. 62 of the Berlin Geographical Society's *Zeitschrift* is a copy of a Turkish official map of the province of Philippopolis—a tract extending from the Balkan to the river Arda, and forming the valley of the Maritza from Adrianople to Ikhtiman, the last important station on the road to Belgrade via Sofia. This was the promised land which Tchernaieff was unable to enter, and it does not now seem likely that Mehemed Nusret Pasha's map, copied with his own hand by Dr. H. Kiepert for the *Zeitschrift*, will be useful for reference during the present struggle. Its chief value in any event would be for its multitude of local names. In an article accompanying the map, Dr. Kiepert tells of what has been done by foreigners towards laying the foundations for a scientific map of Turkey. The few railroads of which the country can boast have within the past ten years compelled surveys to be made which would never otherwise have been undertaken—surveys far in advance of railroad construction, and of inestimable utility for a precise delineation of the interior. A map of Bosnia, Servia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, seemingly made with reference to political eventualities, and executed by the Austrian General Staff, is well recommended by Kiepert. It is issued in twelve sheets at about $4 gold.

THE WEATHER.*

THESE two reports cover only one complete year, for the reason that the time of reckoning the year's beginning was changed during this period from October to July. If a change was imperative, it is a pity that the new starting-point was not made to coincide with some weather-era, such as May 1 or November 1. In proceeding to criticise these reports, we wish it distinctly understood that we approve of the work of the Service as a whole, and wish to promote and not hinder it. We had rather see it extended than curtailed, and we regret the closing of certain stations, such as that on Mount Mitchell, whose reports, published in the volume for 1873, could be collated with those from Mount Washington in the same volume, thus furnishing, from neighboring mountains more than a mile high, parallel data of winds uneddied by loftier ridges and unretarded by local friction. We regret also the withdrawal from a portion of the post-offices of the publication of the weather-synopses, which, besides their intrinsic interest and value, furnished useful corrections of printers' errors in the "probabilities," and were also guides to the interpretation of the latter when ambiguous. The "probabilities" themselves are sometimes marred by the introduction into them of hypothesis, instead of their being confined to naked facts. We refer to such predictions as "opposing" northerly and southerly winds. This participle has lately become a favorite, it would seem, but it unfortunately passes outside of the domain of simple observation, which is what the Service is paid for, and transgresses into the alien territory of hypothesis, which, though much more fascinating to untrained minds, is to them barren of result. There can in the nature of the case be no *observation* of "opposition" in wind. All that could be observed of a weathercock, even if such a hypothesis be correct, would be a sequence of one wind following another from the opposite quarter, with either a calm or a rotation intervening; never a clash. How can a vane point in two ways at once, so as to indicate a collision, as distinguished from an alternation, of currents? And what index of the direction of surface-currents except the vane have the sergeants any business to watch and signal? Is it possible that a recent adventurous vendor of this collision-hypothesis has been at Washington wasting the time of the clerks? Moreover, since the vane can never show "opposing winds," we wonder how it is expected that such a prediction will be verified. Or is any wind from any quarter accepted as its verification? We do not mean to imply that such a convenient means of bringing the percentage of verification of wind-predictions up to 100 per cent. was designed. To assert this would be to commit the very fault of which we complain—viz., that of jumping from a narrative of the juxtaposition of facts into assumptions pertaining to the causative relations of those facts. We believe, on the contrary, that it was undesigned, though our belief rests partly on the irresponsibility with which the Department can announce whatever percentage of verifications it pleases. We might add that, within the sphere of our own observation, these predictions of "opposing winds" have not even been followed by variable or veering winds, as one might suppose was expected.

The most conspicuous new features of the present volumes are some specimen maps of observations taken simultaneously all over the world, and also maps indicating for each month at each station within the United States which wind is most likely to be followed by rain, and which by fair weather. But these maps are more brilliant than serviceable, partly because of the variableness of the interval at which rain follows rain-bearing winds, and partly from the numerical interference introduced by seasonal local winds, such as sea-breezes at this season and land-winds in winter. For example: in Eastern Massachusetts, in May and June, a SW wind is almost sure to bring rain, but the wind often changes to NW or even NE before this rain arrives; and the SW wind blows so infrequently compared with the SE sea-breeze, that the *plurality of rainfall* occurs during the latter wind; and therefore the latter is stated as the rain-bearing wind for Boston in May, in spite of the fact that a plurality of SE observations precede fair weather, while almost all SW winds are advancing portions of cyclones.

The most valuable maps are those delineating the areas of different amounts of rainfall in different States. These maps have been inserted

* 'Annual Report of the Chief Signal-Officer to the Secretary of War for the year 1874' (pp. 403).
'Annual Report of the Chief Signal-Officer to the Secretary of War for the year 1875' (pp. 473). Washington: Government Printing-Office.

regularly, beginning with August, 1873; a comparison of them, however, is rendered difficult by the unfortunate change nearly every month in the signification of different tints. This changeableness should be ended. We would also suggest that when a rainfall is recorded for every station on the Pacific Coast in a given month, the rain-tint should cover the coast States continuously, instead of being confined to a small circle around each station, conveying the impression of drought elsewhere, as in Northern California in the map for March, 1874. This same map illustrates another misrepresentation. It gives the rainfall in the Gulf States as eight inches, and that of Maine and Canada as one inch, while the map of the "paths of the storm centres" for the same month gives these paths in the extreme north, between Bangor and Ottawa; whereas we are inclined to believe that storm-centres accompany heavy rainfall. This discrepancy, which almost every map illustrates, between the regions of lowest pressure and those of greatest precipitation, results from the fact that the present system of "correcting" barometric observations for *elevation* is worthless, and, therefore, all maps of the movements of baric areas are fortuitous. Moreover, the very estimating of the elevations for which the barometers are corrected is sometimes performed by the barometer, which amounts to circular reasoning; or else inferred from a triangulation made for other purposes, in which height is often guessed at. The maps would look differently if only those pressures were indicated whose stations were of a nearly equal elevation. Thus, in the map for February, 1874, storms numbered one and three have parallel paths (assumed to be additional storms) numbered two and four to the east of them, with the Alleghanies between. Now, it is likely that if the Alleghany reports had been properly reduced or had been omitted, these four storms would have been traced as two. The maps of isobaric lines are worthless for the same reason. This difficulty is receiving attention in Europe, and there are symptoms that this Government may begin to give systematically the uncorrected as well as the corrected barometric reports. But, meantime, the chief value of our Pacific reports is lost, because the movement of storm-centres across the Rocky Mountain highlands is hopelessly confused by the present method of correction.

We have carefully examined the maps of precipitation with reference to testing Judge Butler's theory of the existence of a belt of greatest rainfall, moving alternately northward and southward. We find a decided tendency in conformity to this theory, but a series of averages from a longer number of years must be awaited before a continuity can be predicated of the motion of this belt. It appears to lie furthest south in February (though there are reasons for thinking that it lies over the Gulf of Mexico in January), covering in this month the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee; reaching the latitude of Virginia in March, of Pennsylvania in April, Massachusetts in May, Maine and Minnesota in June and also in August, while in July it is probably in British America beyond the reach of the stations. The return of the belt southward during the autumn is less clearly definable. During the whole year its western half bends towards the south, reaching the Gulf of Mexico every month, however far north its centre lies. There is a much more important meteor, the equatorial belt of rainfall, of which the North American belt just described is merely an offshoot, which partially affects the Gulf States in July. When we say that the heaviest rains which occur in February are in South Carolina, it must not be inferred that in South Carolina February is the rainiest month; on the contrary, everywhere summer is the rainy season all over the world, with a few local exceptions, among which are always the oceans and their leeward coasts, such as Oregon and California. Of our non-Pacific stations, out of sixty-two at which a continuous record has been kept for three years, in all except nine the major half of the precipitation has taken place in the summer half of the year, from May 1 to November 1. Of these nine, three are the Tennessee stations. It would be hasty to infer from this any local peculiarity in Tennessee relative to rainfall, because the books so abound in errors that no conclusions other than very general ones are warrantable. The proof-reading has probably been performed more carelessly instead of more carefully from the knowledge that ordinary readers could never be sure that any statement was erroneous, and that unusually well-informed readers would have something more remunerative to do than to scrutinize the interminable columns of figures. The latter we, of course, have not done; but in a strict testing of certain parts, which were the most important and presumably the most likely to be correct, we have found so many mistakes "visible to the naked eye" that we are compelled to infer the existence of thousands more which a comparison of the original telegrams would disclose.

We will cite a few examples. In the map of prevailing winds for May, 1875, the wind for the whole month at Key West, a place several hundred miles within the trade-wind region, is recorded at West, which we suppose should be East, while at San Diego on the same month E should be W, as we infer from the universal testimony of travellers that the wind on the California coast blows from the ocean all the summer. In the thermometrical table, the range of San Francisco for August, 1874, is given as 49°, when an examination of the figures shows that it should be 20°, and in September, 1874, the same item is given as 49° when it should be 39°. In the map of rainfall for August, 1874, the height of the river at New Orleans is made out one foot higher when lowest than when highest. To indicate by contrast what we do not consider to be errors, we will mention a few interesting peculiarities. In 1874, at San Francisco, September was the warmest summer month. At Pike's Peak, March is the coldest winter month. The average temperature of Knoxville and Milwaukee is in July the same, while differing 30° in January. Cairo averaged warmer than Savannah during July, 1874, Omaha warmer than Norfolk in August, 1873, and Memphis warmer than New Orleans in July, 1874. In this month the maximum temperature at Omaha, 105°, was 9° higher than the maximum at Galveston, 96°.

The Might and Mirth of Literature. A Treatise on Figurative Language; in which upwards of six hundred writers are referred to, and two hundred and twenty figures illustrated. Embracing a complete Survey, on an entirely new plan, of English and American Literature, interspersed with historical notices of the progress of the language, with anecdotes of many of the authors, and with discussions of the fundamental principles of criticism and of the weapons of oratory. By John Walker Vilant Macbeth. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875; 8vo, pp. 542.)—The reader who should open this volume at p. 352 and read the following passage would be likely to form an opinion of the book which further examination would only confirm: "Perhaps the most sublime instance of this figure [Dialogue] is in John Leland's astonishing sermon, 'The Jarrings of Heaven reconciled by the Blood of Christ,' in which Holy Law, Truth, Justice, Holiness, Omnipotence, Wisdom, Love, Grace, Mercy, the Great I Am, the Son of God, the Angels, Hell, all take part as speakers in the unsurpassed discussion. You will find this unique and stupendous drama in Fish's 'Masterpieces of Pulpit Eloquence,' vol. ii., p. 454. We consider this to be the grandest drama ever produced by man; beyond even what Shakspere ever gave us." Elsewhere Shakspere is pronounced to be "inimitable," but he has three faults, of which the chief is "utter indifference to the urgent and sublime claims of the common people. Neither he nor any one of his characters has ever once expressed a word of interest in the masses. Alas! how sublime a mind dead to how sublime an aspiration." He, however, possesses "suggestiveness"; and "you do not seek to be a Shakspere, but you do ask, 'How can I have suggestiveness'?" "Your author," as Mr. Macbeth entitles himself, will provide you with it. You are not to carry "God's old dogmas . . . on your weary shoulders as heavy logs; but permeate them with your heart, and it is absolutely certain that they will enthrob your style with suggestiveness." The phrase "Your author" is interpreted to the reader when we learn that "he is little sensitive to the slighter charms of language who feels not a certain indescribable charm in the word 'your,'" p. 405. And what "your author" truly is, and on what his fame is to rest, we learn on p. 502: "Your author desires, shrinking from his own impertinence, to risk his fame, for the future age in which he believes so strongly, on a word, which he now invents. It is the word Cosmarch: from Cosmos, the world, and Archon, a ruler. . . . An age awaits the world when . . . all international quarrels shall be settled by decision of a common Amphictyonic Council. . . . The world's President will need a suitable title; . . . let him be hailed as the Cosmarch. . . . The adoption of this word will be our test of success as a writer."* We are reminded by this passage that "your author" has previously asked, "Nonsense; shall we dignify that with a place on our list?" and has replied, "Assuredly will vote for doing so every one who hath at all duly noticed what admirable and wise uses it can be, and often is, put to, though never before in rhetoric has it been so highly honored." But "your author" seems to have forgotten that elsewhere he says: "Be severely honest and simple. If you are not, you will, sooner or later, be sure to make a fool of yourself—what the Scotch, in their inimitable Doric, call a gowk or gomeril."

We have seen Mr. Macbeth's opinion of Shakspere: with regard to

* Mr. Macbeth shows by his claim to the invention of this word that he is unfamiliar with Clough's 'Dipsychus.' In the last scene between Dipsychus and his tempter Spirit, he demands, "Tell me thy name, now it is over. . . . *Spirit.*—What think you of Cosmocrator? . . . *Di.*—The power of this world! hateful unto God. *Sp.*—Cosmarchon's shorter, but sounds odd."

Scott and Wordsworth, he says: "You may call the oak aspiring—making manifest the very soul of the tree; or you may term it tall. Sir Walter Scott seldom rises higher than to adjectives like the latter. Wordsworth is continually using adjectives such as the former." He quotes with approval Mr. C. D. Warner as expressing the judgment that the sight of cooking with agreeable accompaniments "makes a person as hungry as does one of Scott's novels." Mr. Macbeth is quite right when he adds: "This sort of simile is apt to be dim to common people." It is interesting to hear that "Southey, in his excellent poem, 'Madoc,' terms the sunshine 'joyful.'" Also, that "Milton, in his unsurpassed 'L'Allegro,' has the expression 'the merry bells,'" and that "William Motherwell calls the way 'weary.'" It is equally interesting to learn that "William Arthur, in his book, 'Italy in Transition'—all his works are interesting and instructive—says: 'Massa is about as stupid a little town as post-horses were ever changed at.' This figure is a wondrous contrast to indistinctness. What variety of war-gear language hath!" It interests us also to hear that "Miss Mulock's prose is muscular as the arm of a first-class gladiator." But far beyond the interest of these literary criticisms is that of the statement that lying on a death-bed "is an attitude which we all must use." This, however, is questionable.

Mr. Macbeth believes that we are, or should be, constantly attitudinizing and figurative. He quotes "an admirable argument by Professor Bascom, that emotion, eloquence, figures will increase," and declares, "On all occasions, mournful and joyous, figures break in; if anything is natural, they are." In confirmation of which opinion he tells a story of Christopher North (Professor Wilson), who, when asked permission by a lover of his daughter to marry her, "rang the bell for Miss Wilson. She came, blushing like the morn. An author had sent a book to Wilson, on the fly-leaf of which were written the words, 'With the author's compliments.' The Professor tore out the leaf, pinned it to his daughter's dress, and presented her to her lover—certainly a figurative use of the inscription."

Mr. Macbeth's mention of poets is generally kindly, perhaps because he openly recognizes himself as of their company—"Fletcher, Marvell, Keats, and the Author"—but towards philosophers and men of science he is sternly contemptuous, and there are some passages setting forth doctrines opposed to theirs which we should be glad to quote did not their respectful blasphemy forbid. But we should do scant justice to this volume if we did not refer to portions of it which in other books rarely offer themselves for quotation—the Table of Contents at the beginning and the List of Figures of Speech at the end. The opening of this List reads to one of the unlearned much like a surgeon's dictionary. "Aphæresis, Front Cut; Syncope, Mid cut; Synæresis; Crasis; Synezesis, Synecphonesis; Apocopé, End cut; . . . Diæresis, Separation; Tenesis, Diacopé, Cutting; Metathesis, Twisting," etc., etc., etc. And in the Table of Contents we find "Knocking an Eye Out, by Curran the Orator"; "Bold Instance in Crashaw of Cutting Off"; "Thackeray lisps cleverly"; "One who furs himself round with Hearts." But there is other food for fancy, too, as for instance: "What History Blushes at"; "Jesus commands Disciples to Arm Themselves"; "Bold Bacchanals rise"; "A Cry that is a Silence"; "A Silence that is a Cry"; "Your Author breaks into a Strain"; "Your Author breaks out"; "Your Author has another Fytte"; and, finally, "Magnificent Evidence of Emptiness." With which words we close.

English Literature. By the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A. Second Edition. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.)—To give in one hundred and sixty-three 16mo pages a readable and valuable sketch of English literature is no easy task, but Mr. Brooke has done this in his 'Primer.' Beginning with Cædmon and coming up to 1832, with notices of Tennyson and Morris since then, this book, as an introduction to the study of English literature, leaves but little to be desired, especially when compared with other books of like aim. Mr. Brooke handles his vast subject understandingly and appreciatively, and succeeds admirably in the difficult art of saying enough for his purposes without saying too much. He observes a due subordination of parts and, necessarily omitting many needless details, he gives a good idea of the relation of each author to his age, and of the relation of the several ages to one another. It is a matter of surprise how, when others are not neglected, space could be saved in so small a book to give Chaucer seven pages, Shakspere six, Milton six, Wordsworth four, and Shelley four; and to the drama, including the Elizabethan drama, seventeen pages. Mr. Brooke's style is clear and vigorous; and his book may be read with profit by older as well as younger readers; it is indeed not a primer even in name.

There are some faults to which attention may be called. The chapter-headings do not always give a clue to the contents of the chapters over which they are placed. This is true, for instance, of the fifth and seventh chapters. Occasionally an awkward sentence is met with: "The earliest *form* of our English tongue is very different from modern English in *form*, pronunciation, and *appearance* . . ." (p. 9). And on p. 101 we read that Milton, "influenced by the persecution of the Puritans," gave up "his intention of becoming a clergyman." From this a reader not otherwise informed could not tell who was persecuted, Milton or the Puritans, and would most likely think it was Milton. Again, it is perhaps better to consider the Danish line of kings as beginning to reign in England in 1017 instead of 1013. We believe, too, that letters of Shelley, published for the first time a few years ago, show that Shelley was twenty instead of only eighteen when he wrote 'Queen Mab.' Mr. Brooke writes the names of English kings who reigned before the Conquest as they were written in Anglo-Saxon—*Aelfred*, *Eadgar*, etc. He also writes *rime* instead of *rhyme*.

Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States, during its first century. From original and official sources. By Charles Lanman. (Washington: James Anglim. 1876.)—Mr. Lanman's 'Dictionary of Congress' is here expanded into a work almost of another class. The "Annals" occupy about two-thirds of the volume (676 pp. in all). Though mainly devoted to members of the civil administration of the States and of the United States, they have been stretched to include military and naval officers to some extent, but on a rather uncertain principle of selection, inasmuch as we find Gen. Sherman, but not Meade, Thomas, or Sheridan; and Commodore Matthew C. Perry, but not his brother Oliver, nor Decatur, nor Farragut, etc., etc. Part II., "Tabular Records," contains a great deal of information not heretofore readily accessible. It is no slight matter merely to enumerate these lists of delegates to the Colonial Congress of 1765 and to the Continental Congress; of presidents and sessions of the latter body; of Speakers and sessions of the Federal Congress; of executive officers of the civil service; of Presidential electors at each election; of the *personnel* of successive Administrations and of the Supreme and Circuit Courts; of Colonial, State, and Territorial governors; and, finally, of diplomatic agents prior to and since 1789. This is still but a part of what Mr. Lanman gives us, for we have the text of the Articles of Confederation, of the Declaration, of the Constitution; an exposition of the right of suffrage in each State prior to the Constitutional Amendments; an account of international arbitrations and commissions; a chronological table of treaties and conventions; and abundant statistics in regard to the settlement and population of the States, the electoral and popular vote for President at each election, the length and cost of American wars, etc., etc. Occasionally, the necessity of filling out a mere page is more apparent than a desire to be accurate and thorough at all hazards. Thus, under the head of Political Parties, where the origin and doctrines of each are briefly set forth, we miss the Liberty Party and find the Abolitionists in its place, wrongly qualified as "a distinctive political party," making its first appearance as such in the campaign of 1840. The list of Leading Government Publications is confessedly incomplete, and more so, we dare say, than Mr. Lanman would have made it for any other purpose than a printer's stop-gap. We might still further enumerate the contents of this work, but enough has been said to show its usefulness for political and historical reference. It has two indexes—one, by States, of members of the Federal Congress; the other, general. But the latter does not pretend to contain every name that has been mentioned. For instance, the noble army of Presidential electors is excluded without scruple.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 17, 1876.

The Week.

CONGRESS adjourned on Tuesday, having finally been brought to an agreement on all the appropriation bills. The total reduction effected by them will be between twenty-nine and thirty millions. Besides this, an attempt has been made during the past week in the Senate to prevent the cessation of the fast mails, but with this was coupled a reintroduction of the franking privilege, and so both have been defeated, the latter probably because neither party is ready to take the odium of the measure upon itself, and the former because of an obscure feeling among the Democrats that fast mails are a sort of monarchical institution which it is well to discourage in free countries. The Democrats in the House got into trouble over a resolution introduced by Mr. Scott Lord, himself a Democrat, denouncing Southern outrages, and for some time dodged the question with a vigor which would have done honor to the statesmen of "Confedrit X roads," apparently thinking that if they voted down murder it would be "used against them in the campaign." Finally, the resolution was passed, but after an amount of hesitation which makes the constant accusation of the Republicans that the Democrats are at heart corrupt seem almost fair. The Senate has passed the Hawaiian Treaty Bill, and both Houses have passed the bill providing for a Commission on the District of Columbia, the resolution providing for a Gold and Silver Commission as well as the Venezuelan Claims Resolution, reported by the Foreign Affairs Committee, requesting the President to withhold demands upon the Government of Venezuela on account of the awards of the mixed Commission of 1868 until the 4th of March, 1877, and directing the Secretary of State to suspend all further payments until that time, unless otherwise ordered by Congress.

The evidence accompanying this report shows that the Commission consisted of one Commissioner appointed by Venezuela, another —one David M. Talmadge—appointed by the United States, and an umpire, named Machado, appointed by Baron Stoeckl, Russian Ambassador at Washington. The Commissioners awarded, in round numbers, $459,000, and the umpire $894,000, but unfortunately it is a matter of grave dispute whether the Machado who acted as umpire was the same Machado appointed by Baron Stoeckl, or another Machado whose name was fraudulently inserted in the appointment. However this may have been, the Machado who acted as umpire was an agent of Talmadge's in the latter's private business, and had no qualification for his position, neither he nor Talmadge knowing anything of law, international or municipal. The proceedings of the Commission thus organized seem to have been entirely *bouffe*—Talmadge referring all claimants to "a friend in New York," who took fifty per cent. for presenting them to the Commission, giving as his reason for this large demand that he had to "divide" again in his turn. All the certificates that were awarded were presented by two persons, one of whom was Talmadge himself, and he, as soon as he returned to the United States, became the lobbyist for the parties whose claims he had allowed, receiving about $15,000 for his services, and at the same time making oath before the Committee of Foreign Affairs in 1870 that a statement on behalf of these claimants drawn up by him was made "from considerations of public policy." The claims themselves, as allowed, were what might be expected from the history of the Commission. One claim was raised from five thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand dollars; another was allowed growing out of contracts with General Paez made after the express refusal on the part of the United States to recognize the Paez Government, and after its actual overthrow. Looking the whole evidence over, the Committee declare that they "have failed to discover a single award which is justified by the law or the evidence." In 1873, an act was passed by Congress, aided by the counsels of Talmadge, G. S. Orth (who has now been obliged to retire from the field in Indiana), and others, making the award final. Venezuela protested, and Mr. Fish, under a threat of a cessation of intercourse, obtained $75,000, with which he made a dividend on the award.

The President has sent two messages to the House—one regarding the River and Harbor Bill, which is supposed to be stuffed with jobs, announcing that he means to carry out its provisions as economically as possible, and not allow expenditures under it not clearly of national importance. In this he is quite right, but it is a pity that his strong, practical sense, of which we have heard so much, did not lead him to form a rigid determination to economize in this way some seven years ago when his own party was passing River and Harbor bills without interference from the wretched Democrats. The other message relates to the Consular Bill, in which the Democrats inserted a provision directing notice to be sent to certain diplomatic and consular officers of the Government, not provided for by the bill, to "close their offices." This, he thinks, taken literally, would be an "invasion of prerogative," inasmuch as he and the Senate alone have power to appoint consuls. But as Congress has power over the consulships practically through the appropriations, the point seems to be, as he indeed intimates that it is, one of dignity rather than substance.

Senator Boutwell's report seems to meet with universal condemnation from the Republican press, and we trust the effect will not be lost on the Massachusetts Legislature. They must see that this gentleman has now done his full duty to the American Republic, and that it can spare him for a period of seclusion and meditation. The Hamburg massacre, however, continues to furnish rich food to the political debaters. There is not now, and has not been from the beginning, the least sign that the State authorities were unequal to the punishment of the murderers. The coroner's jury promptly found verdicts against the guilty parties, and as yet there appears no obstruction to the regular course of justice. But this did not prevent Governor Chamberlain's writing a letter to the President about it, which was a curious compound of the report of a French prefect to the Minister of the Interior and of a campaign speech, in which he put to the President the extraordinary question whether if the State should become disturbed, and the civil authorities should become powerless, and he (Chamberlain) applied for troops, the President would supply them. To which the President made the equally extraordinary answer that he would, and that Mississippi too was in a bad way, and probably needed troops. Then the matter has proved a most fertile theme in Congress. Mr. Lamar has shown that he and his colleagues and the Democratic party generally do not desire the murder of negroes, while the Republican orators, Messrs. Garfield and Hoar, show that the Democratic party is somehow the author of the murders, that it began the war and carried it on, and having been beaten now settles down to occasional assassination, which the chief Democrats are supposed to delight in and might easily prevent if they chose. As the controversy consists principally of recrimination, there is no reason why it should not last indefinitely. Mr. Lamar made an amusing exposure of Senator Morton, by quotations from that statesman's elaborate speeches in 1865 showing the awful consequences which would flow from negro suffrage.

The great fight among the New York Republicans over Mr. A. B. Cornell still rages fiercely, and distracts the attention of delegates to the nominating Convention to such a degree that the wickedness of the Democrats is almost lost sight of. The Cornell men appear

to have, on the whole, the best of it in the business of "fixing primaries," and achieve many notable victories, and will enter the Convention as a powerful body, and are perfectly horrified in their moments of leisure by the condition of the South, and especially of Mississippi and South Carolina. The reformers are making a gallant but most unseemly fight, for if Mr. Cornell be good enough to be the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, he is surely good enough to be Governor. But the contest is really not so much over Cornell as over his patron, Mr. Conkling, who intends to force Cornell's nomination as a sign that his own power has not been weakened by his fall at Cincinnati. Should Cornell be defeated, Mr. Conkling's prestige will be gone, and he will be relegated to that limbo of politicians—a "back seat in the rear car." The candidate who appears to meet with most favor among the anti-Cornell people is Mr. Evarts, to whom they will probably try to give the nomination, and who, if it is offered him, will probably accept it as a matter of duty, if not of ambition. But the fight will be a hard one, and, as Mr. Conkling will not permit any "reform within the party" if he can help it, the nomination of Mr. Evarts would be a great help to Hayes and Wheeler, which Mr. Wheeler probably sees as plainly as any one. In Massachusetts the Democrats show signs of nominating Mr. Charles Francis Adams for the Governorship, he having openly declared for Tilden, but it will probably go hard with them to do anything so wise.

General Butler has been invited by over two thousand Republicans of the Seventh Massachusetts District to accept a nomination for Congress, and has signified his readiness to do so in a long letter, in which he declares it to be his opinion that he may be very useful in Washington at the present crisis, particularly in the readjustment of the tariff which he thinks likely to take place, and in protecting the rights of the blacks at the South, which, he says, are seriously imperilled. He rehearses at great length some of his views about the currency, showing how strenuously he opposed contraction and how ardently he advocated the issue of the 3.65 bonds; but says nothing about his longing for an eternal standard of value which should have no intrinsic value of its own, thus basely dropping one of the most valuable ideas he has ever conceived. He points to the condition of the country as an illustration of what happens when people do not take good advice, but declares that since Congress has pledged itself to pay all the Government obligations in coin, it is not for a humble statesman like himself to oppose it any longer. He likes Hayes and Wheeler very much.

The devotion of the Southern whites to the pastime of massacring the laboring population of the South since the war has sadly interfered with the development of the old duello. The superior attraction of the new sport cannot be denied, inasmuch as it is much safer, being practised chiefly against unarmed males or women and children, and frequently without any opposing combatants at all, and its only drawback—the fear that excessive indulgence in it might lead to a diminution of industry and consequent yield of the arable soil—being entirely removed by the extraordinary fact, proved by experience, that the carnage and slaughter of the laboring population has a beneficial effect on the crops, particularly cotton, the yield of which, year by year, shows a steady increase exactly proportionate to the increase of murder and arson. The duel was, however, a more picturesque sport, and it is pleasant to see that there is some chance of a revival of it in journalistic circles in South Carolina. Mr. R. B. Rhett, jr., of the Charleston *Journal of Commerce*, a newspaper devoted to the "straight-out" policy, and therefore "antagonizing" the *News and Courier*, has published a card accusing Mr. F. W. Dawson—whom he refers to as the "aggressive member" of the staff of the latter paper—of accusing *him* of lying, and adds that it would naturally be assumed that any "manly man" who did such a thing would be prepared to give "that redress which honorable men are accustomed to seek as their protection and that of society against a repetition of such aggression," but adds, with deep irony, that unfortunately, on more than one occasion, Mr. F. W. Dawson, when called upon for such redress, has "sought shelter behind the pretence of a religious principle," like the "insolent coward" that he is. In reply to all this the *News and Courier* aggressively produces Mr. R. B. Rhett, jr.'s "record," according to which it appears that that gentleman, being known "to have a pistol-case for hire," was, at some date which is not given, brought from "his Alabama hiding-place" "for just such work as he has now begun"; that during the war he was a fire-eater, "snugly ensconced in his newspaper office" out of harm's way; and that when, at the end of the war, these two hot-blooded Southrons were on the same staff—that of the *Mercury*—he proposed to Mr. Dawson that he, Dawson, should "become personally responsible, under the Code, for whatever might be published in the *Mercury*," assigning as a reason that he, Rhett, was "a member of the church," and could not conscientiously engage in a duel. Not only this, but, when Mr. Dawson left the *Mercury*, the valorous Rhett made "a similar arrangement" with a new associate editor, on what terms is not stated, though we should think they must have been high. Since that time, however, it is true that he has fought a duel and killed his man; and, finally, it seems that "in the counting-rooms of the Bay, in bank vaults, in the tills of stores in King Street, untold due-bills and memorandum checks, bearing the name of R. B. Rhett, jr., lie to this day," dishonored and unpaid. It looks as if blood only could wipe out a quarrel like this.

The interests of the Republican party in this campaign are, of course, very important, but so are the interests of truth and decency—a fact which we wish some Republican orators and writers would remember more frequently. For instance, Mr. Blaine, we see in his speech at a recent meeting in Portland, dwelt with considerable severity on the seizures and examination of telegrams by the Democrats in their recent investigations of the various Departments, and said some English traveller told him that such an act in England "would raise a mob and destroy a ministry." But he forgot that this odious practice, if odious it be, was introduced into American politics by the Republican party in the height of its power, and for purposes which, compared with those for which the Democrats have resorted to it, were utterly disgraceful. In 1868, the Republican majority of the House committed the unprecedented indecency of allowing the managers of impeachment to convert themselves into a committee of investigation into the motives of the minority of Republican senators who voted for acquittal, and refused to allow two Democrats to be added to their number, so as to give the Committee a proper parliamentary composition. Mr. B. F. Butler took charge of the enquiry which followed, and one of his first acts was to seize all the telegrams received in the Washington offices for some months previous, and examine them at his leisure for proofs of the corruption of men like Grimes and Fessenden and Trumbull. We commented on this transaction in severe terms at the time, but we are quite sure neither Mr. Blaine nor any other Republican member of the House spoke or voted against it. Thinking of these things and many others like them, we cannot help begging the gentlemen now on the Republican stump to support Hayes with as little cant and hypocrisy as possible. The Democrats have done nothing in their investigations of which the Republicans have not shown themselves fully capable, and have set on foot no investigation for which there was not probable cause on a fair view of the condition of the public service.

So, also, it is proper to ask the attention of those who are trying to magnify the political importance of the Hamburg massacre, and make it appear that if Tilden were elected he would encourage that sort of thing, to a recent speech of Judge Mackay, one of the foremost and ablest Republicans of South Carolina, with regard to the share in the matter of General M. C. Butler, who has been so much abused, and with regard to some of the occurrences which preceded the Hamburg affair, and which throw a good deal of light on the question why it is that there is so much more turbulence and disorder in States in which the negroes and their friends are in the majority

than in the others. Judge Mackay states in his speech, as a matter of justice, that in January of last year General Butler's house and barn were burnt down, as was believed, by a party of negroes from Hamburg. A force of whites under Butler subsequently had a fight with these negroes, and Judge Mackay was sent down by Governor Chamberlain to investigate and restore order. The Judge issued warrants for the arrest of a man named Tennant, the captain of a negro militia company, and several of his men, and for that of Butler and twelve of his men. Butler and his men surrendered at once, riding fifteen miles in a stormy night to do so, and were discharged after full investigation, in which it appeared that Tennant and his men had resisted arrest for arson on warrants issued by a colored justice, and that General Butler and others were then and there called upon by the justice in court to aid him and the constable as a posse, and that the justice directed him to act on the ground after he and the constable had been again repelled by armed force. They then fired, after receiving a full volley from the thirty negro militia, and two of the latter were wounded, and the rest surrendered. This is not all, however. While the negroes were in jail on a charge of burning Butler's house, on proof which Judge Mackay considered sufficient to hold them to bail, there was a rumor of an attempt to take them from the jail and lynch them; whereupon Butler and other white Democrats turned out with their rifles and stood guard through the night over the jail. It is needless to add that Judge Mackay does not believe him guilty of complicity in the Hamburg massacre. It is well for Northern people to remember, too, that it is only two years since the Governor of South Carolina called out the negro militia—ignorant men, with hardly a glimmering of political knowledge—to protect him against the process of the courts, issued against him on charges of larceny. Is it wonderful that men living under a régime in which such things are possible are irritable, and that, being irritable, and having still some of the habits of barbarians, their irritability occasionally finds vent in deeds of violence? Violence ought to be repressed at all cost; but it is an outrage on common-sense to tell people, as Republicans are now every day told from the stump, that such incidents as the Hamburg affair record a state of things which calls for the neglect of everything but the policing of the South, or even, according to Senator Boutwell, a radical change in our political system

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Silver in London has advanced during the week to 53½*d.* per ounce English standard, which here brings the gold-value of the "trade dollar" up to 91⅜ cents. The old silver dollar, if in existence, would at this price of silver be worth 89½ cents, or about the same as the note of the United States for one dollar, the gold value of which during the week has ranged between 89⅜ and 89¾ cents. When, early in July, the "trade dollar" was worth less than 81 cents, and when the gold value of the "dollar of our fathers" would have been less than 79 cents, all the advocates of "cheap money," who had worshipped the greenback because it was cheap money, were clamorous for silver resumption. It is possible that silver may return to 57*d.* or 60*d.* in London and that the old value may be restored. If such should be the case, it is safe to predict that the "cheap money" allies of the Bonanza mine-owners will desert their new cause. Whether they do or not, it must be apparent to fair-minded persons that the remonetization of silver by our Government cannot safely be undertaken, if it should be deemed best to undertake it at all, until the price of silver becomes stationary, or near enough so to make it a practically invariable measure of values. In the past few months it would have been many times more variable as a measure than even the United States legal-tender notes have been. The bids for $2,160,000 five per cent. bonds, sold by the Treasury to get money to discharge claims affirmed by the Alabama Commission, shows that the silver agitation has not yet weakened confidence in United States bonds as securities. The bids exceeded $21,000,000, and were made by some of the best foreign and domestic bankers or by their representatives. The price obtained for the bonds was $105 05 gold, or $1 17 currency, which was above the market quotation before the sale. The specie in the Bank of England now amounts to £30,000,000, against £22,500,000 in 1874, and the Bank of France, which is intelligently preparing for resumption, has now £83,500,000, against £50,000,000 in 1874. In London money is only ⅞ per cent. per annum for three-months discounts, and lower and merely nominal rates are obtained for demand loans. Of course, the accumulation of specie by the Bank of France is for a specific purpose, and it is not to be taken into consideration in estimating a foreign demand for American securities. But with money so cheap in London and very easy in Germany, where American securities are well known to investors, the conditions for the negotiation of United States bonds for resumption purposes would have been extremely favorable except for the talk in Congress of the intention to make the principal and interest of the bonds payable in silver.

The bestowal of a peerage on Mr. Disraeli, with the title of Viscount Beaconsfield, means, of course, the virtual close of his political career. In the House of Lords his connection with the Ministry will be consultative merely, as it is there represented by two able debaters, Lords Derby and Salisbury, in the prime of life. In any case, an abandonment of the House of Commons, after nearly forty years of membership, would mean superannuation. Mr. Disraeli has shown signs for the past two years that he was feeling the weight of age, and that he was no longer able to represent the Government in discussion with his old vigor and effect, and he revealed more than ever that dislike of "business"—or, in other words, of the dry details of administration—which has always been his greatest weakness, and along with it a considerable increase in that want of sensibility to public opinion which has been another of his defects as a leader. But seldom has repose been more truly well won. He has achieved brilliant success in a field for which he was fitted neither by nature nor education, and has been for over twenty years, through nothing more than an intellectual apprehension of its aims and aspirations, the acknowledged leader of a party which, perhaps more than any other, was supposed to need thorough sympathy in its leaders. Sir Stafford Northcote, a respectable but not brilliant man, succeeds to the Conservative leadership in the House of Commons, but the change is of comparatively little consequence, owing to the unwarlike attitude of the Liberals, whose generalship is now also of the most modest kind. The light and jaunty way in which Mr. Disraeli at first treated the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria excited so much public indignation that his withdrawal from active participation in the debates over a matter which is likely to be very grave for some time to come is probably a relief to Lord Derby, who will now be the real chief.

The fears of the participation of the Great Powers in the war seem to have been dissipated by the rapid defeat of the Servians, and the money markets are feeling easier, though there has probably never been a time when they could have borne a general convulsion more easily. The Servian courage has undoubtedly been considerably cooled, and the Turks have derived great advantage at least from the enormous outlay of the late Sultan in arms and equipments. Remington rifles and Krupp's steel guns, together with improved organization, got the Turks out of what seemed at the outset a very bad scrape. But it is not likely that the invasion of Servia will prove as easy a matter as the expulsion of the Servians from Turkey. The militia will defend positions they could not carry, and are operating in Servia. The Turks will find an enemy in every bush, and will never hold more than the ground they camp on. The most energetic remonstrances with regard to the conduct of the troops have been addressed to the Turkish authorities by Great Britain, the despatch even going so far as to say that if the atrocities committed in Bulgaria were repeated in Servia European indignation might take a practical shape. The Roumanian Memorandum has apparently produced no effect at Constantinople, and is looked on with suspicion at St. Petersburg as a German move; and, as if to show how little interest the Greeks take in the present struggle, their king is travelling for pleasure in France and England. Panslavism has quelled "The Great Idea."

CONGRESSIONAL REPORTS.

THE reports of the various Congressional Committees of Investigation, including that of the Senate into the condition of Mississippi, show that upon the same evidence Democrats and Republicans almost invariably reach exactly opposite conclusions. We say almost invariably, because we believe the only recent case of unanimity was that of the Schenck enquiry, but then this unanimity was apparent rather than real, because the report had to be considerably toned down by the majority in order to get the minority to concur in it. In Belknap's case, it is true, there was also general agreement, but this was doubtless due to the culprit's coming in and, in a moment of weakness, making a confession. Had he denied Marsh's charges as "a lie from beginning to end," and said they were got up by the Confederates to punish him for his approval of Sheridan's Louisiana despatch and for his services during the war, we should undoubtedly have had the usual diversity of opinion, expressed in majority and minority reports. In fact, it may be laid down as a general rule, that when a committee of Congress is set to investigate any matter of administration or anything which may reflect credit or discredit even indirectly or remotely on either of the two great political parties, no matter what may be the nature of the testimony, the Democrats on the committee will find one way, and the Republicans another. This is so true that the reports might, without any loss to the public, be written in advance of the investigation, and be signed by the committee without any damage to their consciences. The evidence, for instance, in the enquiry into Robeson's administration or into that of Postmaster-General Creswell, or into the affairs of Mississippi or of Louisiana, seems to have been entirely unnecessary, the conclusions of the two reports being drawn exactly from the political leanings of the two divisions of the committee respectively. The Democrats find that the Republican administration of a department is corrupt and wasteful, and the Republicans, after listening to the same evidence, that it is pure, economical, and efficient. The Senate Committee investigates Mississippi politics. The Republicans find that Governor Ames is a pure and upright and ill-used officer, the whites a herd of bloodthirsty ruffians, and the social condition one of terror and anarchy. The Democrats find that Governor Ames is a corrupt rascal, the whites a set of intelligent, industrious, and patient citizens, and the social condition one of peace and returning prosperity. So, also, the majority of the Committee on Louisiana Federal Offices find that Casey's administration of the Custom-house has been marked by the grossest frauds and abuses, and recommend legal proceedings against him and his dismissal from office. The minority find, on the other hand, that Casey had "managed the business of his department with promptness, with courtesy, and with fidelity to the Government"; that his accounts and those of the other Federal officers in the district are perfectly correct. We all knew so well that this would be the result of the enquiry into Mississippi affairs before it began that Mr. Boutwell might have evolved his report out of his moral consciousness at Groton, and Mr. Bayard his in the same manner at Wilmington, and we should have made no complaint. We can tell beforehand, in fact, with all but absolute certainty, how a man like Mr. Boutwell—and he represents a large class of Congressmen—will report on any given subject. We do not need to see the evidence. All we need to know is how the responsibility is likely to affect the Republican party. With this great datum, we can predict what it will be, and almost supply its language. Nor is it likely, if we said this to Mr. Boutwell, that he would be at all offended, or consider it an impeachment either of his integrity or his intelligence. On the contrary, he would probably smile a complacent diaconal smile over it, as a striking bit of unconscious testimony from "a bad man" to the general soundness of his moral nature.

There is nothing new or very surprising in this state of things. It is as old as parliamentary government. It was as bad in England at one time—"the days of Walpole," for example—as it is now. Dr. Johnson but expressed the current morality of his time with regard to the enquiring functions of the legislature when he confessed that in making up his own reports of the debates, he "took care that the Whig dogs got the worst of it." But it did not then and there work as much mischief as it does now and here, because the opinion that was to be formed and instructed by parliamentary reports was that of a very small number of persons, who, for the most part, had access to other ways of reaching the truth. In our age and our country, when government is or ought to be the pure product of the opinion of the majority of the adult population, the absence of any trustworthy mode of getting at the facts of any great public question, especially at grave political crises, is a very serious matter. Reliance on the press for such purposes there is very little, for the press itself is openly and ostentatiously partisan, and, even if it were not, it has not and cannot have the powers of inquest that Congress has. It cannot summon witnesses, and send for papers, or bear the expense of a long and minute investigation. The power, in fact, of going to the bottom of things for the information and instruction of voters, by supplying the data on which public opinion is to be based, is properly lodged in Congress, and can be lodged nowhere else. For Congress to turn the exercise of this power into a farce is a public calamity, and yet this is exactly what has happened. It was so shamefully abused in England, in the case of contested elections, that Parliament, in disgust with itself, handed the whole matter over to the judges, and the right to a seat in the House is now tried before a court of law, with all the guarantees of impartiality which exist in the trial of the title to a piece of land. The discussions which led to this change, combined with the increasing exactingness of the public conscience, have also had the effect of infusing a much more judicial spirit into all enquiries, so that the findings of a Parliamentary Committee now have a great deal of the weight and trustworthiness which belong to a judicial decision. In other words, the sense of duty to the country has gradually got the better of the sense of duty to the party, and a Parliamentary report has certain claims to be considered a piece of induction from evidence.

At the risk of seeming extravagant, we shall say here that we have little doubt that one great cause of the present absurdity of Congressional reports among us, and one of the greatest obstacles to any change for the better, is the management of politics by office-holders. The average voter would never think the worse of a Congressman for making an honest report like a sensible and upright business man, any more than he would think the worse of him for giving an honest verdict on a jury. The persons whom the Congressman fears when he is conducting an investigation, and for whose benefit he makes his majority or minority report without regard to the facts, are the local managers, who "fix the primaries," conduct the caucuses, and who have no notion that investigation is a judicial function or that a Congressman can at any time divest himself of the character of a partisan. They, therefore, do not furnish reports that would "hurt the party." They have charge of the machine, and know what kind of fuel is needed for the furnaces. They could not "go before the people," they think, with a report against the party administration, or a report which told against party theories, without great risk of disaster. They consequently do not permit such reports from their own member—and the member knows it, and goes into the committee-room with his conclusions all mapped out, and seeing clearly with his mind's eye the state of facts he will finally discover in any given case. It is fair to conclude that were the office-holders confined to their proper duties, party management would be less exacting, and less sacrifice of self-respect be expected of Congressmen, and Congressional reports would come to have value in other ways than as electioneering documents. At present they are, in the great majority of cases, absolutely worthless apart from the evidence on which they are based; and through this anybody who wishes to form a correct or unbiassed opinion must wade for himself—a task for which few persons except newspaper editors have any stomach.

The remedy is of course the remedy of most other abuses of the day—the relegation of the employés of the Executive Department

of the Government to their proper duties, the bringing of the legislature into more direct contact with the voters, and the exaction on the part of the latter of higher qualities of mind and character in public men. When constituencies are ashamed of the blatherskite minority and majority reports, divided on the same evidence by a clean-cut party line, as the productions of mingled folly and dishonesty, Senators and Representatives will not make them. When Congressmen know that electors like good, honest parliamentary work, showing strong common-sense, self-respect, and decent capacity for observing and inferring, they will produce it. But they will not produce it when they are liable to be dismissed from service by the Custom-house, or Post-office, or the Internal Revenue Collector, if they are not "faithful."

THE "INSIDE" OF THE EXTRADITION DIFFICULTY.

THE article in the July number of the *Law Review*, and the letter from Mr. D. A. Wells lately published in the *Tribune*, throw a great deal of unexpected light upon the controversy between the United States and Great Britain over the cases of Winslow and Lawrence. The article in the *Law Review* is, unless we are greatly mistaken, written by a lawyer who has an authority in matters relating to extradition quite as great as those exercised by Judge Benedict, who decided the Lawrence case, and will be likely to make practical applications of his carefully-arrived-at conclusions in cases of future Winslows and Lawrences. Mr. Wells's letter brings forward facts which have hitherto been only suspected, and, while they do not furnish an explanation of the curious course the proceedings have taken, they put us on the track of one.

In the first place, it appears that the law of the subject is simple, well-settled, and has been repeatedly acted upon by our Government. It is that a person surrendered under an extradition treaty is to be tried only for the crime for which he is surrendered. As to the reason on which this rule rests, it is (as we have all along maintained in these columns) simply that in no other way can the right of asylum (one of the most jealously guarded rights in free countries like England and America) be preserved. The *Law Review* points out that the rule is not even limited by the question of bad faith. A nation has, of course, no right to make a pretence of the commission of an extraditable crime for the concealed purpose of getting hold of somebody who has committed a political offence; but, more than this, even if there be no pretence about it, and the offender has really committed a crime for which his extradition is honestly demanded, the right of asylum is obviously gone if the Government, after getting possession of him, and honestly trying him for one offence, proceeds afterwards to hang him for another.

This being the reason of the rule, it would seem singular if the publicists who have considered the subject should differ on it. But the fact is that not a single case can be found of any writer of authority who has discussed the subject at all, who has not laid the rule down precisely as we have stated it here. Wheaton, Kent, Story, and other well-known authorities, it is true, have not expressed any opinions on the point—probably because it seemed too obvious a corollary from the principle of extradition to need discussion. The Continental writers, Fœlix, Martens, Heffter, and every one who has touched the matter, are unanimous in stating the rule to be that no one can be tried except for the offence for which he has been surrendered. The rule has been steadily recognized by the French Government, the only qualification that they have attempted to engraft upon it being that announced by the Minister of Justice in 1867, that the application of the rule must be left to the political department of the Government, and not to the courts—*i.e.*, that the courts can only postpone the matter till the Government has been applied to. This later French view has been adopted by some courts in this country (including Judge Benedict's), which take the ground that the courts, having possession of and jurisdiction over a criminal, cannot enquire into the alleged breach of international law, but must leave it to the executive department of the Government. These cases have been spoken of as settling the point of international law, but it is obvious, as the *Law Review* points out, that instead of settling it they refuse to discuss it. The writer pertinently enquires whether the case of the State *v.* Brewster (7 Vermont R. 118), in which the Court refused to consider the defendant's allegation that he had been kidnapped across the Canada border, and thus wrongfully brought within its jurisdiction, decides that kidnapping is permitted by the law of nations.

In reply to all this, we have Mr. Fish's assertion that by the "practice" of the two Governments the rule has been abrogated; and here comes the most singular fact of all, that the assertion is flatly contradicted by the whole recent history of the Government; by Section 5,275 of the Revised Statutes, which provide that the President shall protect a person extradited to the United States "until the final conclusion of his trial for the crimes or offences specified in the warrant of extradition"; by four extradition treaties made since 1842 with Italy, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Belgium, in all of which the principle that no one can be tried except for the offence for which he is surrendered is expressly incorporated; by the action of Mr. Fish himself, between 1871 and 1873, in agreeing to the insertion in a new treaty with England herself of this very principle; by the Attorney-General of the United States, in a letter to the District-Attorney, Mr. Bliss, under date of December 22, 1875, directing him to try Lawrence "upon the charge upon which he was extradited, and upon no other"; and, finally, by an express order, issued May 21, 1875, by the President himself, directing Mr. Bliss to stop all proceedings in Lawrence's case "except upon the charges upon which the said Lawrence was extradited."

Having thus seen that the best authorities and the reason of the matter agree in the rule as we have stated it, and also that this rule has been expressly adopted by the Attorney-General and by the President as their guide in the Lawrence case, any one might fairly feel surprised if he were told that, at the very same time that the highest officers of the Government were insisting upon it that Lawrence should be tried only upon the charge upon which he was extradited, the Secretary of State was maintaining that Winslow could be tried upon any offence, whether included in the Extradition Treaty or not. Yet such was the fact. On May 21, 1875, the following order was issued by the President to the New York District-Attorney:

"WASHINGTON, May 21, 1875.

"In the matter of Charles L. Lawrence, the District-Attorney of the Southern District of New York is directed to stay all proceedings *except upon the charges upon which the said Lawrence was extradited*, and until the report of the Solicitor-General, to whom the matter has been referred, is made, and until further ordered; and the District-Attorney may exercise his option as to the time when he will proceed *upon the charges mentioned in the warrant of extradition.* U. S. GRANT."

On the 22d of December was sent the following letter to the same officer:

"SIR: Application is again made to me in the Lawrence case, with a long record and an opinion of Judge Benedict. I now repeat what I have heretofore written with carefulness and urgency, and what I carefully tried to impress upon you when I saw you here, that, for grave political reasons, Lawrence must first be tried upon the charge upon which he was extradited, and upon no other until that trial is ended, and, whether subsequent proceedings for other crimes shall or shall not be taken must await the order of the President. Now, upon an examination of the papers, it is perfectly easy for you and the Court to determine upon what charge Lawrence was extradited, and to proceed to try upon that charge, and that only. This is a matter of great importance, and you must not blunder in it. There are consequences involved in it of a serious nature, as I have already told you, and we want to proceed in strict conformity with international law and international courtesy; therefore I merely add, *try him first upon the charge for which he was extradited, and for that only. This instruction is so specific and so definite that it does not seem possible that an honest mistake can be made in this case.* EDWARDS PIERREPONT, *Attorney-General.*"

While, on March 31 of this year, Mr. Fish, in his long letter to Mr. Wickham Hoffman, Chargé-d'Affaires at London, lays down the rule as having been for years, "that where the criminal was reclaimed in good faith, and the proceeding was not an excuse or pretence to bring him within the jurisdiction of the Court, it was *no*

violation of the treaty or of good faith to proceed against him on other charges than the particular one on which he had been surrendered."

If we now turn to the office of the New York District-Attorney, and enquire how he executed the orders sent from Washington, we find an equally singular state of facts. Lawrence was extradited for the forgery of a single bond and affidavit, but forgery was not really the crime for which the District-Attorney was pursuing him, and Lawrence, knowing this, petitioned the President that he might only be tried on the forgery. This the President directed, as we have seen. The subsequent proceedings were as follows: He was arraigned for some offence which either was, or was not, the offence mentioned in the warrant of extradition. Mr. Fish says, in his letter of March 31: "Up to this date Lawrence has been arraigned only upon one indictment, and that on the forgery of the bond and affidavit mentioned in Sir Thomas Henry's report to the Home Office." Lawrence, however, took a different view of the matter, and pleaded that the indictment set forth a different offence. Now, any lawyer will see that if the District Attorney had been trying to obey the orders of his superiors, he would have taken issue upon this fact—that is, he would have denied that there was any difference between the crime set forth in the indictment and that mentioned in the extradition warrant. Which was right would at once have been apparent. The point would either have been decided against Lawrence or against the Government, and, in either case, the extradition part of the dispute would have been at an end. Instead of doing this, however, the District-Attorney demurred—*i.e.*, he admitted that the offence in the indictment did differ from that in the warrant (thus taking ground which may not verbally clash with Mr. Fish's statement, but which essentially answered the same purpose as the "arraignment" on a different offence would have done), and, flagrantly disobeying all the spirit of the orders he had received from Washington, insisted that the Court should pass upon the question whether this was material or not. The Court, having no alternative, did pass upon the point, and decided it in favor of the Government—that is, decided that it was no concern of theirs how Lawrence came under their jurisdiction any more than if he had been kidnapped, and that they could now try him for anything they pleased. Meantime, the English Government got wind of these proceedings, and, Winslow's case coming next, declined to surrender him without a specific pledge.

We do not mean to undertake to explain these proceedings, but merely to call the attention of the public—which has been ingeniously diverted from the real merits of the case—to one or two facts. Mr. Bliss is at the head of an institution known as the "District-Attorney's office," which is the great party headquarters, next to the Custom-house, in this city. He nominally owes his place to the President, but in reality he holds it at the pleasure of Mr. Conkling, whose active henchman he is. He is in control of machinery of the most effective kind, that of the criminal law, for extracting money from the mercantile community of this city, for purely technical violations of the most technical and unintelligible system of revenue law in the world. As we know from the Phelps-Dodge case, he can make merchants innocent of any wrong disgorge small fortunes out of mere terror. Around him he has a corps of informers and spies, headed by a veteran at the business, who was deep in the Phelps-Dodge outrage. It is also a fact that under the present system of politics the District-Attorney's office is one of the chief centres from which money is furnished to "save the party" when election time comes round; that the person who saves it is Conkling, who appoints Bliss; and the party when saved turns out to be Bliss and his janissaries. It is also a fact that Lawrence, though nominally arrested for forgery, is in reality pursued for frauds on the revenue involving an unknown amount of money and the reputation of a number of New York merchants; that to get a hold upon Lawrence which he could not escape was not easy, inasmuch as the offences against the revenue for which he was "wanted" were not extraditable crimes; that he was demanded for forgery, and, once over here, the District-Attorney, by raising, in violation of express orders, a point which was not in the case at all, got a decision practically handing Lawrence over to him for sentence; that Lawrence has now pleaded guilty to all the indictments against him; that he has been released on extremely moderate bail; that he has been given "elegantly furnished apartments" in the District-Attorney's office, where he and Jayne are to be seen in frequent consultation.

These facts may not suggest any explanation at all, but one thing is quite clear—that the key to the whole difficulty between England and ourselves on extradition is in the keeping, not of the President, nor of the Attorney-General, nor of Mr. Fish, but of Mr. George Bliss, the District-Attorney for the Southern District of New York. All the trouble in the Winslow case came from the Lawrence case, in which our Government had in the most authoritative manner adopted the English view of the matter, and directed Mr. Bliss to do the same. Mr. Bliss, instead of doing so, raised the very question about which he had been told by the Attorney-General he could hardly make an honest mistake, and by the President to hold his tongue, got it decided in his favor, and thus forced the Government into the position which Mr. Fish took in his despatch of March 31, and which obliged him to be silent about the most material facts in the case, and to color others so as to make it appear that the view expressly repudiated by the President and Attorney-General was the distinctively "American" view of the case. Now, in any other country under heaven, or under any other system of administration than this, what would have happened? Simply one thing. When it appeared that Mr. Bliss had not obeyed orders, he would have been cashiered for making at the very least a gross mistake. Why was not this done? Because, as we say, the District-Attorney's office is, next to the Custom-house, the great party headquarters in this State; because it furnishes a large part of the sinews of war by which "politics" are carried on; because at its head is an active politician, who is a right-hand man of Mr. Conkling, who controls all of the offices in the State; and because the President has no more control over him than if he were Conkling's body-servant. Thus it is that Bliss and his associates carry on the "party," that Conkling is made senator, and that Conkling in his turn appoints and keeps in office "the boys," who do this sort of work for him, snap their fingers in the face of the President, and pervert the administration of the State Department. The President and the Attorney-General may issue orders as much as they please, but they are not obeyed; and we finally have the disgraceful spectacle of the ends of justice defeated and the two great law-abiding nations of the world embroiled in a quarrel in which there is no room for dispute, and no material difference of opinion, and no result except a general jail-delivery, in order that a gang of informers and Government officials may keep each other in office at the expense of a great commercial community.

THE CONDITION OF THE NAVY.

I.—PERSONNEL AND MATERIEL.

AN opportunity to point out existing abuses in the administration of naval affairs and to suggest remedies has recently been afforded many of the older officers, in answer to a circular-letter addressed to them by the House Naval Committee. The printed document (H. R. Misc., No. 170, Part VIII.) contains sixty-seven answers, fourteen of which are from staff-officers. Existing abuses, their causes and remedies, are stated with candor, and the actual condition of *personnel* and *matériel* is given with apparent earnestness of conviction. While there is diversity of opinion in suggesting remedies, there is unanimity in pointing out abuses and their causes. In this lies the value of the document. The circular-letter presented eight interrogatories; the first and second regarding the *personnel*; third and fourth, the management of navy yards; fifth and sixth, the condition and efficiency of vessels; seventh and eighth, the methods of obtaining supplies. The Committee also solicited "any and all information . . . touching economy, integrity, and efficiency in the general service."

Regarding *personnel*, there seems to be deep feeling against the present system of subjecting officers above the grade of commander to a personal

examination, physical and professional, before promotion. That gentlemen over forty years of age should be subjected to the rigid scrutiny of a medical board seems unnecessary, in view of the fact that reliable data as to their physical condition may be obtained from the medical records of ships and stations. The grade of commander is reached between the ages of thirty-five and forty, when habits and character are fully developed. Up to this grade there should be strict enquiry into character, physical and mental condition, and gradually increasing professional requirements before each promotion; and the final examination should comprise all branches of professional knowledge, since commanders are always eligible for chiefs of bureaux and for selection to command-in-chief during war. In command of cruisers they are often required to act independently, and oftener represent the nation than its accredited representatives; they should have, therefore, the highest accomplishments and attainments. Rigid scrutiny into character and habits should continue during life, if the high moral tone of the profession is to be maintained. Line officers complain of discrimination in favor of the staff, who, it is asserted, receive higher pay, "grade for grade," and are not examined after having reached the relative rank of lieutenant. They condemn unanimously recent legislation, which practically antedates a staff officer's commission six years prior to its issue. Line and staff should start fairly on entering the service for duty; but there is neither common-sense nor justice in the present law, which maintains a "leap-frog system" of rank in each grade, injurious to discipline and productive of bitter controversy. Embarrassing anomalies of rank are constantly occurring, and sympathy and toleration have long since ceased to exist. To restore harmony without yielding to the absurd demands of either will be a difficult task, but none the less necessary.

Reform in the retired list is almost unanimously demanded. Originally intended as a reward for long and faithful service, it has degenerated into a sinecure for worthless officers, and has recently been degraded by the addition of persons who have had no duty in the navy. On January 1, 1876, there were three hundred and nine of all grades and corps, of whom one hundred and seventy-nine had served less than ten years at sea, sixty less than five years, while five, not including professors, etc., had not served a day afloat. Under a recent law, retired officers are exempt from duty during peace, and the pay of those honorably retired is fixed at seventy-five per cent. of the sea-pay of the grade occupied at retirement. It appears from the *Register* of January 1, 1876, that two hundred and fifty-one officers are receiving this rate of pay; by comparing the law granting it with the law under which officers have been retired, it is evident that sixty-nine are receiving it through a too liberal construction of the law. The indiscriminate mixing of officers retired after forty-five years of faithful service with those retired after short service for misconduct, inaptitude, or lack of ability, professional or physical, degrades the service and merits the severest condemnation. If existing laws governing retirement are to remain in force, the pay of retired officers should be proportionate to the sea-service performed.

Some radical measures seem necessary to rid the navy of its "warts." An act providing for the transfer to the pension-list of all having less than ten years' sea-service who are entitled to a pension—all who are not to be dropped—seems the most effective plan suggested. All existing laws on this subject should be repealed, and there should be an enactment that the only persons entitled to be placed on the naval retired list are naval officers of good character who, having served ten years or more *at sea*, are incapacitated for further service afloat through disease or wounds contracted in the line of duty, and while actually on duty. All others unfitted to perform their duties should be dropped or pensioned. Compulsory retirement and retired pay seem to be satisfactorily fixed by law. "Four things, remediable, tend to keep unworthy officers in the navy: 1. The unwillingness of officers to report misconduct. 2. The practice of Secretaries of the Navy of using technical errors as a plea for setting aside the sentences of courts-martial without ordering a new trial. 3. Abuse of the pardoning power. 4. Congressional interference, reversing decisions of naval courts, retiring boards, etc."

It is a matter for congratulation that the moral standard of both services has not fallen in the same degree with that of their civil heads and of Congress; but there seem to be growing tendencies which will, if permitted to continue, lower the tone and lessen the confidence now felt in their integrity and devotion to the public interests. Chief among them we consider the use of personal and political influence to secure individual or class advantages; the seeking and accepting of nominal duties in order to secure increase of pay or allowances; the disposition to prolong a stay on shore or avoid disagreeable duty; and last, but not least, the callous indifference to the public interests which prompts an officer to shut his eyes to official corruption which he must know exists, in order to remain on pleasant or desirable duty. During the past ten years there has been, on the whole, steady improvement in the treatment and therefore in the character of men-of-war's-men, due to a revolution in the sentiments of officers. Formerly, discipline was enforced by resorting to physical torture—now, by an appeal to the reason. Very much remains to be done; but so long as there is such good evidence of a desire on the part of officers to make the seaman's life gradually less horrible and degrading, we should be satisfied to encourage their efforts rather than to condemn existing evils of long standing.

By *matériel* of the navy is meant the armed and equipped vessel-of-war. Our national policy is against the maintenance of a powerful navy: the force, such as it is, should therefore make up in efficiency what it lacks in strength. Making allowance for cost of labor, etc., the amounts annually appropriated have been ample to create and maintain a navy which neither the country nor its officers could be ashamed of. Instead of this, the majority of officers—deeply interested experts, be it remembered—assert that such vessels as we have compare unfavorably "class for class" with those of other nations. It would appear from the answers that the largest classes—2,000 tons and upwards—are divisible into three types, appropriately styled *obsolete*, *tub*, and *canoe*. The first comprise sailing vessels and side-wheel steamers; the second have great capacity and very low steam-power; the last have no room for anything but engines, and, although of fair speed, the capacity for fuel will not permit of its development except for short distances. All are armed with guns of comparatively short range and low power, and nearly all are irredeemably decayed or need extensive repairs. Our iron-clads are all of the original monitor type, *undeveloped*; their insufficient armor is laminated instead of being solid, and incapable of resisting the projectiles of rifle-guns in common use on wooden vessels of other navies. Their speed is so ridiculously low, and their guns of such comparatively short range, that wooden vessels of moderate speed, armed with rifle-guns, could take positions out of reach and destroy the monitors, powerless either to fight or escape. Out of a nominal force of 120 vessels of all classes, aggregating 157,264 tons and mounting 1,148 guns, *seventeen* unarmored vessels, aggregating 16,346 tons and mounting 157 inferior guns, and *twelve* monitors, aggregating 7,530 tons and mounting 24 guns, are the only ones which can be considered as available for war-service with two or three months' notice, they being scattered about the globe. Even these are sadly deficient in ordnance and speed, the two most essential qualities for war.

Such is the condition: what is the cause? The lack of a settled naval policy, and the absence of executive ability to control the chiefs of bureaux, who now act independently and inharmoniously. Nearly all naval vessels constructed during the past fifteen years have been failures in one or more respects; if a high rate of speed has been attained, there is no capacity for ordnance and fuel, and the reverse. In other countries, when ships are to be built, past experience and the highest talent are combined to produce the best design; when experiments are made, they are conducted on a limited scale, and the results thoroughly discussed before new ideas are adopted. Our chiefs of bureaux of construction and engineering seem to have had contempt for past experience, recognized talent, and established principles, and to have been permitted to squander the naval appropriation in order to demonstrate the absurdity of their peculiar notions. The object of an armed and equipped vessel of war, viz, *fighting*, seems to have been lost sight of in the effort to develop some unimportant, often remote, purpose of the designers; and the result is an accumulation of abortions utterly unfitted to any phase of naval warfare. The remedy for this seems to be in the establishment of a board of experienced *sea*-officers, who shall have absolute control over constructions of hulls and engines and decision as to armament, before one dollar is expended. It is not advisable to complicate further the already intricate machinery for administering naval affairs, but there seems to be no other means of preventing a repetition of past failures than that of a board—with the power and authority to *command* the individual chiefs of bureaux to modify or alter their plans for new vessels or repairs, so as to bring about desired results—composed of officers selected from the four highest grades who have served twenty years at sea, and are recognized by their fellows of all grades as worthy the important trust. Above all, there should be a settled naval policy, so that the defence of our flag may not be left to the whim of any individual. "Observations relating to the navy," on pages 62 and 63, deserve attention by those who have the national interests at heart: a naval policy such as it suggests would seem to be the only one suited to our geographical position and international policy. In a subsequent number, we propose reviewing the answers in their bearing on navy yards and supplies.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—XIII.

ITALIAN SCULPTURE.

PHILADELPHIA, August 12.

THE development of world's fairs has been so regular and become so fixed that already there are curious signs of a sort of industry of international exhibitions. Architects and constructors who have made a specialty of the peculiar technical work demanded, move about from country to country as the dates of the several fairs require, and are found promptly on the spot when their services are wanted, reminding one of the passage of the cathedral builders through ancient Europe. It is evident that the successive shows are to become in many respects more like each other. An order of objects prepared especially for such displays is becoming more and more recognizable, and more and more unlike the objects of similar kind intended for commercial or domestic use—the difference being most disagreeably signalized in American mechanics by a gala show of plating and ornament. In the fine arts the tendency we speak of is particularly obvious, and is revealed in a class of nomadic pictures or statues which turn up with businesslike regularity at one universal exposition after another. Thus, Magni's statue of the "Reading Girl," which made a sensation in the English Exhibition of 1862, is of a sort of parlor attractiveness that would be pretty sure to turn it towards subsequent fairs; it figured as No. 57 in the Italian Department of the Paris Exposition; and it is to be seen now at Philadelphia, in a reduced replica, close to Vela's "First Sorrow," in the axis-hall of the Art Annex. Bisschop's exquisite life-size study in oil of a girl in a church pew was made a conspicuous "centre" in the Netherlands Department at Paris, under the title of "The Interrupted Prayer," and is made similarly important in the same nationality at Philadelphia, under the number 54, with the caption "At Church." Mr. Poynter's "Apelles," exhibited as a cartoon for mural decoration, is of the same series and family, though of course not identical, with his "Phidias," exhibited at Paris in mosaic. Barzaghi's marble "Phryne" has unveiled herself before multitudes of judges, both beside the Seine and beside the Schuylkill. It would be easy to extend the list, but we wish merely to point out a tendency which may doubtless be observed still more plainly at future exhibitions. Not to speak of the multitudes of bronze reproductions of antique statues from Italy, which must make very much the same show on all occasions, and whose type cannot be expected to change, we will pass at once to the consideration of the Italian original conceptions in statuary, whose unprecedented number at this year's festival makes them impressive by mere mass.

The presence of boudoir art among these statues is so overpowering that many observers have been most unfavorably affected, and have condemned the whole Italian exhibit at once with little examination. This is entirely unjust, both because there is a great deal of sculpture that is not boudoir sculpture, and because many pieces of boudoir sculpture, taking them for what they pretend to be, are not so bad in themselves as they look when multiplied among their kind. It is true there is a terrifying amount of Ophelias, Modesties of more than one size, and "veiled figures" by Brodzki and De Santis. But the fact is that the Exhibition of 1867 permits a most useful and agreeable study of modern tendencies in a ponderous form of art that is usually very unwilling to travel. In Italy we still see the rococo taste of Bernini surviving, producing works that are as good as works in false taste can possibly be; we see his lightness of touch, his allusive treatment, his contemptuous taming of material, in higher perfection, and with less to shock the taste. We see the manipulation of marble and the representation of texture, not effected by extreme toil, as unjust critics have so often said, but by a sketchy inventiveness and suggestiveness of touch, which plays easily with all the varieties of surface delineated, and gains its point by ruse where laboriousness would fail. We see also the wave of pseudo-classic influence dating from Canova, and have just time to see how much more false and disagreeable it is than any rococo when it dies away, and the day seems to be with Bernini again, only the more delicate intellectual culture of the century avoids Bernini's perpetual snare of false emotion. We may catch a living sculptor in the act of vacillating between two cultures, as Guarnerio, who within a space of ten feet or so gives us a Canova-like figure of "Aruns killing Camilla," and an "Apotheosis of Washington" fluttering through space in the wildest extravagance of Bernini drapery and blown hair-powder. It is a surprising manifestation of versatility, and it is a perfect recantation; nothing can be more perfect than the expression of conviction with which the "Aruns" is confined to propriety and rigidity, nothing more gamesome than the levity of the Washington; we have no idea which is the later work, and which represents the present technical faith of Signor Guarnerio. Corti's "Lucifer" (41) is classic and wearisome. Salomi's "Daughter of Zion" (454) is classic and wearisome, only relieved by a certain demonstrativeness in the fingers which reminds us of the traditional "language of the hands," not yet quite lost in Tuscany.

The figures that are not wearisome are those that boldly renounce classic pursuit, and strike out for new effects in consonance with the genius of the Italian people as at present constituted and with the discoveries in technical representation of the art of painting. The works of the school on which the present school rests are absent, and the exhibitors are mostly of the Young Italy of our time. There is nothing sent by the tender, sentimental, yet classical Giovanni Dupré of Florence; nothing (that we have yet discovered amid the multitude) by Fedi, author of the antique-looking group of Polyxena in the Square at Florence, and who now seldom exhibits, "growing old in an age he condemns"; nor by Cacciatori, the master of Vela; nor by Bartolini, the master of Caroni; nor by Angelini, author of the new statue of Mercadante at Naples. The pupils of these men are now the exhibitors, in a spirit of inventiveness often extravagant, often striking, always Italian and persuasive. We should say that Vincenzio Vela, professor at Turin, is at the head of the innovating school, which, after all, it is rather unjust to compare with Bernini's. There is the same determination to be baffled by none of the difficulties of the material, the same headlong wish to transcend material even; but there is a more intelligent emulation of Venetian painting, a more sympathetic *morbidezza*, and an original grace in the method with which Vela gets away from his slower instructor Cacciatori. The determined reproduction of texture which we observe in the draperies and the flesh of the extremities in Vela's "Dying Napoleon" is hardly seen in the "First Sorrow" (254), an earlier work of the artist's at the Centennial. We simply find a slender maid of twelve sitting upon a bench on a tiled floor, one shoulder drawn out of her tiny chemise, the handkerchief she has been hemming fallen to the ground with the scissors and thread, as she holds out her kitten's wounded paw and looks up for sympathy. Children of the way of life here represented have a maturity of action beyond their years, and the flexibility of the long hand and backward-turning thumb, which at once protect and display the kitten, is the flexibility of a grown woman; the maturity of the sorrow, too, which represses all lightness on the part of the spectator who meets those sunken eyes, and the precocity of the combed and knotted hair, are in the demurest keeping with the sentiment aimed at, and are perfectly Wordsworthian; the statue, though a slight thing, is a gem, and the work of a poet; it is completely "romantic" in principle, and a stumbling-block to those who are aware only of monumental sculpture. These may go for refreshment to the "Aruns," which fulfils every propriety of the art of carving as David's figures fulfil the art of draughtsmanship, which lifts its right hand with the proper fierceness and grips the bow in the other with the proper muscularity, and whose clothes are confined to the extremities, helmet and sandals. Near by is the "E Domani?" (431) of Francesco Gentile of Chieti; this is the *dernier mot* of realism. It is a hard peasant-girl, unused to deep emotions, yet, suddenly staggered by a tremendous sorrow, shrinking within herself, lifting one hand broodingly to her chin, and drawing figures in the air with the other forefinger, both elbows being rigid. The charm of this work is that the young woman is what would be called ugly; this is ancillary, not heroic sorrow. The technical experiment meanwhile is to give the most perfect imitation possible of a peasant's proportions and skin. The effect of labor on the joints, the cracks and chaps in the integument of the stout thick ankles, are imitated to a point incredible if not seen, and which emulates the mechanical perfection of the plaster cast taken from life. A similar reproductive attempt is made in the "Drunken Bacchus" of Zocchi. This curiosity of technic—rather a work of jewellery than of ordinary sculpture—was cut from the solid block without the slightest assistance by the young author, in compliance with the terms of a wager. Not only is the tissue of weeds and herbs on which the Bacchus lies wrought up to a finish like that of a lady's brooch and a tenuity like her lace, and the branch of grapes and leaves the figure plays with finished and undercut like the plaster casts of growths from nature employed in art-schools, but the whole form, which is exceedingly graceful, is covered with a texture that intimately resembles skin itself. The flesh represented by Zocchi is of a finer quality than that intended to be given by Gentile, but the realistic intention is the same. Here, too, is the look of the plaster mould applied to a living limb, but the skin is made incredibly soft—celestial, as it were—while all the corrugations and pores are accounted for. If this fidelity were the result of unusual and sickly oil it would be deplorable; but it seems in both these cases to be a knack

rather than a torment; and while the ideal work of Zocchi suggests the flesh-painting of Velasquez, the work of Gentile reminds one of the life-size paysanne-studies of Jules Breton. These are efforts, in fact, to wring some of the triumphs of brush-work out of the chisel; they are attempted, to our knowledge, by no other nation but the Italians, and they certainly suggest extraordinary vistas for the romantic school of sculpture. Caroni, a Swiss artist residing in Florence, whose "Ophelia" gained a Paris prize in 1867, has a large number of works, with draperies of silk or serge most sketchily illustrated, hair tumbling in loose profusion, and the eyelashes sculptured in their mass and detail. He was long an assistant of Story in Italy, but his own style of invention is distinct. In his "Selika," the crisped tresses of the African queen are of the strangest lightness and accidental tumultuousness, yet apparently produced without extraordinary labor. The art sought is that of "painting" with the steel; and in tricks of impasto support, and relief, in managing shadow by masses and projections in high-lights, the inventions are as extraordinary as in the management of mere texture. E. S.

THE EASTERN WAR IN PARLIAMENT.

London, August 1, 1876.

THE interest felt here in the development of the Eastern Question is unabated. The papers presented to Parliament on the insurrection in Turkey and on the murder of the two consuls in Salonica were looked for with anxiety, and when they came into the hands of members of Parliament last week, they were eagerly sought after by the representatives of the press, in order that the public might have as early acquaintance with their contents as possible. This interest has been stimulated by two circumstances—namely, by the spirited, if somewhat exaggerated, accounts in the *Daily News* of the cruelties perpetrated in Bulgaria, and by the reticence of the Prime Minister as to the policy of the Cabinet. The edge has been taken off the first of these stimulating circumstances by the publication of the official papers, and by the partial collapse of a movement, initiated by Mr. Auberon Herbert and one or two agitating philanthropists, to arouse the sympathies of Englishmen with their fellow-Christians in the East. The official papers show that the atrocities were unquestionably commenced by the insurgents, and that the action of the irregular troops employed by the Turkish Government—the Circassians mainly and the Bashi-bazouks—in suppressing the atrocities of the insurgents was only in a small degree more violent than that of the original perpetrators of the outrages. The combatants on both sides were uncivilized, and the method of carrying on the strife was not such as is consonant with the manners and customs of civilization. But there is no evidence before the public to show that the cruelties were more brutal than those which were reported from time to time from Spain during the recent revolutionary war, or that the facts reported were better substantiated. That the transactions of the war have been cruel, and that the appliances for the care of the sick and wounded have been scanty and of an inferior quality, there can be no doubt. But that the newspaper reports of the atrocities have been exaggerated, both as to the character of the atrocities perpetrated and as to the number of victims who suffered, is equally undoubted, and the moderation and dislike of exaggeration which are characteristic of the better educated among Englishmen have prevailed in this matter. Just at first there was a painful feeling, running through all classes of society, that the dreadful scenes graphically described with an air of accuracy by special correspondents were being daily transacted, and that no attempt was made to terminate these proceedings. But we have grown wiser, and have learned to believe but little of what we read; and this late-learned wisdom prevailed last Thursday. The philanthropists, aided by a sprinkling of the agitators who appear on every platform on which there is a chance of making public speeches, called a meeting, presided over by that veteran chairman of public meetings the Earl of Shaftesbury, to protest against the atrocities perpetrated on the Christian subjects of the Porte. They collected a few members of Parliament, mostly gentlemen of little or no public importance, who are always ready to give their names to such proceedings, and they met in Willis's Rooms. The place of meeting was not large, and the audience was mainly composed of women; but the speakers made speeches and the meeting passed resolutions in the usual way; and not one man in five thousand of the inhabitants of London read one word of the speeches or the resolutions. The thing collapsed, and we are not likely to hear much more about it. A Commissioner has been sent by the English Embassy at Constantinople to enquire into the rumors, and the Porte has given assurances of an anxiety to prevent the possibility of such outrages occurring, and moderate-minded people who have no desire for the notoriety of the platform are content to trust to these assurances and to wait for the report of the Commissioner rather than to believe the correspondence of the daily press.

The second agency in stimulating the interest of the public in the affairs in the East—namely, the reticence of the Prime Minister with regard to the policy of the Cabinet—has also been somewhat blunted by the discussion in both Houses of Parliament which took place last night. It was a disappointing discussion. It did not enlighten the public, and it will not have much effect upon the solution of the difficulties. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Hartington were the only men of any note who took part in the debate in the House of Commons; Lord Granville, Lord Derby, and Lord Hammond, who had been permanent Foreign Secretary during the Crimean war, were the only men of note who took part in the debate in the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone, who looks younger and more vigorous than he did during the later months of his laborious Administration, spoke for nearly two hours, and spoke well and eloquently. Lord Granville also spoke with strength and ability. They both defended the policy of the Crimean war, and argued that one result of that war was this—that England by it had secured the moral right of interfering between Turkey and her Christian subjects if Turkey failed to carry out the obligations and promises she had undertaken regarding them. Turkey had failed to do so, and was impotent and incapable, and we were bound to interfere on their behalf. The Houses of Parliament, however, did not seem to endorse these sentiments. They appeared to prefer the strict policy of non-interference which Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby advocated, and, although no division was called for in either House, it seems pretty clear that Parliament, on the whole, is satisfied to leave matters as they are, and to trust to the good sense of the Foreign Secretary. The extreme difficulty of the situation and the delicacy of the negotiations which are being carried on were fully recognized by all the speakers, and the Government were able to take advantage of both these circumstances. What was most interesting in the debate was the absence of anything like suspicion in regard to Russia. One young speaker, indeed, said some foolish things against Russia, and some still more foolish things in favor of Turkey, which were out of harmony with the feeling of the House of Commons, and which, with great good sense, the reporters suppressed, but, with that exception, the language was most moderate. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, admitted that all the Russians in authority were not so wise or so magnanimous as their present Emperor, and Mr. Disraeli made a passing allusion to "rumors of foreign invasion" which were rife in Constantinople at the time that the British fleet was sent to Besika Bay; but both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli repudiated any suspicious feeling with regard either to the Russian or the Austrian Government. They believed that all the Great Powers were acting in good faith and without selfish or interested motives. This belief, expressed so strongly by men of responsibility, not in the language of courtesy but in the language of conviction, ought to go a long way towards allaying the dread of the bugbear of Russian aggression on Constantinople which still looms largely before the English imagination. I hope it may do so; but suspicion once established in the English mind is difficult to eradicate. Another point of interest presented by the debate and by the official papers is this—that the position of England in the determination of these distant events is much stronger and higher than most of us imagined. Austria and Russia may be more immediately influenced by the result of the transactions, but it is hardly too much to say that England holds the key of the position. When she diverged from the other Great Powers in the matter of the Berlin Note, the negotiations came to a standstill. They countenanced by implication active interference. England said "No." Now the powers are again in concert, but the foundation of that concert is England's "No." Non-interference is the policy of all.

But admitting this—and it was admitted in the debate and without braggadocio or self-assertion—what is the upshot of the whole matter? No one can suggest a policy. Mr. Gladstone even would preserve the "territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire," and any schemes of Slavonic confederation or even of the autonomy of the subject states were regarded as out of court. It was difficult to improve upon the *status quo*, though that was admitted universally to be defective. The local administration of the subject states must be improved, and "measures conceived in the spirit and advancing in the direction of self-government" may be adopted, but that is all the length that we can move at present—a lame and impotent conclusion, perhaps, but, in the main and under the circumstances, a wise one.

Correspondence.

ANOTHER "STRUGGLING INFANT INDUSTRY."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is a little singular that the Bonanza mine-owners and their friends, while trying to make a Government market for their product, should overlook the fact that the production of their mines forms but a small part of the surplus silver seeking a purchaser.

Mr. Goschen's report shows plainly enough that the yield of the American mines, though reaching a very respectable figure, comes to very little when distributed over all the countries of the world, and will not account for the decline in the price of silver, as compared with gold, especially when it is remembered that the yield of gold from the new mines is also very large—about 44 per cent. of the total value of bullion raised.

There has been no recent increase in the exports of silver to England, but rather a falling-off, as compared with the exports of 1874; and the decline coming so quickly, before the actual effect of the increased yield could be felt, shows that it is the result of the apprehension of an excessive supply upon a market which was already perturbed and made sensitive by the following causes:

First, The introduction of a gold currency in place of a silver one by Germany; the process of demonetization forcing into the hands of that Government an unknown quantity of silver which it is very anxious to sell.

Secondly, the States of the Latin Union, finding themselves unable to endure the strain put upon them by unlimited coinage of either metal under a double standard, resolved, in 1873, to limit the amount of silver which they would coin. Switzerland declined to coin her quota last year, and France appears to be following in her wake, as the French Senate has passed a bill authorizing the Government to suspend the coinage of five-franc pieces—that is, they refuse to continue absorbing the surplus silver of the world.

Thirdly, the greatly-increased tribute paid by India to England has checked the export of silver from England to India, which formerly was large and constant.

The report prescribes no remedy for the malady which is afflicting both England and her great dependency, the Committee evidently believing that the unrestricted operation of natural laws is to be looked to for a cure rather than legislative interference; but, knowing the operation of these laws to be slow, they will doubtless welcome the prospect for prompt and decided relief which the present agitation in Congress opens up.

There can be no question as to the effect should any of the bills for restoring a double standard become a law. It would be simply to provide a handy market for the "cast-off" silver of Europe. It would allay the anxiety of Germany, remove the chief embarrassment which attends the problem of resumption in France, relieve England of her glut of silver—the United States, with asinine meekness, assuming the burdens of them all. So obvious is this that the advocates of the measure might well be suspected of being under the malign influence of "British gold" if it were necessary to look beyond their fatuous zeal for inflation at any price for an explanation of their course.

That such action would be followed by an appreciation of silver to a slight extent is doubtless true; but that it would confer any real or lasting benefits upon the Bonanza mine-owners, in view of the sharp competition which would set in from all parts of the world, is more than doubtful. The first result would be the total disappearance of gold from the country, to be followed by an expensive, cumbersome, inferior circulation, which, when once saddled upon us, could only be got rid of by a process involving great cost and risk, as has been so fully exemplified in the case of Germany; and all this without any compensating benefits, even to Senator Jones and his mining associates.

But the failure of this experiment to give the relief sought for would only stimulate them to fresh endeavors. Inspired alike by a sublime faith in legislative enactments and a supreme contempt for economic laws, it is a matter for curious speculation what the nature of the new application for help would be. Of course, no prescience can foresee the possible vagaries, but it would seem to be not improbable that their next resort would be to protection. And why not? Silver is one of the great natural products of our country, and raising, smelting, and refining it one of our largest interests. The operations now labor under the disadvantages of being carried on by crude and wasteful methods and at extreme distances from the centres of trade. Why, then, should it not, like lumber and iron and other similar interests, be fostered by a protective tariff, if not by a law prohibiting the importation of silver?

There are hundreds of mines, containing ore in great quantities, which cannot be worked with profit so long as there is free trade in the precious metals, which might, under a proper system of protection, give employment to thousands of laborers and be made to pay reasonable dividends upon the millions of capital now hopelessly sunk in them. Surely it is no great step to the discovery that we have here another "struggling infant industry" that needs the paternal care of the Government! E. R. L.

Eau Claire, Wis., August 7, 1876.

Notes.

NOT one life of Governor Hayes will suffice, it appears, but besides the campaign biography already announced as in preparation by an Ohio journalist, another, by Mr. William D. Howells, is in a forward state, and will be published at the earliest moment by Hurd & Houghton. For personal as well as literary reasons, Mr. Howells should have the advantage of his competitor. A sketch of Mr. Wheeler and portraits of both candidates will further enhance the value of the book.——Lockwood, Brooks & Co., Boston, announce as in press two works by the Rev. M. J. Savage: 'The Religion of Evolution' and 'Hints of Comfort for Hours of Sorrow.'——Among guide-books of the present year 'Williams's Pacific Tourist' (New York), without fulfilling all the promise of the title-page, is still prominent for a certain kind of excellence. Its illustrations are very numerous and for the most part fresh and helpful. The editor-publisher finds one of his qualifications to be the fact that he "has conducted four large editorial parties to the wonders of the West, representing over 150 journals and a total circulation of over 3,000,000." Mr. Williams thinks that "the Pacific Railroad is the right-hand saving power of the United States," and that it has already "realized, in both savings and sales, enough money to liquidate one-third the whole principal and accrued interest of the Government loan." But he does not furnish the particulars——The Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at the Detroit meeting last August have now been printed, and make a volume of some five hundred pages, well illustrated with maps and engravings. The various papers given in full or in abstract possess the usual degree of interest and suggestiveness. We have particularly enjoyed Mr. Lewis H. Morgan's two papers on the demarcations in the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization (ethnic periods), and on the order of progress in the arts of subsistence.——There have also come to hand the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1875, containing, besides the report of the Newport proceedings, with summaries, six unabridged papers, mostly pedagogical; and the Fifth Annual Address of the President of the British Philological Society (May, 1876), which embodies, among other reports, one on the North American Indian Languages, by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull. This compact review of what has been done by scholars (the writer only excepted) towards discovering, classifying, and preserving the aboriginal dialects of our continent since the appearance of Gallatin's 'Synopsis' in 1836, is one that could only have been made by a master of the subject. Its bibliography will prove invaluable to beginners in Indian studies That the languages have still an indefinite vitality appears from the notice that "a translation of Guyot's 'Elementary Geography,' by the Rev. Dr. Riggs and his son, the Rev. A. L. Riggs, is just out of the press."——We understand that the midsummer holiday number of *Scribner* has been a decided success. Its reception by the press has been favorable, and the demand on the part of the public has been greater than for any other single number of the monthly. The first issue of 75,000 copies is exhausted, and the publishers are preparing to print a new edition.

—Mr. William H. Whitmore has collected into a small volume a great deal of useful information with regard to the 'Law of Adoption in the United States and especially in Massachusetts' (Albany: Joel Munsell). The book contains the statistics of all the States and a number of leading cases, together with some account of the law relating to adoption in Europe and to the descent of property. The author has more than ordinary knowledge of the subject (if there can be said to be any ordinary knowledge of it at all), inasmuch as the present Massachusetts statute, passed by the Legislature of this year, was enacted with the assistance of the information collected by him for the benefit of the Legislature, and now put together in this volume. An examination of the contents of the book shows, as might have been expected, that the custom of adoption in America has received its highest development, and the law of it has been most carefully expounded, in Massachusetts, which is at once an old community and contains a larger proportion than any other of its size in the United States of the class which is likely in modern times to extend the custom—we mean unmarried wo-

men. The great incentive to adoption in the Roman world—the desire to keep alive families and family rights—has been destroyed in the modern Anglo-Saxondom by the decay of the family as an institution; and to find adoption in its primitive state we must go to the savages, who have preserved intact the ancient system of phratries and gentes. The whole idea of adoption, or creating children by act of law, was, as Mr. Whitmore says, unknown to the common law of England, and was even repugnant to it, though why, except upon the ground that it was a title in the jurisprudence of the detested civilians in the days when "J. S." still held his own, we do not know. In modern times, the law of adoption simply amounts to an ingenious device by which childless persons may obtain the solace of family life and affections; and the principal difficulties in the legal relations growing out of adoption arise from the confusion which it introduces into the descent of property. If it were possible for anybody to make the child of another his heir to all intents and purposes, it is obvious that great trouble might be caused in many estates among the noble army of tenants-in-tail, residuary devisees, and remainder men. To prevent this, the present Massachusetts law puts it out of the power of the adopting parent to "divert property into channels alien in blood to the original testator, under the terms of a law enacted, perhaps, since the devise was made." We have no space to go into the details of the subject as developed by Mr. Whitmore, but among the curiosities of adoption may mention that there is no statute on the subject in this State, and that incautious testators will do well to notice the awful warning suggested in the following passage: "Formerly, a devise for life to an old maid, with remainder over in the expected contingency of her death without children, might well keep the testator's property in the channels by him intended. Now, the spinster of eighty may rear a thriving family to inherit at her death."

—The 'Sunny Side Tracts' is the title of a series of Democratic campaign pamphlets, edited and published by C. O'B. Bryant. No. 1 opens with an introduction by the editor and publisher, in which he states the reasons for the publication of the series as follows:

"It is constantly, though erroneously, remarked that there is no longer any material difference in principle between the two great political parties, and that the only question involved in our politics is merely a choice of men. This popular fallacy arises from the practical eclipse of the Democratic principle in the discussion if not the administration of public interests, for the past twenty years. The various phases of the slavery question, with its passions and absorbing disputes, have diverted the attention of both the great parties from fundamental principles of public policy. Secession, rebellion, and the war; amnesty, restoration, and reconstruction; the debt, the currency, the disastrous depreciation of trade, industry, and property; in fact, all the various complex calamities entailed by the civil war have combined to engage the public mind to the exclusion of that vital subject—the great experiment of developing the Democratic principle in government."

The rest of the contents consists of extracts from the letter of Charles O'Conor declining the nomination of the Louisville Convention in 1872, and a long article on Democracy by Mr. O'Conor, reprinted from 'Johnson's Cyclopedia.' The most noticeable thing about the brochure is the luxurious character of the paper and typography, which seem better adapted for a large-paper copy of some monograph on the Rosetta Stone or Trojan excavations, than for circulation among the hard-fisted sons of toil who are expected to vote the Democratic ticket. The succeeding 'Tracts' will contain the views of Mr. Tilden on "Finance, Taxation, and Reform," the "interview, or dialogue, and speech" (such is the description of the editor) of Horatio Seymour at the Utica Convention on the "Purification of Government," and the address of the Fifth Avenue Hotel Conference, which is evidently considered in some quarters to contain "sound Democratic doctrine."

—The London *Athenæum*, a few weeks ago, contained a paragraph stating that Professor Whitney, of New Haven, had "nearly completed a treatise on Aryan Affinities," and that he would soon go to India for several years' residence and study. The notice has too circumstantial a look to be plausibly regarded as a mere fabrication out of nothing; probably it is true about somebody or other, and the *Athenæum* has only blundered as regards the identity of the person; if so, it is to be hoped that the latter will come forward and demand a correction of the error. As regards Professor Whitney, at any rate, the statements made lack the faintest shadow of a foundation—as, vexed at their frequent repetition, he has himself written to us to say. He does not even quite catch the idea of what a work on "Aryan Affinities" might be; and he has always been in the habit of using the term "Indo-European" instead of "Aryan."

—It is customary each year for the retiring president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society to deliver an address, which we suppose is regularly "ordered to be printed." This year Dr. William Goodell was moved to make an innovation on the traditional form and substance of it, and to give a pleasant account of the contents of a rare book he had stumbled upon in the library of the College of Physicians. This was the 'Observations diuerses' of "Louyse Bourgeois dite Boursier, Sage-femme de la Roine," of which the copy in question, being of the second edition of 1617, is thought to be possibly unique. The queen whom Louise served as midwife was Marie de' Medici, wife of Henri IV. of France, and the chief interest of the book lies in the narrative of her majesty's several accouchements, all of which were superintended by Louise unaided. What the king said on such occasions, and how he behaved, and what ceremonies attended the birth of the princes and princesses—all, of course, in due subordination to the midwife's important functions—are reported in a very edifying manner. It is a view of the *vie intime* of courts for which students of history will be properly thankful; and Dr. Goodell has given it a humorous setting, and added to it the necessary information concerning the principal personages introduced. What is most striking for the student of manners is the fact that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in a society of whose laxness Louise Bourgeois gives sufficient hints, the employment of male accoucheurs was regarded as an indecency; and that this feeling, or one akin to it, has of late years been revived after a long submission to the objectionable practice. In other words, the progress in anatomical knowledge and in therapeutics which men, by the advance of the higher education, were enabled to make, led to their superseding the *sage-femme*, at least among the better classes; while now that the higher education has been extended to women, and the medical profession opened to them on equal certificates of proficiency, the repugnance to male accoucheurs is at liberty to assert itself without raising any question as to "indecency."

—A privately printed work ('La Querelle des Bouffons,' by M. Aug. P. Malassis, Paris, 1875) tells of the writer's fortunate discovery among the rubbish of a quay-bookseller of a collection of sundry *opuscules* relating to the disputes which arose, about 1750, between the partisans of the Italian and the French schools of music. What gave its chief worth to the collection was the fact that it had been made and annotated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose signature was found in the volume, he being of course one of the champions of the Italian music. M. Malassis indulges in some interesting remarks on the nature and fate of Rousseau's library. It consisted, he says, of about a thousand volumes of a very ordinary kind, so that it was no great hardship for Rousseau to sell it as he did to his countryman Louis Dutens, who desired to buy it. He was at that time in England, where M. Dutens himself was living a refugee, and his books were in boxes in a "horrible confusion" (Corresp., letter of Mar. 2, 1767). Rousseau dreaded the task of rearranging it, and, as he had no place to store it, and had made up his mind to abandon literature, was quite willing to listen to proposals for taking it off his hands. But he frankly warned M. Dutens that he had mostly picked it up on the quays, and that except for the Encyclopedia and a few other "livres de choix"—a hundred at most—the collection was of little worth—"du fumier, qui n'est pas bon même à brûler, parceque le papier en est pourri." The terms were certainly easy enough. M. Dutens might have the lot for a sum gross, or for "une petite rente viagère"; and payment might be made at one time or at several times, to Rousseau or to his heirs; and as for the sureties proposed by the intending purchaser, he would hear of none but one—"c'est la probité de M. Dutens." He reserved, however, his botanical works and a few others. He wished to avoid a public sale of books containing his autograph. "Il m'importe fort peu que les acheteurs voient ensuite qu'ils étaient à moi; mais je ne veux pas risquer qu'ils le sachent d'advance." M. Dutens liberally promised to pay a rent of ten pounds per annum, till one or other of them should die. The only books named by Rousseau in his correspondence with this gentleman, except the Encyclopedia, are Machiavelli's 'Florentine History' and his 'Discourses on Livy,' and Sigonius's 'De Legibus Romanis.' From all the foregoing circumstances it results that but five books are known to exist in France having Rousseau's marks in them. One of these is in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale.

NEW ENGLAND TRANSCENDENTALISM.*

OLD errors not only die hard, but they are very apt to possess a persistent phœnix like quality, which brings them to life again after they have been once, or even more than once, killed. The latter fact would not be

* 'Transcendentalism in New England: A History. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.
'Transcendentalism: A Lecture. By Theodore Parker.' Boston: Published by the Free Religious Association. 1876.

very deplorable, perhaps, if this especial sort of phœnix would only be kind enough to rise from its ashes with the old and familiar form. It would then be recognized at once and killed again, and after the process had been repeated a few times it might be depended upon to "stay dead." And, in fact, after a little it would hardly be necessary to kill it again: it would be unable to live in the world's changed atmosphere. Not many hundred years ago, for instance, or a few thousand miles away, the report that a new revelation had been received through sorcerer, prophet, or priest might need to be looked after and disposed of, if possible, at once; but to-day, or here, the report would hardly be listened to. It is quietly taken for granted by most people that this form of error does not require any longer to be put down, but that if left alone it will not be able long to sustain itself. Unfortunately, however, old errors are not only phœnix-like, but they seem to possess also a power of metempsychosis; and the new body into which they transmigrate and with which they rise again is not only so modified that it is able to live amid its new surroundings, but is also so changed in form that it is not easily recognizable as the same old animal, or, at least, the same species of animal, returned. In an African jungle or Rocky Mountain desert, for instance, the sorcerer screams out his admonition as a direct command from fetish or ghost or god, but in Boston the old superstition of divine command could not live a moment in this stupid form. The New England prophet, therefore, makes no pretence to the possession of a new revelation or angelic guidance. He proclaims his message as an affirmation of the soul, a verity of intuition. In other words, the medicine-man has become a transcendentalist, and in its modern dress metempsychosis is not always suspected. But the old superstition is there, however concealed, and a very little dissection will discover it as truly as the scalpel reveals the mammalian paw in the wing of the bat and the flipper of the seal. Let no transcendentalist take offence at our illustration. We do not intend in any way to imply that he is a sorcerer or a pretended recipient of heavenly revelations. We affirm only that the old superstition may be legitimately employed to illustrate the affinities of the modern philosophy, without the implication of any closer relationship than—to continue the illustration—exists admittedly between extinct and living species of animals belonging to the same natural order.

Kant is generally regarded as the father of modern idealism and transcendentalism, but, however this may be, he was not the father of the New England transcendentalists. They borrowed his words, only partially imitated his methods, and decidedly rejected his results. His methods were critical, and his results were purely speculative. He never affirmed the existence of any objective realities corresponding to the ideas of the "transcendental" faculties. He did not believe, in other words, that the human mind possessed the amazing properties attributed to it by the men with whom we are here concerned. This addition to his philosophy is really so monstrous that it cannot properly be considered as a development of it—not, at least, as taught in this country; and we are justified, therefore, in treating it as the new resurrection of an effete superstition rather than the legitimate development of any philosophical system. A few passages from its friends will make the truth of this assertion sufficiently evident.

"Practically," says Mr. Frothingham, "it (transcendentalism) was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man; theoretically, it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind."

If this definition be understood literally, it is evident that any affirmation of instinct—that is, of a faculty possessing supernatural attributes—must be accepted with the same unreasoning submission which would be accorded to a divine revelation; and that the definition is intended to be understood literally, and that it is not an exaggerated statement, a few additional quotations will abundantly demonstrate:

"It (transcendentalism)," says Mr. Theodore Parker, "appeals to a natural justice, natural right; absolute justice, absolute right. Now, the source and original of this justice and right it finds in God—the conscience of God; the channel through which we receive this justice and right is our moral sense, our conscience; which is our consciousness of the conscience of God."

Again, Mr. Emerson, who is continually quoted as a typical transcendentalist, being requested to furnish the arguments upon which he rested certain expressed beliefs, thus naïvely replies:

"I could not possibly give you one of the 'arguments' you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands. For I do not know what arguments mean with reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling you what I think; but, if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men" (Gannett's 'Memoir,' p. 191).

This candid admission may be supplemented by illustrative extracts from almost any one of his essays. Take, for instance, the essay on 'The Over-Soul,' which contains the following:

"We lie open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature, to the attributes of God. . . . Before the revelations of the soul, time, space, and nature shrink away. . . . The soul is the perceiver and revealer of truth. We know truth when we see it, let sceptic and scoffer say what they choose. . . . The soul's communication of truth is the highest event in nature. . . . We distinguish the announcements of the soul, its manifestations of its own nature, by the term *revelation*. . . . For this communication is an influx of the divine mind into our mind. . . . The nature of these revelations is the same; they are perceptions of the absolute law," etc.

Of course we go to Emerson for something besides philosophical exposition, and, in reading him, we should no more think of criticising his philosophy than, in meeting him, we should think of finding fault with the cut of his coat. It is true of him, as Mr. Frothingham states, that "he will be held to no definitions; he will be reduced to no final statements. . . . He needs the full expanse of the eternal reason. . . . When he speaks or writes, the power is that of pure mind." We are not quite sure that we understand these last two sentences, but, letting them pass for whatever they may be worth, it suffices that we have quoted him here only to illustrate the position of the transcendentalists and to show the identity of that position (sufficient allowance being made for changes in civilization) with the old superstition of supernatural communications. And as it would be impossible for us to accept the old superstition, it is equally impossible for us to accept the new philosophy into which its soul has transmigrated. The assertion of the infallibility of instinct; of the perfection of intuition; of the immanence of divinity in conscience; of the possession of any faculty which, transcending experience, enables us to know truth when we see it, to recognize absolute justice, to decide upon the claims of eternal right, to know the true, the beautiful, and the good at a glance—is a chimera of the imagination, a pretentious dogma, the respectful consideration of which requires a little saintly patience rather than much intelligence. "It is usual," we are told by Mr. Frothingham, "with critics of a cold, unsympathetic, cynical cast to speak of transcendentalism as a form of sentimentality." But would it be possible, we may ask, even for critics of a warm, sympathetic, genial cast to speak of it truly as anything more substantial? And, admitting that "it was once the fashion to laugh at transcendentalism as an incomprehensible folly," is it by any means certain that the folly lessens when it becomes comprehensible? Stripped of the vague phrases which he so delights to use, it is evident that the appeal of the transcendentalist is, eventually, to his own perception or judgment, when not to his imagination or fancy, and whether his attributes be regarded as natural or supernatural, or however "divine" may be his instinct, that which he will promulgate depends entirely upon the kind of man he may happen to be. With Emerson, we can afford to be delighted with it; with an idiot, we cannot fail to be disgusted; and between these extremes there is room for every form of sense or nonsense that fertile fancies can generate. If there be in the English language any more unmitigated nonsense than is contained in some of the passages which Mr. Frothingham furnishes in illustration of the beauty and sublimity of transcendentalism, certainly we do not know where it is to be looked for. We give the following examples:

"We would have every arbitrary barrier thrown down. We would have every path laid open to women as freely as to man. Were this done, and a slight temporary fermentation allowed to subside, we believe that the Divine would ascend into nature to a height unknown in the history of past ages; and nature, thus instructed, would regulate the spheres, not only so as to avoid collision, but to bring forth ravishing harmony" (p. 177).

"The celestial man is composed more largely of light and ether. The demoniac man of fire and vapor. The animal man of embers and dust" (p. 254).

"The soul works from centre to periphery, veiling her labors from the ken of the senses.

"The sensible world is spirit in magnitude, outspread before the senses for their analysis, but whose synthesis is the soul herself, whose prothesis is God" (p. 144).

"There is now, there has been always, power among men to subdue the ages, to dethrone them, to make them mere outgoings and servitors of man. It is needed only that we assert our prerogative—that man do with hearty faith affirm: 'I am; in me being is. Ages, ye come and go; appear and disappear; products, not life; vapors from the surface of the soul, not living fountain. Ye are of me, for me, not I of you or for you. Not with you my affinity, but with the Eternal. I am; I live; spirit I have not; spirit am I'" (p. 145).

The gist of transcendentalism is to be found, without doubt, in the subjection of the reasoning to the unreasoning elements of human nature; and the fact that it was at one time the accepted philosophy of a few pleasant people does not make it any more noble or valuable, or any less likely to be pernicious or fantastic in its results.

About thirty-five years ago there was an unusual agitation exhibited throughout all grades of society in New England and, to a lesser extent, perhaps, in other parts of the United States. Some of the causes of this were evident enough, and were almost world-wide in their application; others, no less evident, were exclusively American in origin and effect; but to enumerate any of them would hardly be in keeping with our present purpose. As signs of this agitation, we may state that *Brownson's Quarterly* was then running in Boston; the *Dial* was started in 1840; Graham's books on vegetarianism were just out, as well as Channing's translation of Jouffroy; the Come-outers held a convention at Groton in 1840, and a non-resistant society met in Boston two years before; Ripley started Brook Farm in 1841, having commenced the publication of his selections from foreign literature in 1838; Albert Brisbane, about the same time, began his preaching of the gospel of Fourier, and communities were organized at Milford and Northampton in Massachusetts, and at various places in New York, Connecticut, and elsewhere. Graham-bread, phrenology, the use of yeast, the use of animal manure, woman's rights, mesmerism, animal magnetism, hydropathy, vegetarianism, anti-slavery, non-resistance, temperance—all were talked about and written about by advocates and opponents. Theology, of course, felt the influence of this unusual agitation, and from the Unitarians there broke away a small group of ministers, and a few other persons naturally of a theological turn of mind, who became heretical in their opinions—Radicals, we should probably call them to-day—and who came soon to be known as Transcendentalists. There were, therefore, two kinds of transcendentalism in New England at that time, (1) that of a few cultivated men who knew something of the teachings of Kant and Jacobi and Cousin, and something also of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and who consciously adopted transcendentalism because consistent with their theological speculations; and (2) the unconscious transcendentalism of the multitude of enthusiasts and reformers, who were partly the cause of, and were partly born out of, the agitations of the hour.

Of the first kind of transcendentalism it may be said that, hardly anywhere out of New England, with some possible exceptions in Germany, has an attempt been made by cultivated men to elevate it into a distinct school of philosophy, and this attempt was probably made in New England at that time rather from an assumed theological necessity than as a result of philosophic study. The definition of Mr. Gannett—that, "viewed as a school of philosophy, the transcendentalists were simply the little New England quota in the great return of thinkers to idealism, after the long captivity to sensationalism"—cannot be accepted without some very decided modifications, for it is manifestly unjust to the many idealists in New England to whom the theological doctrines which have always been identified with this kind of transcendentalism were peculiarly abhorrent. The apologists of these scholarly transcendentalists, however, seem to be quite fond of the assumption that transcendentalism may lay claim to all the virtues of the noblest idealism, forgetting or ignoring the fact, which we have endeavored to emphasize, that at best it was only a graft upon it—a graft, moreover, from a stock which has furnished a great deal of unpalatable fruit in former ages.

The second kind of transcendentalism was not at all peculiar to New England, but has been held, variously modified, since the beginning of the world, and will continue to be held, doubtless, for a long time to come. It may be found to-day in any convention of labor-reformers, or woman-suffragists, or peace-advocates, or prohibitionists. It has an heroic aspect at times, as when it appears in connection with the fierce denunciations of some prophet of anti-slavery, or it may join itself with the foolish diatribes of an anti-salt-and-sugar hobby-rider. It is to be found in Congress at almost every session, and gives unction to the speeches of those who appeal to the "august tribunal of history" or some equally fanciful concern; and not unfrequently, of course, it furnishes the only connecting link between that which is almost sublime and that which is simply ridiculous.

It is hardly necessary to state that the views of transcendentalism above presented are not those contained in Mr. Frothingham's 'History' or in Mr. Parker's 'Lecture.' The latter work, which was prepared some twenty-five or thirty years ago, displays more of Mr. Parker's defects than excellences, and we cannot understand why it has been thought necessary to disinter it and bring it to light at this late day. The sensational philosophy which it opposes is presented in a form that would not have been accepted by any one of its advocates at that time, and still less, of course, would its correctness be admitted to-day. Transcendentalism was Mr. Frothingham's first love, and although he intimates that he has discarded it, a lurking fondness for it, nevertheless, and a longing for its return, continually appear in the pages of his book:

"The Bains and Spencers and Taines may presently give place to other prophets; psychology may come to the front again, and with it will reappear the sages and seers. In that event the religion of transcendentalism will revive and will have a long and fair day" (p. 204).

"The commissions which the soul issues are, for the time being, discredited, and discredited they will be so long as the ideal philosophy is an outcast among men. Should that philosophy revive, the days of great preaching will return with it. . . . The lyceum and the newspaper will occupy a subordinate position as means of social and moral influence, and the prophets will recover their waning reputation" (p. 321).

"The transcendentalist keeps his essential faith. Generally, the transcendentalists have done this. . . . The few who have relapsed have done so, some under pressure of worldly seduction—they having no depth of root—and some under the influence of scientific teaching, which has shaken the foundation of their psychology. The original disciples, undismayed by the signs of death, still believe in the Master, and live in the hope of his resurrection" (p. 334).

To the sympathetic reader these passages may appeal with good effect, but to the critic "of a cold, unsympathetic, cynical cast" there is a suspicion of sentimentalism about them which makes them in a slight degree ludicrous. It is probably the influence of Mr. Frothingham's first love, also, which causes him occasionally to use expressions which, taken by themselves, would almost imply that any philosophical system opposed to transcendentalism must be coarse or impure. Undoubtedly, the disturber of the tranquillity of a high-soaring transcendentalist may be a very rude and disagreeable person, but this fact is hardly enough to justify the transcendentalist in intimating that he must be lacking in "moral enthusiasm" or lofty motives. The coarsest materialist or the most dogmatic positivist does not deny the reality of what the transcendentalist means by "spirit" or "intuition," however persistent he may be in attempting to explain its phenomena "in terms of matter and motion." That Mr. Frothingham, again, should magnify his subject is a pardonable offence, and may be the only foundation of an unpleasant suspicion which the book gives us that the subject has somehow almost mastered the writer. The excessive eulogy, moreover, pronounced upon some of the early transcendentalists was perhaps inseparable from an attempt to describe the mental characteristics of, and pronounce judgment upon, men with whom the writer is upon more or less intimate terms of friendship. But Mr. Frothingham's chief error is, that he greatly overestimates the influence of transcendentalism. His history deals only with the scholarly phase of transcendentalism and with those few cultivated persons in whom it appears as a theology as well as a philosophy. Of the unconscious transcendentalism of the enthusiast he knows nothing. In his 'Life of Theodore Parker,' it is true, he admits that the ignorant Come-outers were transcendentalists as well as Parker, but no such admission is to be found in the present volume. Ignorance and fanaticism are completely ignored, and the dozen or so persons whose names are given would appear to have no poor relations towards whom it may be necessary to turn the cold shoulder or to whom a sympathizing word might be thrown. Brook Farm is proudly claimed as an offspring of transcendentalism, but no meaner community can be admitted to fellowship. Hardly a hint is given, moreover, that Brook Farm or the various reform enterprises mentioned may have had other causes than the influence of transcendentalism; and still less would it be supposed, as we nevertheless fully believe, that they or something quite similar might have originated and run their courses in pretty much the same fashion, even if Mr. Frothingham's little clique of theoolgians had never been conceived.

But let us do no injustice to Mr. Frothingham. While he has given only a partial history of transcendentalism in New England, as we understand it, he has written, nevertheless, a very readable account of a small handful of men—nearly all clergymen and nearly all Unitarians—who, thirty or forty years ago, came to believe in a still more heretical theology than that professed by the great body of their sect, and who, consequently, forsook the pulpit and took up reform, philanthropic, or literary work; he tells how these men came to study German idealism and French eclecticism, and to adopt as a result of their studies a peculiar philosophy, which is called transcendentalism; he gives an account of this philosophy, and of the various reform enterprises and literary tasks undertaken by these men. All this is very enjoyable indeed, especially to those who know the men and have listened to their lectures and conversations. The style of the book is good—a very great improvement, by the way, upon the unpleasant turgescence of the 'Religion of Humanity'; we are in very good company all the way through; and, on the whole and with the exceptions indicated above, it may be said that Mr. Frothingham has written a very excellent account—unnecessarily excellent, it may be—of the not very important affair with which he concerns himself.

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The Week.

THE canvass has not displayed any very remarkable new features during the week. It consists on the Republican side almost wholly of attacks on Tilden's personal and professional character, which until now (he is sixty six years old) has always been considered very good; and even so late as 1871 he was cordially treated by the New York *Times*, and recommended for election to the Legislature as a man of high character. But it is astonishing to see how much wickedness he was all the time keeping concealed. Winslow appears to have been nothing to him in the matter of hypocrisy, for during forty years he has been a leading lawyer, and the administrator of large trusts, and a favorite counsellor of embarrassed individuals and corporations, without being exposed. The chief charge against him is, however, his appropriation of certain stock and bonds of the Terre Haute Railroad, which we discuss elsewhere. We perceive in one paper a charge that he also "flooded Northern Michigan with $4,000,000 of bogus money," from which it would appear that he has been one of the most prominent counterfeiters of ancient or modern times. That he was drunk on the night of his nomination appears to be settled, and we are in daily expectation of hearing that he defrauded an insurance company by arson. He also tried to prevent his prosecution in the "Terre Haute" affair by having the attorney of his pursuers made corporation counsel. Mr. Hewitt made a brilliant defence of him in the House of Representatives on the last night of the session as regards his war record, but in this the *Times* has pricked one or two bad holes. It is curious to see how "charges" grow. The circular issued by the Ring in 1868 to the country Democratic committees to telegraph the majorities to New York early—plainly with a view to fraud—had Tilden's name attached to it. He promptly denied that he signed it or knew of its existence, but we nevertheless now see it referred to as "his celebrated private letter."

The President has during the week furnished the public with food for reflection or for mirth, as the case may be, by an interview with the Washington correspondent of the *Herald*, in which he revealed some state secrets of a very remarkable character. One was that he had detected Mr. Bristow in "a conspiracy" having for its object his own elevation to the Presidency, and he intimated pretty broadly that the whiskey prosecutions were got up in aid of the same hellish design. So he has withdrawn his confidence from Mr. Bristow. One of the saddest things in General Grant's career is that he never will make his conduct square with his friends' theory of his character. Just as they are telling us how "sagacious" he is, he is pretty sure to commit some piece of great folly; and then, just as they begin to call attention to his "simplicity," he will perform some stroke of exceeding shrewdness. Then, again, when they are dwelling on his touching fidelity to his friends he upsets their analysis by suddenly throwing overboard some of his few respectable associates on the strength of chance gossip collected in the streets. He holds on to Babcock, or Casey, or Shepherd, or Schenck "under fire," but he bids Jewell and Bristow run at the first volley. All this, of course, is very trying for his apologists. What they now begin to aver in their extremity is that Washington and nearly all other good men had detractors; Grant has detractors—and, therefore, Grant must be a good man. They apparently forget that this argument will cover the case of Tweed and Belknap, besides being somewhat infantile in its construction.

In the interview with the *Herald* correspondent, the President also gave his ideas of what an "investigation" should be by means of an example of one conducted by himself, which certainly formed a striking contrast to those carried on by the Democrats in Congress. Charges of complicity or connection with the gold operations of Black Friday against Generals Porter and Belknap came to him from New York, in the shape of a "roll of papers." He let them lie in his drawer, he said, for a few days—we suppose for the purpose of having them settle—and then handed them over to his son, the youthful Mr. Ulysses S. Grant, jr., with instructions to look into them. Mr. Grant did look into them, and reported there was nothing in them whatever, and this ended the matter. Now, here was no prying into private telegrams, or examination of private check-books or accounts, or correspondence, such as the wicked Democrats have been indulging in, and no calling in of "Confederate generals" to overhaul the affairs of loyal men. And this the President evidently thinks is the way in which charges against good fellows ought to be looked into. There are sad rumors of a breach between Tom Murphy and the Custom-house men, and Babcock and "the Washington set." Even the former think Babcock has been "leading the President astray."

As we go to press it is difficult to form any definite impression as to the probable termination of the struggle at Saratoga over the Republican nomination. The important event of the past few days has been the split between the "Independent" and the Custom-house Republicans of this city, both organizations sending delegations to the Convention. The split originated in a difference between the call of the State and the local committees, the former inviting everybody to the primaries who intended to vote for Hayes, the latter prudently excluding all who had not been enrolled in some regular Republican club. As this was tantamount to excluding all the better class of Republicans in the city, and in direct disobedience to the call of the State Committee, the Independents determined to call primaries of their own, which they proceeded forthwith to do with complete success, electing a full delegation to Saratoga composed of some of the best Republicans in the city. This piece of "impudence" made the Custom-house furious, and the publication of the list of delegates was followed immediately by a letter from Mr. George Bliss, the District-Attorney, declaring that these primaries were in no sense an expression of the will of the people, but a "fraud" such as "Tammany in its palmiest days never perpetrated"; that in some districts the voting was done by a handful of people, in others by Democrats and non-residents, and in some not at all, not more than 500 votes having been cast in the whole city. To this Mr. Elwood E. Thorne, President of the Independent Central Committee, replies that Mr. Bliss's statements are "false," and adds that the falsehood is "wilful," and stakes his "character as a man of veracity" against that of Mr. Bliss, of whom he evidently has a low opinion. Perhaps the most remarkable part of the quarrel is that both sides evidently have in their minds as a standard a sort of ideal primary, composed of all the members of the party in a given district, convened in some solemn manner and in a public place to "select" delegates; the fact being that the "primary" as a rule is a small meeting of politicians in an out-of-the-way room, to which the party generally is not admitted, and the result of whose deliberations has generally been arranged in a still more private place and manner the day before. This work is generally done, and has been this year, by no other than our friend Bliss and his Custom-house associates; and the work having been done, he now makes his appearance in the newspapers as the defender of the "purity of the primaries."

The South Carolina Democrats, in the nomination of General Wade Hampton for the governorship, have shown that they possess their full share of the party capacity for blundering. This step will make it comparatively easy for the Radicals not to renominate Governor Chamberlain, and it is plain as possible that there is no man who can be elected who can

render the State, and especially the property-holders of the State, so much service as Governor Chamberlain. The corrupt element among the Radicals hate him, and will prevent his renomination if they can, but would probably have been forced to submit to it if the Conservatives had been wise and put off their nomination until the Radicals had made theirs. The platform on which General Hampton has been nominated contains all the things that proper platforms have to contain in these days—acceptance of the Constitutional Amendments and other results of the war, devotion to equal rights, love of peace and order, immeasurable hatred of theft, fraud, and other forms of villany, so that the only thing the Republican organs can say against it is that it is "hypocritical." General Hampton's letter of acceptance is equally unexceptionable, but then no letter or platform can make the General himself unexceptionable. No matter what views he may now hold as to expediency, he is neither a statesman nor a politician, nor a man of conciliatory disposition, nor anything but a soldier and Southern gentleman of the old school, to whom niggers, Yankees, schools, roads, free labor, and free speech are naturally almost as hateful as to the Pope himself. To put him up as a candidate, this of all years, on the eve of a Presidential election and close after the Hamburg massacre, seems to indicate a constitutional love of mischief.

Mr. Randall, just before the adjournment of Congress last week, made a speech reviewing the action of his party concerning the appropriations. He showed that the first difficulty the Democrats had met with had been the existence of a rule preventing the repeal or even modification of any law as to appropriations without a two-thirds vote; and that this rule, by the construction given it in practice, prevented reduction of expenditures but permitted their increase, and that any modification of this rule was stoutly resisted by the Republicans, and only secured by a strict party vote; that the Democrats, finding that 100,000 persons were receiving pay from the Federal Treasury, their salaries being fixed on the scale prevailing before the panic, proposed a reduction of ten per cent. on all salaries over $1,200, and a reduction of 20 per cent. in the force of clerks and employés, proposing at the same time, in order that no harm might come from the reduction, that the hours of clerical labor should be permanently increased from six a day to seven; but that these reductions failed in great measure through the resistance of the Senate. With regard to the complaint made by the Republicans against the changes of law introduced under cover of appropriation bills, he showed that the same thing had been done by them in ten different cases. He pointed out also a growing abuse in the large amount of expenditures under the direction of executive officers without supervision by Congress, amounting now to some $18,000,000 a year, suggested that this ought to be reformed next winter, and, finally, summed up the reductions effected by the present House at $29,944,253.

We confess we think this is a very fair showing, and that in a good many other respects the "record" of this Democratic House of Representatives will bear comparison very well with that of most of its predecessors. It is the first House since the war which has shown the slightest appreciation of the demand of the country for retrenchment in the extravagant expenditures of the Government, and the first Congress for a long time that has brought its labors to a close decently and in order, without the usual log-rolling chaos. An enormous amount of abuse has been poured out upon the Democratic majority because they have made some discreditable appointments and because they have shown a disposition to inflate the currency. But this criticism, coming from the party which is responsible for all the currency shams of the past ten years, or from advocates of the silver swindle, many of whom are Republicans in good and regular standing, is rather nauseating. Considering the inexperience of the members and the financial ignorance so plentifully distributed throughout both parties, the session has been, on the whole, honest and creditable. The investigations conducted by the Democrats may not have been ideal in their character, and may have been in many cases suggested by a base and cruel desire to find flaws in the administration of the Government and make use of them for the purpose of furthering Democratic interests. Investigations ought to be, as the Republican organs maintain, "calm, dispassionate, and patriotic," but then in order to have them so they would have to be conducted by investigators belonging to no political party. The main requisite in an investigation is that it should be thorough, and this the investigations conducted by the Democrats have been. We have no doubt that the Republicans could carry on investigations with a calm and dispassionate patriotism which would put all other investigators to the blush, but we have waited a good while for them to set about it, and, alas! we have seen no signs of their beginning.

One of the best things the Democratic majority did was to choose an honorable man for Speaker. The duty of a Speaker in these times is not merely that of a parliamentary presiding officer, but of a represser of all sorts of underhand and illicit schemes for getting money out of the public purse. The control he has over legislation, through the appointment of committees and in other ways, is enormous, and it is almost every day in his power, by action or inaction, to kill or to pass a measure with "money in it." This has made it for the interest of the corruptionists to "control" the Speaker, and how far they can go we have seen in the exposure of Colfax's connection with the Crédit-Mobilier frauds and of Blaine's intimate relations with the Little Rock and Fort Smith lobby. In fact, the thing had reached a point at which it had almost become an understood thing that a sense of honor was no more to be expected in a Speaker than an absence of partisanship. The Democrats were under a great temptation to prolong this corrupt system by putting in a Speaker who would have been the tool of the lobby; but they resisted the temptation, and selected, in Mr. Kerr, one of their ablest and purest men, whose life has been sacrificed to his duty. The influence of this choice has been felt throughout the session, and has had the result of making it exceptionally free from the taint of questionable legislation of any kind. Mr. Kerr was, we believe, the only man in public life, investigated during the session, who not merely proved that the charges against him were unfounded, but came out of the ordeal with a reputation strengthened by the attacks made upon it.

Bishop Whipple of Minnesota is, perhaps, besides being one of the most laborious and self-denying men of his order, one of the wisest and best friends the Indians of the Northwest have ever had. He has just written a letter to the President on the Indian question which is interesting reading. He says the complete success of "the peace policy," as it is called, was prevented by the fact that it "was fettered by the faults and traditions of the old policy"; that a treaty was made after its adoption with the Indian tribes as an independent nation, reserving to them the Black Hills country, for the observance of which the faith of our Government was solemnly pledged; that this treaty was deliberately and shamefully violated; that the existing evils cannot be remedied by a transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department; that the Indian Bureau ought to be "an independent department of civilization, with one of the best men in the nation at its head," and if this were done, and the Indians had the protection of law, personal rights of property, and a place where they could live by the cultivation of the soil and other labor, and had schools and churches supplied them, and the national faith plighted to them were kept sacred, the Indian problem would be solved. He draws a striking picture of the contrast between our experience with the Indians and that of the Canadians. We have, he says, spent $500,000,000 in Indian wars, and there is not one hundred miles between the Pacific and Atlantic which has not been the scene of an Indian massacre; we have never passed twenty years without an Indian war, and in the Centennial year we are having a very bloody one. On the other side of the line "there is the same greedy, dominant race and the same heathen, but they have never spent one dollar in an Indian war, and they have never had an Indian mas-

sacre." The reason of the difference, he says, lies in the fact that the British Indians "are subjects of Her Majesty"; have the same rights under the law as all others, and have the best men the Government can supply to teach them the ways of civilization. He winds up by suggesting the placing of all the Indians, as fast as they can be induced to settle, on ample reservations, with regular grants of land by patent of say one hundred acres as personal property to each Indian who shows a willingness to live by labor, the provision of a regular government for each reservation, with magistrates armed with summary powers, and an organized constabulary force. He tells one story which points the moral. Two years ago a "brute killed an Indian woman on the White Earth Reserve in open day." The Indians arrested him, took him to Fort Ripley, and asked for justice. In two months the Secretary of War ordered his discharge, having no legal authority to punish an Indian. Here was a lesson in civilization!

There has been a decline in the price of gold during the week from 111½ to 110½; in other words, United States notes for one dollar could be sold for gold as high as 90½ cents ($0.9049), and at one time during the week would bring no more than 89⅝ cents ($0.8968). Had the silver "dollar of our fathers" been in existence, it would have fluctuated between 90 cents and 86½ cents, the price of silver in London, which controls the price for the world, having continued variable. The fall in gold, as it is commonly called, was influenced by negotiations, which as we write are not completed, having in view the formation of a syndicate to undertake the negotiation of a part or the whole of the $300,000,000 U. S. 4½ per cent. bonds authorized. Except the silver scheme, everything is favorable for the success of a 4½ per cent. bond. The efforts to commit one branch of Congress to that scheme at the recent session deprived the Government of the assistance in the 4½ per cent. negotiation of one of the most influential banks in the country, as well as a banking firm of large influence here and in Europe. The bankers, foreign and domestic, who are willing to undertake the work, do so on the calculation that even if the silver-dollar bill becomes a law next winter some restriction like limiting the legal-tender will be incorporated in it which will protect all bonds of the Government payable in "coin." The anthracite-coal combination was broken on Tuesday at a meeting of the Board of Control. The first step taken after dissolution was by the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western, the Delaware and Hudson, the Reading, and the Pennsylvania Coal, which companies immediately announced that 500,000 tons of coal would be sold at auction for their account on the 29th. Without doubt there will be a heavy decline in the price of coal; the sound companies in the combination will derive benefits from enlarged sales which will compensate them for lower prices; the companies which transport as well as mine will gain most. The decline in the price of coal will cheapen manufactures and be a blessing to the public.

The Turkish question and the "Balham mystery," as the Bravo poisoning case is called, have occupied the English press and public almost to the exclusion of everything else for some time back. Of the Bravo case we gave a sketch in the letter of our London correspondent when it first attracted public attention. The first coroner's inquest, which was a hasty affair, did not satisfy Mr. Bravo's blood-relatives, and the Crown obtained an order for another from the Queen's Bench, which has been conducted in the most thorough manner, has played sad havoc with the characters of the Bravo household, and ended in a verdict of murder against some person or persons unknown. It has utterly demolished also a certain Dr. Gully, a well-known hydropathic and homœopathic practitioner near London, revealing the fact that his relations with Mrs. Bravo were intimate and criminal up to her engagement with Bravo, and that at one time he, Dr. Gully, and she had agreed to contract what may be called a post-obit marriage—on the death, that is to say, of his wife, aged ninety; and that he actually prescribed for Mrs. Bravo after her marriage without her husband's knowledge. Some of the parties, too, acknowledged having perjured themselves more or less on the first enquiry. Moreover, Dr. Gully was old, and Mrs. Bravo, then Mrs. Ricardo, a widow, sacrificed her relations with her mother and father in order to keep up her intercourse with him. The affair is altogether, in fact, a sombre picture of life in well-to-do circles, and as such has excited extraordinary interest in England, and brought together probably the largest assemblage of leading counsel ever seen at a coroner's inquest—it being the custom in England to employ a lawyer to "watch a case" which seems likely to reflect on one's character, where here one would publish a card in the papers requesting the public "to suspend its judgment" or "await further developments." Our plan, we need hardly say, is the cheapest.

The situation in Turkey seems to grow more and more unsatisfactory and threatening. The present Sultan has literally collapsed—that is, his nerves have given way under the excitement produced by his accession, his uncle's death, and the war, and he is now believed to be dying or imbecile, and there is a dispute among the pashas about his successor. The next heirs, under the Mahometan law, his two brothers, are said to be both unwilling to ascend the throne, none of the family apparently having any nerve left. In the meantime the interest in the crisis has been stimulated in England by a fresh default, this time on the loan of 1855; which was guaranteed by France and England, and on which they will now have to pay the interest. In the debate in the House of Commons on the attitude towards the belligerents to be assumed by England, of which the report has come out by the late mails, and in which Mr. Gladstone bore a prominent part, he took the ground that the greatest and best result of the Crimean war was not that it delivered Turkey from all risk of interference by foreign powers, but that it delivered her from the risk of interference on the part of Russia exclusively. He holds, however, that the failure of Turkey as a ruler of populations differing in creed from her ruling class is demonstrated, and that the only satisfactory way of dealing with her discontented provinces is the way in which they have one by one been dealt with hitherto, giving them local self-government. Good government by Mussulmans he evidently considers a chimera; and though he is not prepared for the sudden expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople, he thinks their power over all their outlying European provinces ought to be reduced to a mere suzerainty. Mr. Disraeli in his reply made a feeble defence of Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, comparing them with those which have occurred in Christian countries, when recourse has been had to irregular troops to suppress insurrection. But nothing approaching them has occurred in Europe since the Thirty Years' War, and it is a burning disgrace to civilization that they should be permitted to occur now. That the Bashibazouks are irregulars is no excuse, because their character and mode of carrying on war are as well known as those of Sitting Bull and his forces. Mr. Disraeli also explained that the British fleet was not sent to Besika Bay to back up the Turks, but to show the world that it was part of British policy to keep the Mediterranean a free highway.

As to the operations in Servia, the accounts of them being telegraphic mostly, are vague and sometimes contradictory, but of the principal fact there seems to be no doubt, and that is that Kerim Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief, a man of considerable energy and ability, has retired from Gurgasovatz, and swinging round his left wing under Eyoub Pasha, has outflanked the Servian army at Banza, and forced it to retire on Alexinatz, where its position, according to the last accounts, was assailed in heavy force on Sunday, and according to the Servian version, the Turks were repulsed; but according to the Turkish version, a portion of the Servian position at least was carried, and according to both, the attack was renewed on Monday, with what result is not known at this writing. If Alexinatz is once lost or abandoned, there is no reason why the flanking process should not be continued until Tchernaieff is shut up in Belgrade. In the meantime, there are rumors of an insurrection in Crete, and of consequent agitation in Athens.

THE PROBABLE PLACE OF THE SOUTH IN NATIONAL POLITICS.

THE Boutwell report, the President's letter to Governor Chamberlain, the recent order of the Secretary of War, and the prominent use made in the canvass of the charge that the bulk of the white population at the South either take pleasure in killing and outraging negroes, or have no objection to having it done by others, and are generally hostile to peace and order, are all among the things which, in a greater or less degree, are helping to reproduce what was before the war the great evil of American politics. We mean the hardening of the Southen vote into a compact mass on one question—the negro question—and the utter indifference of the Southern public to the various other issues by which opinion at the North is now or is likely to be hereafter divided.

It was not unnatural that the Republican party should have been alarmed by the attitude towards the freedmen taken up by the various Southern legislatures after the war, and not unnatural or unwise that it should have resolutely carried out such constitutional legislation as might have seemed necessary to prevent the restoration either of slavery or of any modification of slavery. Nor was it improper to legislate in execution of the Constitutional Amendments for the protection of the newly-made voters in the free exercise of the franchise. The Reconstruction process was, on the whole, as little objectionable as any attempt to deal with such a state of things could reasonably have been expected to be. But, once it was over, everything in the power of the North ought to have been done to conciliate the Southern whites and to draw them into the arena of national politics, and destroy the sectional feeling and the morbid irritability about negroes which brought on the war. If legislation was attempted, it ought to have been careful and considerate. We ought not to have attempted the insane task of making newly-emancipated field-hands, led by barbers and barkeepers, fancy they knew as much about government, and were as capable of administering it, as the whites. We ought to have discouraged instead of encouraging their confidence in disreputable Northern adventurers. We ought, through the character of our Federal officials, to have sought to exercise a soothing influence on the whites and an enlightening influence on the blacks. We ought, when showing our regard for order by sending down troops, to have taken all possible precautions to prevent their being used by local politicians for electioneering purposes, or used by any one in such a way as to weaken popular respect for the civil authorities or for the ordinary processes of law; and then, when Southern men began to make their appearance in Congress, everything ought to have been done to welcome them back and encourage their participation in politics as American citizens. Instead of this, however, taunts, drawn from the memories of the rebellion, have been from the very outset a favorite Republican weapon of debate against them, and they have been used as if the object in view was to convince Southerners that they would not be permitted to take part on equal terms in any general legislation. We might fill pages with illustrations of this. One or two must suffice. Senator Gordon, of Georgia, made an excellent speech in favor of civil-service reform and proposed a very practical and praiseworthy measure of reform. This ought to have been hailed with delight as an excellent symptom. But what happened? Why, he was overwhelmed with ridicule and abuse for talking of reforming "the Government he had sought to destroy," his chief opponent being the upright Mr. Morton, who changes his opinions on all leading questions about every four years, and is as ferocious on one side as the other. So also, when the Democratic House of Representatives did what the Republicans have done, and would do again—put in new officers of the House—they were incessantly scolded, not for making the change, but for giving places to ex-Confederate soldiers—that is, to what is now the best class of Southern society for all the purposes of civil life. That a man who took part in the Rebellion ought never again to hold office is a comprehensible and defensible doctrine, but it was formally abandoned by the amnesty; and acting on it now, or preaching it now, when union and oblivion are the two foremost needs of our politics, is mischievous as well as malignant.

When the session opened up came the memories of the Rebellion again, the leading Republican candidate for the Presidency being foremost in their use in discussions on all conceivable subjects. If a Southern member objected to high taxation, he was told that it was his wickedness and that of his friends which made high taxation necessary. If he sought the simplification of the tariff, he was told that when the tariff was framed he was in the field trying to overturn the Government. If he asked for civil-service reform, he learned that if he had had his way there would have been no civil service to reform. If he served on a committee of investigation, he was assured that an "ex-rebel colonel or general" ought not to examine the accounts of a man "whose heart had always beaten warmly for his native land"; and things bid fair to reach a point at which when a Northern politician was accused of stealing or jobbing he would at once begin to make out lists of "outrages" committed on negroes by his accuser's "friends." Some of the debates which Mr. Blaine got up in the early part of the present session on these and cognate themes, indeed, bore more resemblance to the recrimination about conduct and family antecedents which may sometimes be heard on the stairs of a tenement-house between two Biddies, than to the argumentation of a civilized legislature. We are glad to remember that these tactics did not triumph at Cincinnati. Candidates who relied on them found themselves miserably deceived, and are now sitting sadder and wiser "on back seats in the rear car." Mr. Hayes has not indulged in such follies, and in his letter speaks of the South in a rational and considerate tone. But many of his supporters show no abatement of the old spirit, and are doing what in them lies to saddle this nation once more with a burden over which our children's children may have to mourn. Secretary Cameron's order, for instance, is not in substance objectionable. In view of the fact that there is to be a very exciting election in States in which the preponderance of physical force is not on the side of the State government, it may be very well as a measure of precaution to quarter in the South as many troops as can be spared. But to publish an order to this effect, purporting to be issued under a resolution of the House of Representatives condemning intimidation at elections, and recommending "the prompt prosecution and punishment, in every court having jurisdiction," of outrages committed by persons of one race or class on those of another, has the air of a joke intended solely for purposes of irritation. It will undoubtedly be so regarded in the region to which the order is applicable, and its perpetration by a high officer of the Government in the discharge of an official duty as savoring of indecency.

The full gravity of the Republican policy toward the South is, we are glad to say, beginning to show itself before its mischief is irretrievable. We shall probably see it in a palpable shape at the coming election. We shall see the complete failure of the attempt to give the blacks the same political weight as the whites, and to make out of them a separate political party, hostile to the whites. It was from the first a silly attempt, doubly silly when made through the use of troops. If it had succeeded it would have proved not only that the lessons of history were all false, but that civilization was a mere dream. We shall see, too, the whites bringing all the Southern States, except perhaps South Carolina, into the field "solid," not for certain views of the questions which divide us at the North, but, as in the old slavery days, for the party or candidate which seems most likely to let it alone on the negro question. We shall see it too, probably, so nearly holding the balance of power that a single doubtful Northern State like New York will turn the scale. Let the whites get hold of South Carolina in their present temper, as they will in time, and they will probably hold the balance of power absolutely. We shall then, as before, have a herd of politicians springing up at the North seeking power by pandering to the South, and have "the South" once more talked

of, as it used to be, as a political devil, which has to be placated by various offerings and modes of worship, and holds a veto over every useful piece of legislation, and use the Northern politicians as puppets for its own purposes, and is ready to reinforce almost any party at the North through which it can make its power for evil or its arrogance tell.

Considerations like these have driven thousands who have hitherto acted with the Republican party to the sorrowful conclusion that deliverance can only come through its complete expulsion from office, and that, of the two evils—four years of Democratic administration, or a continuance of the régime which has, after eleven years' labor, left the South in its present threatening condition—the first is the less. Their apprehensions are not likely to be quieted by the appearance of such men as Mr. Boutwell on the scene as a ghostly counsellor of incoherent folly, or by seeing the army handled in a jocose spirit about election time by an obscure young gentleman like Mr. Cameron, armed with the functions of Secretary of War. The Republican managers ought to know that they have not a vote to spare, that the time for jaunty confidence is past, and that, if they mean to win, *they* must have discretion, however indiscreet the other side may be.

CAMPAIGN CHARGES.

THE hope entertained by a good many quiet people that the present Presidential campaign was to be marked by an absence of the customary "charges," countercharges, and "exposures," is evidently not destined to be fulfilled. We have not now got very far along in it, and yet in both parties the number of prominent men who have been and are undergoing the most searching examination as to their past lives, particularly into their business relations, into their administration of trusts, their dealing with money confided to their keeping, their management of commercial enterprises, and, in a word, into their honesty, is very great. Before the nominations all the leading Republican candidates were subjected to this ordeal, and the most formidable of them, Mr. Blaine, failing to pass it, lost his nomination. The pecuniary honesty of Morton and Conkling was put forward by their friends as constituting a strong claim upon the succession, and Morton, who had the good luck a few weeks before the Convention to have the question raised, and satisfactorily set at rest, whether he had not embezzled money from the State of which he was the "favorite son," was felt to have had his chances materially improved. The strongest point in Hayes's favor in the Convention was, not that he was in favor of civil-service reform, hard money, or the one-term idea, but that he was a man against whom no "charges" ever had or could be made. In the Democratic Convention, Mr. Tilden was subjected to the same severe test, and his friends were obliged to meet and repel in his case the most serious and comprehensive array of accusations ever brought against any public man in the history of the country. Since the campaign has opened the same thing has been kept up vigorously. "Charges" of some kind have been brought against almost every Republican official of any prominence. The Republicans in reply have brought forward again the whole series of accusations against Mr. Tilden, most damaging if true, for the object of showing that instead of being a reformer he is a canting hypocrite, and instead of being an honest man he is a swindler who has been engaged for years in playing the part of a "railroad wrecker"—*i.e.*, in cheating the owners of railroad stocks and bonds out of their property.

We are far from thinking that this peculiarity of our present condition of politics is a bad one, or one to be regretted. It is, indeed, so natural and inevitable a result of their present state that it would be folly to quarrel with its manifestation. The corruption in which we have been plunged since the war has been so complete, and it has so thoroughly soaked into the character of the whole political class, that the first thing we want to know about any candidate who is put forward as a reformer is whether he is or is not a "part of the thing to be reformed." The crying evils in politics now are, not less than the condition of the currency and the civil service, the degraded condition of the minds and aims of the political class, which prevents such questions as the currency and the civil service from receiving honest consideration. We have no more reason to believe that Grant, Conkling, Morton, or Cameron would ever really set about reforming the system of patronage or bringing about resumption, than we have to expect a suppression of public gaming from John Morrissey and a convention of gamblers. The conviction of this has, we believe, sunk very deeply into people's minds, and accounts in a great measure for the slightly derisive indifference with which the campaign against the Catholics, begun by Blaine and Grant, has been received by the public. Politics has, it must be confessed, sunk to a low level in any country in which a greater part of it consists in the dissemination and examination of "charges"; but the very fact that it does so largely consist of them proves that their low tone arises from the low tone of the men who conduct them, and that the first step in reform is the weeding out, by means of just such a process of investigation and exposure as we are now going through, and have been going through for the last four years, of our whole crop of rascals.

Like all other political arts, that of making "charges" is liable to great abuse, and there are some signs already of a disposition to cultivate the manufacture, very much like that of "outrages," in cold blood. The only interest in the matter which the general public has is in knowing whether the accusations are true or not; but to the political managers it makes less difference whether they are true than whether they are difficult to answer. For their purposes a vague charge, which it is difficult to reduce to specifications, and therefore difficult to answer up and down, and which can on this very account be kept afloat for a long time, is often better than a charge which can be met and disposed of out of hand. It is obvious, too, that in the present campaign this sort of charge is a weapon now more likely to be found in the hands of the Republicans than of the Democrats. The latter have no need to manufacture capital of this kind, because the recent history of the Republicans has furnished them with a series of scandals of which the proof is always easily attainable and the facts undeniable. If the Democrats were to merely publish a list of the Republican politicians, North and South, Cabinet officers, internal-revenue collectors, postmasters, gaugers, weighers, and tide-waiters who, during the past eight years, have been either impeached, indicted, investigated, removed, reprimanded, or so thoroughly "exposed" as to be obliged to retire from public life, the list would constitute a rogues' gallery whose length would startle the scoundrels themselves. The Republicans, however, have little or no ammunition of this kind. The Democrats have been out of power for nearly twenty years, and have consequently been deprived of all those means for corruption of which the Republicans have made such good use. For this reason, the Republicans are rather at their wit's end to know how to meet the charges brought against them by their enemies; and it is to be expected that they will take refuge in accusations of a much vaguer sort. And this we find to be the case. The "intimidation" of negroes, the general "disloyalty" of the party, the "identity" of the present Democratic party with the Democratic party which "brought on the war," the complicity of its present leaders in the frauds of Tammany Hall, and, finally, the general "cussedness" of all Democrats, their moral degradation, liking for liquor, antipathy to "good men," and fondness for brawling, fighting, and general deviltry, are the charges now generally employed; and it must be confessed that they are rather stale when compared with those on the other side.

We have been led to this train of reflection by looking over a "campaign edition" of the *Times*, which is the only Republican paper of prominence in the East which has gone into the present campaign with positive fervor. The "campaign edition" consists almost entirely of "charges," most of them rather vague, but to strengthen these it brings forward and puts into shape

those against Mr. Tilden in a more complete and circumstantial way than they have ever been brought forward before, and which shows that it considers them an unanswerable reply to the bribery, corruption, and fraud which have been proved to be so rife in the Republican "machine." These charges against Mr. Tilden deserve some attention, because they affect the character of a man who, it is not at all unlikely, will be for four years President of the country. They are supposed to go to the root of his character, and to show him to be not merely unfit for public life but for a decent position of any kind. They are said, in fact, to show his whole career to be one of chicane, fraud, and robbery, and to exhibit him as only differing from a man like Fisk, Jr., or Jay Gould in not having openly thrown off all restraint. We have carefully examined the principal one of these charges, in fact, the only one brought forward in a tangible form, which relates to the St. Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad, and find that it rests on these facts:

In 1859, some seventeen years ago, there was a Western railroad, called the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad, which got into difficulties, and could not pay the interest on its bonds. The bondholders determined to foreclose the mortgages under which the bonds were issued and reorganize the road. They accordingly appointed Mr. Tilden and several other gentlemen, who were selected on account of their knowledge of law or their skill in railroad matters, to do the business for them. These gentlemen, forming what was called the "Purchasing Committee" of the road, bought the road in at a foreclosure sale, and sold it again to a new reorganized company, receiving in return new securities, which they were to distribute among their principals on the basis of agreements made with them. They issued these new securities to the old creditors as long as any creditors appeared to claim them. There were at the end of these proceedings a number of securities still undistributed, which the Purchasing Committee divided among themselves, either for their services or for other reasons satisfactory to the parties concerned. It does not appear that there was any concealment of these facts, or any complaint made by anybody to whom Mr. Tilden or his co-purchasers stood in the relation of trustees.

Indeed, so far from this being the case, the Purchasing Committee, while having under their agreements the right to exclude any persons from the benefits of the reorganization after June, 1861, took no advantage of this right, but admitted claimants down to 1868, and have never excluded anybody. Besides this, they say that, in purchasing the road in their own name, they assumed heavy liabilities, some of which are still outstanding; that they performed many services for which they could get no remuneration except from the surplus in their hands; that the whole remuneration arising from this surplus would not pay each member of this Committee at the outside three-quarters or one per cent. of the nominal amount of the securities which passed through the hands of the Committee—a small remuneration; that the net result of the whole operation was to greatly benefit the road, advancing the securities from twice to eight times as much as they were worth before.

The present managers of the road, who are not the persons who employed Mr. Tilden, and have, so far as it appears, no relation with him of any kind, now make a claim upon him and the members of the Committee for an account, to which he and the other members reply that it is none of their business. One of the members of the Committee has very frankly told the plaintiffs that he does not pretend to understand the legal rights of the matter, that he has a number of the bonds, and is perfectly willing to surrender them if ordered to do so by any competent authority. The only question apparently involved in the case is one purely legal, whether there is any relation of principal and agent or trustee and beneficiary existing between the Purchasing Committee and the road as it at present exists which authorizes an accounting between them, and the litigation is of a kind to which any lawyer might unavoidably become a party. The road says there is; Mr. Tilden and the other members of the Committee say there is not, and naturally decline to give up their books. It is obvious that in doing this they simply act so as to guard their own rights, for it must be remembered that they admit the existence of persons to whom they did stand in the relation of agents; and if they have any property in their possession for which they owe any account, it may be to these principals that they owe it, and if they do not want to pay it twice over to two different sets of people, they must resist with every means in their power the claim now made upon them. There are no *indicia* of fraud about the case, and, so far as appears, its use by Republican organs, in its present unsettled state, to prove Mr. Tilden a railroad "robber" or "shark," is a scandalous abuse of the power of the press.

We have gone into this "charge" at considerable length, because it illustrates the straits to which the Republicans have reduced themselves for campaign powder. In the present campaign, all the benefit that can be extracted from "charges" will be reaped by the Democrats, who can prove by undeniable evidence a corruption in the dominant party of the most gigantic extent, widespread throughout all the departments of Government, and practically encouraged by its head. The Republicans are perfectly entitled, if they can do it, to show that under Hayes this sort of thing will come to an end, that he will elevate and purify the public service and redeem the reputation of his party; they have a perfect right to show, if they can, that he will, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of all the chiefs of his own party, reform the civil service, and that he will bring about resumption in 1879, and that the Democrats have the disadvantage of struggling with an inflation element in their own party. But they will do well to be very cautious in their use of "charges," because, if the campaign were only a question of these, there can be no doubt in any honest man's mind that the party would be driven out of power in a storm of disgust.

THE CONDITION OF THE NAVY.

II.—NAVY YARDS AND SUPPLIES.

THE management of navy yards and its effect on the *personnel* of the navy are matters of deep interest to the public, and yet there are few subjects on which such ignorance and indifference are displayed. The promulgation of the political doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils" was the commencement of a change in navy-yard administration which has gradually developed into a system, most pernicious in its effects, having now the force of long-established custom. Theoretically, navy-yard administration consists of a representative of each bureau of the Department (usually a captain or commander in rank) in immediate charge of all that pertains to that bureau, under the supreme control of a commandant (usually a rear-admiral or commodore.) The arrangement would be admirable if the orders of the Department really were issued by or received the scrutiny or attention of the Secretary or any other controlling head. This not being the case, it is itself faulty, since the individual chiefs of bureaux often act inharmoniously and sometimes in opposition to each other's purposes and wishes. The consequence is lack of responsibility, confusion, and jealousy; the result, waste of money and inefficiency. But the faultiness of the theory sinks into insignificance when compared with the abuses in practice. "Wherever a navy yard is located, a member of Congress, whose constituency is located in that vicinity and district, has, in many respects, the command of that navy yard. . . . The commandant and other officials connected with it . . . have little or nothing to say about the taking on or the discharging of master-workmen, of foremen, or other mechanics. . . . The member of Congress or a committee of the party in power regulates the appointment, admission, and discharge of the mechanics and workmen," and, in fact, all labor of every kind. This political control is carried to such an extent that the navy yards are commonly referred to as "Sargent's yard," "Platt's yard," etc.; and, incredible as it may appear, it is even exercised in the selection of persons from whom the sailors *must* buy their "little luxuries," such as "fresh bread, fruit," etc. Such is the unanimous opinion of those who are in the best position to judge, although expressed in a variety of ways and generally with less candor. The Congressman controls in order to secure his re-election and enrich his friends; to accomplish these objects, he has resorted to divers methods of maintaining his hold on the "workers." The "eight-hour law" was passed solely through the influence of navy-yard employés, who receive for eight hours' detention and idleness the same wages paid skilful

and faithful workmen for ten hours' hard work in private establishments. Large sums of money have been appropriated for carrying on unimportant, often useless works, in order to furnish pay for pretended employment of political supporters. It has been asserted that any determined effort on the part of naval officers to remove the yards from political control will be met by reduction of their number and pay; and it is believed by the well-informed that no appropriation could be obtained without the aid and influence of those Congressmen whose personal interests are involved.

Under the present system, the commandant and his subordinates have no power to punish or dismiss, consequently idleness, insolence, theft, waste, and destruction of Government property go unpunished. Mechanics and others are selected for employment or retention not on account of fitness but for partisan services, and are very frequently employed on work of which they have no knowledge whatever. In brief, the appropriation for the maintenance of the *matériel* of the navy is diverted to the base purpose of bribing voters to support the dominant party. The system was commenced by Democrats, has been skilfully improved on by Republicans, and will be continued by whichever party is in power unless the "reform element" can obtain control. The chief reason why it is not more vigorously exposed is that a certain proportion of the patronage is given to the Randalls and others of the minority as a reward for their blindness.

"The abuses of navy yards are so manifold that chapters could be written and still the subject left unfinished." Under the existing political system, the construction and repair of vessels, etc., by navy-yard labor cost almost double the amount for which they could be done under contract, although navy-yard work is more satisfactory. "Contracts have been given frequently of late to build ships, place machinery in them, etc., '*with the facilities of the yard*,' which leaves the contractor a wide margin in making demands by which a large portion of the work is done by the Government that he, by his contract, should do." This is certainly an ingenious combination of the worst features of both systems, in order that the favorite may get his "fat" contract and the Congressman his patronage. The result is excessive expenditure for inferior work; and the navy proper is robbed of its appropriations while being burdened with abortions. Among existing causes of extravagance there is one which is "palpably absurd." This is the multiplication of mechanical shops, so that each bureau of the yard may have one of each kind. Thus we find in each yard "half-a-dozen blacksmith-shops, carpenter-shops, machine-shops, etc., . . . with an idle foreman in each and not a workman in any; when by a common-sense arrangement (having but one shop of each sort) a great deal of work could be got out of the same money which now yields nothing" From page 28 of the document we condense the following, and urge its careful consideration:

"The separate branches in the navy yards are besides very expensive organizations. Draughtsmen, clerks, writers, messengers, office laborers, and the like have been greatly multiplied since 1860, and are greatly in excess of the real wants of the service. . . . The duties in the several corps are no more difficult and arduous now than they were in 1860, and it would be well to return to the civil-service lists of the navy of that year as a guide for reductions" afloat and ashore. "Officers have been taught to write, . . . and there are many positions where the officer should himself keep the books and do the little writing required in his office. . . . Nearly every head of a corps at a navy yard and on shipboard has a largely-increased *personnel*, a separate office, and conducts business with a seemingly entire disregard of proper economy and the true interests of the public service. . . . These civil appointments and employments have been for a number of years apparently recognized and sanctioned by direct appropriations by Congress, and in some instances *members of Congress, representing districts in which navy yards are located, have tried to have appropriations of this character increased beyond the submitted estimates of the Department*."

It is needless to quote further evidence of necessity for reform. The remedy unanimously suggested is: Restore to commandants and their *naval* subordinates the absolute power of appointment and discharge that has been usurped by Congressmen. Hold them strictly responsible for the quality and quantity of work performed. Consolidate all mechanical shops into one of each branch in each yard. Create permanent corps of foremen, selected for ability and character, who shall retain their positions for life or during good behavior, and be suspended or dismissed only on the recommendation of a board similar in organization to summary courts-martial. Abolish all so-called watchmen, and turn over the police duties to the marine corps, which would then become a valuable adjunct of the navy. There is no reform of the civil service more needed, and none that will require a higher standard of patriotism to accomplish.

The Committee also solicited opinions as to the relative importance of the different yards and the necessity of their maintenance. On these subjects there is great divergence of views; but the majority seem to favor the abolition and sale of the navy yards at New London and Boston or Kittery; the reduction of that at Washington to a manufacturing establishment for machinery, ordnance, and ground-tackle; the retention and improvement of those at New York, Norfolk, Pensacola, Mare Island, and League Island. New York, Norfolk, and Mare Island are considered the most important; the first, for its resources; the second, its capacity, climate, and position; the last, on account of its being the only one on the Pacific coast. These three yards are deemed ample for existing needs of the service, now reduced to a minimum; but in the event of a war, even with Spain, they would afford very limited facilities for the outfit and repair of an efficient navy. The greatest deficiency seems to be in dry-docks, there being only three in all the yards, while there are many dock-yards in Europe with double this number in each.

Theoretically, supplies for the navy are obtained under the well-known contract system; practically, they are procured from or through a "ring," in combination with a coterie of Congressmen who control the Secretary, the Department, and the yards. The conviction that frauds are practised and gross abuses prevail in the purchase and inspection of supplies is almost universal among naval officers. Why, then, do they not seek the evidence and expose the guilty? If after six months of rigid scrutiny into the official acts of the Secretary and his associates by two committees of an Opposition Congress no positive evidence has been obtained which would convict them of crime, is it to be supposed that their naval subordinates could procure such evidence? Without it, no accusation could be sustained, and therefore none has been made. The following, from page 7 of the document, affords an insight into the methods of obtaining supplies and the helplessness of officers to prevent abuses: "I have heard it stated many, very many times, and with semblance of truth, that officers of the navy have inspected stores and material furnished by contractors, and also inspected work performed, and rejected them, and refused payment on account of not coming up to the standard as specified in contracts. The Secretary of the Navy has, notwithstanding this, ordered the stores and material to be received and payment made for work performed. But in these cases it has been as often alleged, and with semblance of truth, too, that members of Congress, friends of the contractors, press upon and force the Secretary to this action." There is a solemn earnestness in this which commands attention. The remedy suggested is: To receive bids from manufacturers *only* who are willing to guarantee the articles furnished, and who should be excluded from all future contracts if they do not come up to the standard; to have all purchased articles and work done outside of the yards inspected by a board of naval *line* officers, aided by experts from the staff corps, whose decision shall be final in all cases where the articles or work is rejected.

In connection with the silence of officers as to the real condition of the navy and their failure to ferret out abuses and corrupt practices, the attention of Congress is called to the provisions of Sections 1,442 and 1,557 of the Revised Statutes, which confer on the Secretary the absolute power to place any officer on "furlough"; in other words, to inflict the severest punishment short of dismissal for an *indefinite period* without being required to assign his reasons or account to any one in any way for his action. Such a prerogative conferred on any individual in any other country would be cited as an instance of despotic government, and held up to the scorn of our "free and independent people."

AUSTRIA'S EMBARRASSMENTS.

PARIS, July 28, 1876.

THE difficulties of Turkey are of a double kind. I showed in my last letter the character of the traditional antagonism of Russia and Turkey: how the Russians are drawn towards the Christians by their religion, towards Constantinople by their ambition. The study of the relations of Turkey with her European neighbors would, however, not be complete if, besides the Czar, we did not consider Hungary and Austria. It is a source of perpetual astonishment to the reader of the great historical works of D'Aubigné and De Thou to see what importance was attached in past times to the alliance or to the enmity of the Grand Sultan. What even now makes Hungary so important is the memory of her long and continual struggles against the Turks. There was a time when the whole valley of the Danube might have become a possession of the Osmanlis. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was entrusted with the defence of this valley, and, so to speak, the protection of all Europe against the infidels. Vienna and Pesth were the vanguards of civilization against the infidels. Thus Austria was created and formed not around a distinct nationality; on the contrary, it became a nucleus of Christian nationalities. What now makes Austria's weakness was once her strength: Italians, Germans,

Slavs belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church, Magyars, Croats, Bohemians, Poles—all were united in one common idea: the defence of the Christian faith, the defence of the great valley of the Danube.

It must not be thought, however, that a complete and perfect union was always maintained among the confederates. Even in the XVIth century traces of the modern divisions can be found; but times always came when the sentiment of a common danger threw a veil over the natural passions of the Latins, the Magyars, the Slavs, the Germans. As the sentiment of this danger became weaker, these passions became stronger. The world was astonished to find, in 1849, how much hatred was felt towards the Magyars by the Slavonic populations; Jellachich was among the most dangerous enemies of the so-called Hungarian independence. When Austria was defeated at Sadowa, and was turned out of the German Confederation by the hand of Prussia, she abandoned the system of centralization in a moment of reaction against German ideas, and invented the system of dualism, which makes two empires in one empire—*imperia in imperio*. Hungary became the true leader of the new Austria, and the consequence of it has been this: the German provinces have been more and more strongly drawn towards the successful empire founded by Bismarck and the Hohenzollern. Vienna is, in many respects, more Borussian than Borussia: the press of Vienna is in the hands of enterprising Jews, who cannot help being more attracted towards the enemies of Ultramontanism than towards the old Austrian party, which, impotent as it is, still represents ideas, regrets, and hopes which are adverse to the modern German *Kultur*. The ascendancy of Hungary has not been without its inconveniences. The Magyars, with their usual pride and love of expenditure, have plunged the Trans-Leithanian part of the empire into debt; new taxes have to be paid to meet the interest on this extravagant debt; the Slavs are discontented, not only in Bohemia, but in all the southern and eastern parts of the old Hungarian kingdom.

The state of things at Vienna and at Pesth is such that a friend of mine, who knows Austria as well as possible, said to me, more than six months ago, when the small match of Herzegovina was burning: "This Eastern Question which is rekindled is in reality directed against Austria more than against Turkey. Turkey will always get out of it, as she has done before, by fire and sword, and by the help of the jealousies of the Great Powers; but Austria seems to me very unwise in helping or seeming to help the discontented parties of the Turkish Empire. If the war breaks out, she will be more endangered than anybody; if she makes an intervention in favor of the Christians oppressed by the Turks, she will rouse the enthusiasm of the Slavonians in her own empire, but these Slavonic populations can hardly be contented without a derangement of the dualistic system invented by Beust; the Hungarians will do as much as is in their power to preserve their ascendancy at Pesth, and will therefore resist all political movements which would be too favorable to the Slavonians." Some time ago, before the insurrection of Servia, at the time of the so-called Andrássy Note, it was generally believed that Austria intended to occupy Bosnia; but at that time nobody expected any energetic action from England. Austria allowed herself to be dragged unwillingly into the agreement which ended in the Gortchakoff Memorandum. It was clear that if Russia was to occupy Bulgaria with the permission of Germany, the best thing Austria could do was to occupy Bosnia and Servia. Since that time great changes have taken place. Austria had not rejoiced much in the idea of a joint occupation of the northern provinces of Turkey; she remembered still the drama of the Danish Duchies: she had entered there also with the German brothers, and what had the end been? Sadowa, and the final annexation of the Duchies to Prussia.

The German Chancellor did not seem unwilling now that, the Gortchakoff Memorandum failing in its effects (and it could but fail and was intended to fail), the Russians and Austrians should make a sort of *execution* of Turkey, just as the Duchies had been *executed*. He probably foresaw that this execution would end either in a war between Austria and Turkey or in such territorial changes that Germany could make new propositions concerning the German provinces of Austria. The position of Prussia was excellent; she remained as a witness and a judge at the same time; offering advice to both parties, biding her time, the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. The position of Austria was not so clear; her finances were in a miserable state; she had not yet got over the effects of the famous "Krach"; her army was reorganized, but the various races of the empire were secretly or openly inimical. Austria signed the Memorandum with some reluctance, as a man who is hard pressed for money signs a bill.

The resistance of England was an unexpected pleasure for Austria—a pleasure which was all the sweeter that she had to conceal it. Beust, who had long waited for an opportunity to extricate himself from the close alliance of the Northern Powers, has at last found it; he has become a *persona grata* in London, and has not been without some influence on the unexpected determination of Disraeli and of Lord Derby. The refusal of England to enter as second fiddle into the concert of the Emperors, and the presence of a formidable English fleet in the Bay of Besika, has given an entirely new aspect to the Eastern Question. The Sultan and his Christian subjects have been left, so to speak, in a ring which nobody will enter. What the result will be it is not difficult to foresee. Once more the Turkish provinces will be overrun with a soldiery half maddened by religious passions. The unfortunate Christians are not only left to themselves, they are divided among themselves. The inheritance of the Sick Man is coveted by races which are hostile to each other; the Latins of Roumania as well as the Hellenes have shown the greatest indifference to the sufferings of the Slavonians. If ever the Turks are obliged to abandon their supremacy, the difficulty will be to find a suitable plan for the division of the provinces between the three races. When the kingdom of Greece was founded it was made too small; Thessaly and Macedonia, which ought naturally to belong to it, are still in the hands of the Turks. The Greeks have long looked upon the Russians as their natural protectors; but since the Crimean war, since the insurrection of Crete especially, they have become afraid of their patrons. They hope some day to possess Constantinople, and look upon Byzantium as their natural prey: while the unfortunate Bulgarians are treated with the most cruel severity, while the Servians are fighting against hope, the young sovereign of Greece is quietly travelling in Europe, and can be seen in all the theatres and museums. Greece is folding her arms and remains absolutely inactive.

Roumania is now in possession of the lower part of the Danube; the young Hohenzollern who has become its ruler is said to be intelligent; he is doing his best to introduce civilization in Moldavia and Wallachia, but his new state has not much to expect from war. It is a creation of diplomacy; it can only be strengthened by diplomacy. While the Slavonians are fighting, Charles of Hohenzollern is drawing notes and memorandums; he wants a more complete autonomy, the right to coin money, and the mouth of the Danube. Diplomacy hardly condescends to occupy itself at present with these pretensions. The whole interest of the Eastern drama is, therefore, centred in the struggle between the Servians and Montenegrins on one side, and the Turks on the other. Even Servia and Montenegro do not seem to be perfectly united, and we may expect to see the princes of these two countries make what is called in diplomacy their *separate* peace with their Mussulman lord.

The Servians thought that they could play the same part which Piedmont has played in Italy; but they have found no ally. France is impotent and cannot help them. The Government of Belgrade, in its terrible enterprise, has been obliged to accept the services of men who are considered in St. Petersburg as revolutionists. Prince Gortchakoff said not long ago: "Greatly as I like the oppressed Christians, I like one thing more—it is the throne of my august master." General Tchernaieff is considered by the rulers of Russia as a dangerous character; the young men who have been placed in power at Belgrade have most of them been educated in Paris, and have brought to their native country the jargon of the Quartier Latin. The lady who joined the Servian army in the sensational dress of an Amazon, has been put forward as a living representative of the Revolution.

So it happens that all is joined against the insurgents—the army of the Sultan, the fanaticism of the religious Mussulmans, the English fleet off Besika, the terrors of the conservative governments, the indifference of some, and the hatred of others. And notwithstanding all these reasons, the Servians have begun and are continuing the struggle, merely counting on the vague aspirations and sympathies of the Panslavist party in Austria and in Russia.

Panslavism is like a dream which cannot get embodied: that it will some day find its visible and tangible expression I fully believe. Germanism has come out of the clouds. There was a time when it was said that the French were masters of the land, the English of the water, and the Germans of the air; but this can hardly be said now: the age of the professors has been succeeded by the age of the soldiers. Grossdeutschland does not wear now the small cap of a drunken student, it wears the helmet of the ancient Romans. Panslavism is not come out of its first embryonic state; and though we live in a fast world of railways and telegrams, it may take centuries to give its definite shape to the huge monster which covers the eastern part of Europe. We may not live to see this new civilization, which, in the opinion of the Panslavist writers, will supersede our old and effete civilization; and perhaps we shall not even live to see the Crescent off the walls of Saint Sophia and the Turks consigned to Asia Minor.

Correspondence.

THE "GROVELLING MORTALS'" VIEW OF THE SILVER QUESTION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: After reading your very severe strictures on the advocates of the retention of silver as money, I cannot refrain from asking:

First: Whether the evidence is clear that the present relative value of silver and gold is all due to a *fall* in silver, or whether it is not in some measure due to a *rise* in gold?

If the whole world were to demonetize silver, it would undoubtedly fall very greatly in value, not only in relation to gold, but in relation to commodities generally.

But it is quite as certain that gold, having the whole work to perform for which both metals were before used, would greatly appreciate in value in relation to all commodities; and to the extent that the demonetization of silver is carried, to that extent is there a tendency to appreciate gold and with it to augment the burden of all debts payable in gold.

Second: When our national debt was created, it was well known to all the world that it was payable in the two metals, at the rate of 371¼ grains of one and 22.23 of the other to the dollar. Suppose, instead of being an agreement to pay coin, it had been an agreement to pay a given sum in cotton at ten cents a pound or wool at fifty cents a pound, then if it should appear before the debt was extinguished that we could produce or procure cotton at ten cents a pound more advantageously to us than wool at fifty cents, could our creditors in that event justly claim the right to payment in wool exclusively, and would it indicate moral turpitude on our part not, at their bidding, to drop out the cotton and make use only of wool, and by so doing not only pay in the more valuable commodity, but contribute directly to the enhancement of the value of that commodity?

That must be *very* high moral perception that sees only equity in such a claim. It is *so* high that it is clear above rational action, and becomes so entirely unselfish as to partake of the angelic to a degree not likely to be followed by grovelling mortals. A. J. W.

Marietta, O., August 12, 1876.

[First: The evidence is not clear that the change in the relation of silver to gold is "all" due to a fall in silver. But that it is mainly due to it is provable by reference to the only standard we have of the value of either gold or silver—the prices of commodities. If the whole world were to demonetize silver, it would, doubtless, for a while raise the value of gold, but the annual production of gold is still very large, and the tendency after the first pinch would be downward.

Second: The case suggested by our correspondent is what is called on the Stock Exchange a "put" in cotton or wool, or, in other words, a bet that on a certain day cotton or wool will be selling above or below a certain rate. It would, therefore, not indicate any greater "moral turpitude" than appears in every gambling transaction to pay in cotton or wool at the rate agreed upon. That our correspondent does not perceive the difference between a speculative transaction of this kind and a promise to pay in coin is, however, probably a result of the confusing moral effect of the prolonged use of irredeemable paper-money. These remarks apply also to the subjoined letter of Mr. Luke Palmer, jr.; and for the benefit of both gentlemen we have composed the following short catechism, containing a simple lesson both in casuistry and currency:

Q. If you sold a piece of land, and took the note of the purchaser at two years, would you be content with his promise to pay in "something or other"?

A. No, because in that case I should not know whether I would receive for my land as much as it was worth to me when I sold it.

Q. Suppose the purchaser offered to pay you in cotton or wool, at a certain rate per pound, would you accept it?

A. No, not unless I was disposed to speculate in cotton or wool. If I were in the habit of doing so, I might take a "put" in either of those commodities, in the expectation of a rise in them before the day of payment; but being a plain, industrious man, with a family to support, and entirely unused to speculation, I should refuse payment in these commodities at any price he would be likely to fix.

Q. Your objection to them, then, would be the uncertainty as to their value—that is, their tendency to rise and fall in price from day to day?

A. Certainly.

Q. In what, then, would you insist on having him promise to pay you?

A. In coin.

Q. In what coin?

A. Gold or silver.

Q. Why not iron or copper?

A. Because they, too, like cotton and wool, fluctuate greatly in value in relation to other commodities, and would leave me in the same state of uncertainty.

Q. Your notion is, then, that gold and silver are absolutely steady in value?

A. Not at all; but I know they are and have been for two hundred years steadier in value, both in relation to each other and to other commodities, than any other substances of equal durability, divisibility, and transportability.

Q. So you care nothing about "coin" unless it has greater steadiness in value than any other commodity?

A. Nothing. Why should I? Rapidly and heavily fluctuating coin would give me no more certainty than wool or cotton or corn.

Q. If, then, you part with your land for a promise of gold or silver coin, what do you call it?

A. A sale.

Q. And if you part with it for a promise of cotton or wool or iron, what do you call it?

A. A speculation. In the one case, I have all the certainty possible in human transactions as to what I shall receive back; in the other case, I have none.

Q. How do you account for "A. J. W.'s" and Mr. Luke Palmer's not seeing this distinction which is so clear to you?

A. I ascribe it to their long familiarity with irredeemable paper. From seeing the value of this money go up and down, and seeing men speculate in the very standard of value as in cotton or wool, they have come to look on *all* transactions as speculations, and see no more wrong in making a profit out of the depreciation of the medium of exchange than out of the rise or fall of merchandise or stocks. They evidently take and give "puts and calls" in legal-tenders, or in gold measured in legal-tenders—operations which I look on as immoral and dangerous.

Q. Suppose, if you had agreed to take payment for your land in gold or silver coin, on account of their long-established steadiness, and in the interval before the note became due the silver suddenly fell enormously in value, so that $1,000 of it would only bring $750, and your debtor were to seize this opportunity of paying you in silver, what would be your opinion of his conduct?

A. I should consider it fraudulent, because he would be giving me less in reality than he promised to give me and than he knew I expected when I made the sale, though I might not have any legal remedy. A promise, as is well known, consists in the state of mind of the promisor and promisee, and not simply in the form of words they use.

Q. If your debtor had given you notice that he would not pay you in silver when silver was high, what would you think of his withdrawing the notice and making preparations to pay you in it after it had fallen?

A. I should consider it fraudulent, as before.

Q. Is not this trick of evading obligations by making the same name cover two different things a well-known one, familiar to moralists and police-officers?

A. It is.

Q. When a government does a thing of this kind, is it any less heinous than when individuals do it, as these two gentlemen seem to suppose?

A. On the contrary, it is more so. An individual is often the victim of his necessities, and may have special defects of character, while a government is supposed to embody the highest morality and capacity of the whole people.

Q. What rule in the interpretation of treaties and statutes has been based on this doctrine?

A. The rule that a government is always to be supposed to intend what is just and honest, whatever ambiguity there may be in its language.

Q. You have read Mr. Palmer's assertion that the national credit would not be damaged by paying the public debts in a depreciated currency, because "its ability to fulfil its contracts" would remain the same as ever. What is the error in that assertion?

A. The error lies in the assumption made by all the inflationists, that ability to pay and paying are the same thing, and that therefore, as they say, as long as your notes are "based" on property you may issue as many as you please, though you have no intention of ever redeeming them. He has overlooked the fact that ability to pay may support a private man's credit, because the courts will make him pay; but that the foundations of public credit are wholly moral, beeause a government need not pay unless it pleases. The richer a cheating nation is, therefore, the worse its credit becomes. Robbers could not get credit though they had a cave full of gold; and the more means a repudiating state boasts the more the honest portion of mankind is disgusted.

Q. What remedy would you advise for the loose notions of public morality displayed in these two letters, and the widespread disposition to sneer at strict fidelity to obligations as merely a celestial view of duty, and the readiness even of clergymen and professors to condone political fraud and jobbery?

A. All good influences, of course, are needed to produce any change for the better; but I should think among the first would be the disappearance from circulation of all unfulfilled Government promises, and the introduction into schools, and colleges, and especially divinity schools, of more practice in the application of the lessons of morality to the ordinary problems of commercial and political life.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The great influence which the *Nation* has in moulding the political opinions of its readers renders its friends solicitous that it should be upon the right side of every question.

For this reason, and because of the opposition of the *Nation* to silver money, I have presumed to present a brief argument and ask a few questions on this subject, in the hope that a letter from a Western man may not be uninteresting.

There is a class of men who desire that the silver dollar should be made a legal tender in payment of all debts both public and private, who are not in any sense inflationists, repudiators of the national debt, or friends of the greenback.

They recognize fully the distinction between a promise to pay on Government paper and actual payment in coin. And in the abstract question whether it is better for governments to adopt a single or a double standard of values, they would vote for the former, and probably for the *gold* standard.

But, under the peculiar circumstances in which our Government is placed, they ask that the trade dollar may be remonetized, and the reasons they assign are worthy of consideration.

Up to 1873, the silver dollar and the fractional pieces coined prior to 1854 were a legal tender in payment of all sums, while the silver coins below the dollar coined in 1854 and since were a legal tender for sums not exceeding five dollars.

In 1873, silver was deprived of its legal-tender qualities except in sums not exceeding five dollars.

It thus appears that when our national debt was created silver was a legal tender for all sums, and it was optional with the nation to pay its debt in gold or silver, the agreement being to pay in *coin*. In 1873, when silver was deprived of its legal-tender qualities in payment of large sums, the trade dollar was more valuable than the dollar in gold. This fact prevented any strong opposition on the part of the people to the gold standard, for at that time they would have chosen to pay our debt in gold. Silver had, however, been decreasing in value for several years, and it was no longer a mere conjecture among speculators and bondholders that silver dollars would soon become less valuable than gold dollars.

Realizing this fact fully, and knowing how much the value of their bonds depended on the value of the legal tender, they were not slow in using all their powerful influence in favor of the exclusive gold standard, and in 1873 their design was successfully accomplished.

Under these circumstances, the question presented to us for solution is, Would it be honest now to pay our debt with silver? I think no one will hesitate to say that previous to the passage of the Legal-tender Act of 1873 it would have been perfectly honest to pay our debt in either gold or silver, and that now we might with equal propriety pay with the cheaper metal were it not for the Legal-tender Act referred to.

Suppose a man should buy a farm on credit, agreeing to pay therefor in one year the sum of $1,000, or 2,000 bushels of corn, at his own option, would any one blame him for paying in corn worth say forty cents per bushel? Nay, would not men look upon him as foolish beyond all explanation if he paid the $1,000 when $800 would have bought the corn? And would it not be honest in the strictest sense? It was a part of the bargain that the grantor of the farm should run the risk of corn being worth less than fifty cents. So in the case of the purchasers of bonds; they had notice at the time that both gold and silver were legal tenders, and they expected the Government to pay with the cheapest metal.

They did not expect to be paid in greenbacks, although they, too, have been legal tenders since 1862, because they were not legal tender for that purpose, and, besides, were themselves notes which had to be redeemed, the "one dollar" stamped upon the greenback being, as some one has said, as though a milkman should print upon his tickets, "This is a quart of milk."

The only objection, then, to the *honesty* of paying our debt in silver is that Congress said in 1873, We will pay in gold.

But this promise was no part of the contract with the bondholders; indeed, it lacked one of the essential elements which enter into every contract—viz., there was no consideration for the promise. Instead of a contract, it resembles more strongly a promise to make a gift to the bondholders on each dollar of the national debt of the difference between a gold and silver dollar, and that, too, by Congress, the relation of which to the people may be likened to that of a guardian to his ward. What would be thought of a promise by a guardian to pay from the funds of his ward more money than his contract called for? In the case above supposed of the purchase of a farm on credit, let us suppose, further, that the purchaser dies before making payment: would it not be regarded as a gross breach of his trust, and an outrageous violation of his duty to the heirs, if the administrator should pay the $1,000 for the farm instead of paying in corn worth only $800, the agreement being, as we have seen, that he might pay in either?

A promise without consideration to pay in either particular one would be in reckless disregard of the interest of the estate, and would be revocable by the maker at any time before execution.

I suppose it is fair to apply these elementary legal propositions to the question, for our laws, at least in theory, are based on the most complete justice.

Congress, as the guardian of this nation, not only has no right to give away our public money, but ought in justice to us to revoke any promise to do so. In this view of the case, it is no doubt deplorable that the Legal-tender Act of 1873 was passed; but the injury done to the bondholders by revoking that promise given by Congress without consideration and the violation of its trust, is in no degree comparable with the immense injustice done to our taxpaying citizens by allowing it to remain on the statute-books.

The fact that such a course would reduce the value of the greenback should not affect the question, because a reduction under such circumstances does not indicate any diminution in the credit of the nation—*i.e.*, of its ability to fulfil its contracts—but only a decreased value in the commodity in which payment is to be made, similar to the reduction in value of notes given by wealthy men when the greenback was first made a legal tender.

This reduction in value would merely indicate diminution in the magnitude of our debt. Our ability to pay would be increased, and hence our credit would improve.

Luke Palmer, Jr.

Burlington, Iowa, August 10, 1876.

A DISINTERESTED OPINION ON THE GENEVA AWARD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The able and manly presentation of the *Alabama* case which has appeared from time to time in your columns, and the skill with which you have exposed the sophistries of those who advocate a disposition of the award never contemplated by the Tribunal, entitle you to the thanks of every lover of his country's honor. You have with the utmost fairness freely admitted communications from those representing both sides of the question. It appears to me that no one can have read the arguments with which you have sustained your position without coming to the conclusion that they are on the side of what is just and right. The *Nation* has added to the debt which the community already owes it for its staunch advocacy in this instance also of what must commend itself to the approval of all honorable men.

I can uphold your course in regard to the *Alabama* claims with the greater disinterestedness and freedom because I am one of the war-premium men—that is, I am one of those who during a period of the war were obliged to pay extra rates of insurance, or war premiums, varying from time to time according to the danger, real or supposed, on vessels in which they had an interest, and which were exposed to capture by Confederate

cruisers. It is undoubtedly true that those days were very dark for the American shipowner. The Government whose flag his ships carried, and to which he clung, refusing to exchange it for that of a "neutral," and thereby to receive the advantages which "neutrals" then enjoyed, was unable to protect him, and he found himself compelled to run the risk of losing his property altogether, or to insure it at a premium which he could ill afford to pay. Nor was this the only loss which he had to bear. It is perfectly well known that American ships were then forced to accept much lower rates of freight than neutrals with no war risk to pay were able to obtain, so that while the latter, though inferior frequently to their American competitors, were loading rapidly, the former would lie idle at the wharves, or (fortunate if they could get it) accept a rate as much below that ruling as the war premium existing at the time. In many instances the instructions from the other side to shippers here were to ship only by neutrals, so that the American ship could not at times procure freight on any terms, however low.

It will be seen, then, that our merchant marine was at an enormous disadvantage during that period of the war when rebel cruisers like the *Alabama* and *Shenandoah* roamed unmolested over the high seas. Foreign ships of every class and nation reaped the benefit and enjoyed the carrying-trade. And will it not be conceded also, in view of this showing, that American shipowners not only paid the war premiums on their own property directly, but also, indirectly (looking at their diminished freights), those on shipments made by their vessels? Was not their case a very hard one? For, while the rest of the country on land was in a condition of comparative prosperity, the ship-owning interest was unprofitable and depressed—a state of things (leaving out the influences of tariff legislation) which was to a great extent brought about by dangers to which it was exposed on the ocean.

So much must be allowed; and it cannot be denied that the American shipowners bore these hardships with fortitude and resignation. But, deserving as we are in a general sense, crushed, crippled, and restricted as we have been by tariffs and protection and other adverse legislation, it would be better that every ship which "protection to American industry" has allowed to float had gone to the bottom under the guns of the *Alabama*, than that one dollar of this award, received by our Government as a trust for those whose claims were acknowledged to be just, should be misapplied.

It would be useless and presumptuous for me to recapitulate the arguments in favor of a just distribution of this fund which have already been presented by you in so exhaustive a manner. They would only lose, not gain, at my hands. But is not the question of the utmost importance to every American citizen, to him especially who welcomed the establishment of arbitration as a means of reconciling disputes between nations, and believed it to be an incalculable advance in the civilization of the world? Shall we strike a deadly blow at all this, and sustain our position by the quibbling argument (worthy only of the depraved moral nature of a Ben Butler) that the Court, having awarded a sum in satisfaction of "all claims," meant to designate claims of every kind submitted to the Tribunal, and not those which were finally admitted to be valid? Let us hope that this view may not prevail, but that the distribution of the *Alabama* fund may be in accordance with precedents already established, and, what is more important, in accordance with principles which should guide the conduct of nations as well as individuals.

A Payer of War Premiums.

New York, August 11, 1876.

Notes.

'MARIE DE MÉDICIS dans les Pays Bas, 1631–1638,' by Major Paul Henrard, has just been published by Baudry, Paris.——J. Munsell, of Albany, has in press a new edition of Mrs. Grant's 'Memoirs of an American Lady,' with a memoir of the author, Mrs. Anne Grant, by Gen. James Grant Wilson, and biographical and illustrative notes; also, a new edition of Doddridge's 'Notes on the Indian Wars of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia,' with a memoir of the author by his daughter.——A history of the origin and early days of *Notes and Queries*, by Mr. W. J. Thoms, its first editor, is now in course of publication in that paper.——T. Whittaker will publish the American edition of the Christian Evidence Society's new volume, 'The Credentials of Christianity.' The preface is written by the Chairman of the Society, the Earl of Harrowby, K.G. The same publisher will also bring out the two lectures on the 'Morals of Trade,' by Heber Newton, of the Anthon Memorial Church, which created no little stir when delivered. To each is added an appendix and numerous notes.——Professor Huxley is to be so short a time in this country that only a small part of the public can have any opportunity of hearing him. He is to give only three lectures (at Chickering Hall in this city) on September 18, 20, and 22. We understand that most of the tickets are already sold.

—Lord Byron's "romantic play *Sardanapalus*," as the play-bill has it, was produced last week at Booth's Theatre with great splendor, and an amount of faithfulness to historical detail rarely before seen, even on that stage. The scenery has been taken from Layard's 'Nineveh,' the costumes from sketches made in the British Museum, the weapons, banners, furniture, and other paraphernalia from sources equally good, the whole being provided with a Ninevesque drop curtain and music sufficiently Assyrian to seem so to an audience unprovided, as most theatrical audiences may be supposed to be, with "an ear." The arrangement of the play, as given at Booth's, is in four acts, the first covering pretty much, if not absolutely, the same ground as the first act of the tragedy itself, the second being occupied by a ballet, the third ending with the transformation of the king into a hero, and the fourth embracing the original fourth and fifth acts, the whole ending with a funeral pyre on a Titanic scale, surpassing the pyre in "Julius Cæsar" as that did an ordinary tar-barrel or clam-bake. It is hardly necessary to say that this production of the play, if it were the first time the deed had ever been done, might fairly be expected to cause Byron, if not to interfere with the proceedings, at least to turn in his grave, since he took the pains at the time of the first publication of the tragedy to warn the public that neither it, nor the 'Two Foscari,' nor 'Cain' were "composed with the most remote view to the stage," and announced his intention of not letting the managers "get hold on't." If this determination was, as it appears, serious, it was certainly wise, for a play more utterly unfitted to the stage has probably never been written. Byron did not call it a "romantic play" but a tragedy, and he purposely made its construction quite antique, preserving the "unities" as far as possible. The result is a long succession of dialogues rather than a play, and not very interesting dialogues at that; hardly any play of character, except in the scene between *Sardanapalus* and his wife; and a great quantity of stilted speeches which nobody cares to listen to. The play as brought out at Booth's is fairly acted, *Sardanapalus* being taken by Mr. F. C. Bangs, who has a little of the divine flame (though it does not burn brightly on a tallow dip like this part), and *Myrrha* by Mrs. Booth, whose acting was very creditable. It must be confessed that the play drags, and that it is a good deal easier to stand two than four acts. The first act and the ballet by themselves make a very enjoyable performance, and if the last two acts could be consolidated—as they certainly could—we should think the management would find their account in the change. The management, with all its realism, does not appear to be in favor of the new pronunciation of ancient languages, for all the actors insist on calling the king *Sardanapaylus* instead of *Sardanapahlus*, as they would if they were all recent gradnates of Harvard. It would be unfair to look at the representation as that of a play in the strict sense of the word, since it is as a spectacle that it appeals to the public taste, and it is as a spectacle and not a play that we think it might be improved.

—A correspondent writes us as follows: "In your article on silver (issue of August 12) you stated that the silver dollar, when legally demonetized in 1873, was worth $1 03 in gold. The *Evening Post*, the Cincinnati *Gazette* and *Commercial*, with many other papers, have made the same statement. It seems to rest upon some report of Dr. Linderman, director of United States Mints. During 1873 fine silver bars were worth in London less than 60*d.* per ounce, say 59¾*d.*, at the beginning of the year, and falling to 58*d.* at its close. The dollar contained 371¼ grains of silver—$\frac{371\frac{1}{4}}{480} \times 60d. = 46\frac{4}{10}d.$, or a little less than 94 cents in gold. I cannot understand how the quotation $1 03 in gold came to be given. Can you explain it?" The quotations do not come from Dr. Linderman, but from the market prices current. The mistake which our correspondent makes is that his calculations are founded on the supposition that the London price of silver is for silver 1000 fine; whereas it is for English standard 925 fine. The difference between 1000 fine and 925 fine is as near as possible 8 per cent. He thus makes the dollar 94 cents gold; this with 8 per cent. added is 101.52. Silver dollars (412½ *grains, our standard* 900 *fine*) were sold in February, 1873, and ruled at $1 02 *a* $1 03, as can be proved by the books of the specie dealers.

—After an interval of six years appears the surgical volume of Part II. of the 'Medical and Surgical History of the Rebellion,' prepared by Assistant-Surgeon George A. Otis. The two volumes, medical and surgical, of

Part I. were issued from the press in 1870; Part III. (on the lower extremities) is still in reserve; and the entire work will make six volumes of grand dimensions. Than this series no Government publication more creditable to the liberality of our national legislature or to American science has ever appeared. The learning, the industry, and, let us add here, the professional modesty of Surgeon Otis would do honor to the medical corps of any military establishment. The volume before us opens with Chapter VI., and is strictly a continuation of the preceding surgical volume of Part I., which treated of wounds of the head, face, neck, spine, and chest. Here we deal with wounds of the abdomen, pelvis, back (flesh wounds), and upper extremities. Surgeon Otis shows by tabular comparison that, according to the statistics of foreign wars—including the Crimean, Italian, Danish, Bohemian campaign of '66, Franco-German, etc.—one-third of all wounds received in battle are in the upper extremities. As a consequence, the space devoted to this class of wounds (pp. 433–1023) is proportionally large. Of the very numerous subdivisions, we may refer to the chapter on amputation for shot injuries at the shoulder-joint as a valuable test of American surgery. When the expectant treatment could be and was resorted to, the mortality amounted to 25.1 per cent.; under excision, to 36.6 per cent.; under amputation, to 31.1 per cent.—or about 31 per cent. for the whole. In the foreign wars referred to, the percentage of mortality was one-half, but, as Surgeon Otis points out, so high a figure would not have resulted except for the French contingent. The ill-success of the French surgeons, he suggests, may have been due to bad hospitals, faulty treatment of the operations, or inferior vital resistance on the part of French soldiers. We can appropriately quote here the remark with which the author closes his final chapter: "It is a grateful reflection that while this volume has treated largely of the various modes of operative interference often indispensable in the surgery of war, the general teaching deduced from the multitude of facts tends, not only in regard to the hand, but in relation to every region, to justify and encourage an enlightened conservatism." To give some idea of the "multitude of facts" relied on for such a conclusion, let us cite a list of partial field-returns of shot-wounds during the last year of the war. They amounted to 106,846 cases. Several thousand more added to these gave a basis for computing that wounds of the abdomen (pelvis excluded) averaged one in twenty-nine wounds of all kinds, or 3.3 per cent. Foreign statistics give 3.8 per cent.—a substantial agreement. From this cause die ten or eleven per cent. of all who perish in action; nearly half of all cases reported as shot-wounds of the belly prove fatal; and nine-tenths of those reported as penetrating wounds. The illustrations of this volume are as usual profuse and of a high order—wood-cuts, lithographs, chromos, and permanent photographs. One specimen, from the Army Museum, reproduced by the latter process, shows a fracture of the left *os innominatum* by a shell fragment, with the fragment wired in place. To do justice to the familiarity with the literature of his subject which Surgeon Otis displays, without ostentation, one must turn to the volume itself, rich in references to the experience of all nations, and abounding in foot-notes as interesting as the text.

—The National Museum at Rio de Janeiro, which antedates the Empire, but which has had hitherto a rather languishing existence, was reorganized by an Imperial decree of February 9. It now has for its object the study of natural history, particularly that of Brazil, and instruction in the natural and physical sciences, especially in their application to agriculture, industry, and the arts. Its three divisions are anthropology, botany, and physical sciences (mineralogy, geology, and general palæontology); and for the present, while awaiting a future independent development, archæology, ethnography, and numismatics will be under the care of the Museum. Public lecture courses will be held gratuitously from March 1 to November 1. Among the employés of the institution are travelling naturalists. The general director, Dr. Ladislaus Netto, is also director of the second section; of the first section, Dr. Joaquim Pizarro is director; and of the third, our own countryman, Prof. Charles Fred. Hartt. The organ, finally, of the Museum is a quarterly *Archivos do Museu Nacional*, whose motto, "Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit" (Juv. 14, 321), is a good equivalent of the Wordsworthian

"To the solid ground
Of Nature trusts the mind which builds for aye"

adopted by *Nature*. We have received No. 1 of the *Archivos*. It contains, besides the preliminary matter, three papers, viz., one on the shell-heaps (*sambaquis, sambagués, casqueiros,* or *ostreiras*) of Southern Brazil, by Prof. Carl Wiener, who had been specially commissioned by the Musuem to study them; one, by Prof. Hartt, on the curious subject of ceramic "fig-leaves," if we may so designate the triangular bits of pottery used *pudoris causa* by the Indian aborigines of the Amazonian island of Marajó; and one by Dr. Netto on some observations in botanical histology. The first two papers are accompanied by interesting plates. The typographical accuracy of this number is not all that could be desired. The punctuation is often redundant, and foreign names which are cited in the text and in the foot-notes fare hardly. Harvard University is rendered "Natvan Umversity," and Prof. Wiener allows himself to cite an American work as follows verbatim: "Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil by Ch. Fred. Hartt—Professor of Geology in Cornell University—Boston Fields"; and "The Higlands of the Brazil, by Capitain Richard Burton.—F.R.G.S. etc. London Tinsley Brothers—1869."

—To the July number of the *New Quarterly Magazine* Mr. Charles Elliot Browne contributes a paper, under the title of "A Wit of the Last Generation," devoted to Joseph Jekyll, whom we should imagine to be but little more than a name to most modern readers. Yet he lived in the sight of the world for eighty-five years (1752–1837), "the last living link in the chain which connected the society of Johnson and Burke with that of D'Orsay and Disraeli," and held his own with Sheridan in his youth and with Sidney Smith in his age; Cowper thought him witty, and Byron ranked him second only to Curran; his Whig epigrams divided attention with the Tory verses of Frere and Canning, for in those days parody and versified satire were "still real and effective weapons of political warfare," and Jekyll's ready pen and ready tongue were always at the service of his party. In short, he was one of a type gone for ever. The memory of the type lingers rather than the recollection of the man; indeed, few things are more evanescent than the reputation of a wit when unsupported by anything more solid than talk or *vers d'occasion;* and it is therefore with small wonder that we find only small wit in the most of the many epigrams and anecdotes industriously collected in the twenty-two pages of Mr. Browne's article. The jest rarely rises above a pun, and not seldom sinks below it. An Irish barrister, just arrived in England, had a bad habit of putting out his tongue. "I suppose," said Jekyll, "that he is trying to catch the English accent." He was a lawyer, and his most neatly-turned jests are professional; his, for instance, is the familiar couplet on Garrow's cross-questioning an old woman, and trying to elicit from her that a tender had been made for some premises in dispute—

"Garrow, forbear! That tough old jade
Can never prove a tender maid."

The ceiling once fell on a dinner-party at Lansdowne House, which Jekyll had escaped, owing to a prior engagement to meet the judges. "I had been asked," he said, "to 'Ruat Coelum,' but dined instead with 'Fiat Justitia.'" Although he was only known at the common-law bar, Lord Eldon in 1816 appointed him a Master in Chancery, a piece of court jobbery which caused great scandal. It was done at the repeated request of the Prince Regent, who would take no denial. Forcing his way into the Chancellor's room when he lay sick in bed, he urged Jekyll's claims against Lord Eldon's objections. "His Highness at last suddenly threw himself back in his chair," says the Chancellor in his account of the interview, "exclaiming, 'How I do pity Lady Eldon!' 'Good God!' I said, 'what is the matter?' 'Oh! nothing,' answered the Prince, 'except that she will never see you again, for here I remain until you make Jekyll a Master in Chancery.' I was obliged at length to give in; I could not help it. However, Jekyll got on capitally. He continued in office until age and indisposition obliged him to retire on the usual pension. I met him in the street the day after his retirement, when, according to his usual manner, he addressed me with a joke: 'Yesterday, Lord Chancellor, I was your master; to-day I am my own master.'"

—Extracts from the MS. diary of an American loyalist, of which we made mention in No. 578, continue to appear in *Notes and Queries*. They are quite worth printing in England and reading in America, for they show what we are well-nigh forgetting now—the strength of the old Tory party. The diarist's bias is obvious. He speaks, for instance, of "that old scoundrel Franklin," and we regret sincerely to see that he has a poor opinion of the Philadelphians. He even goes so far as to say that "in one point, not contented with being not agreeable, they are almost disagreeable: the almost universal topic of conversation among them is the superiority of Philadelphia over every other spot of the globe." But his ill-will is hardly to be wondered at, for he wrote after having been forced to leave the country, and after having had his Maryland estates confiscated. In 1799 were published, as we learn from Sabine's 'American Loyalists,' fifteen discourses preached by him in America between the years 1763 and 1775 on the causes and consequences of the American Revolution. These, in spite of his poor opinion of Washington (as quoted in the *Nation*, No. 578), he dedicated to our first President, of whom he also relates the following anecdote:

"I happened to be going across the Potomac . . . exactly at the

time that General Washington was crossing it on his way to the northward, whither he was going to take command of the Continental Army. There had been a great meeting of people and great doings in Alexandria on the occasion, and everybody seemed to be on fire, either with rum, or patriotism, or both. . . . The General (then only Colonel) Washington beckoned us to stop, as we did, just, as he said, to shake us by the hand. His behavior to me was now, as it had always been, polite and respectful; and I shall for ever remember what passed in the few disturbed moments of conversation we then had. From his going on his present errand, I foresaw and apprised him of much that has since happened; in particular that there would certainly be a civil war, and that the Americans would soon declare for independence. With more earnestness than was usual with his great reserve, he scouted my apprehensions, adding (and I believe with perfect sincerity) that if ever I heard of his joining any such measures I had his leave to set him down for everything wicked. . . . So little do men know of themselves, and so dangerous is it to make one false step."

STUBBS'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

PROFESSOR STUBBS possesses, like most men who think clearly, the power of expressing his thoughts with clearness and simplicity. The one defect of his style is that it scarcely makes sufficiently obvious to ordinary readers the salient points of the subject with which the writer deals. It would be grossly unfair to assert that Mr. Stubbs was himself in any way overpowered by the weight of the immense amount of facts which he has accumulated. He is in every sense master of his topic, and excels most writers in the art with which he establishes his conclusions by the mere effect of the mass of evidence which he produces, without wasting time in controversial argument. But his very love for facts, combined with an almost morbid aversion to rhetorical exaggeration, deprives his writing of the emphasis which arrests the attention of students. Even an intelligent reader may occasionally lose his path, so to speak, amidst the crowd of facts compressed into the Professor's pages, and persons who are not used to draw conclusions for themselves may fail to seize the important inferences which the writer suggests rather than enunciates, and suggests, moreover, with an absence of dogmatism which the ignorant may possibly mistake for a want of certainty. It may, therefore, be of service to our readers if, instead of dwelling on the general characteristics of our author, we direct their attention to some single topic among the hundreds of which Professor Stubbs treats. Whoever has once appreciated the infinite amount not only of information but of instructive suggestion to be found within the limits of five or six pages, will be able to form some conception of the merits of the most important contribution to the knowledge of English history which has appeared for years. A reviewer feels grievously tempted to sketch Mr. Stubbs's views of that most difficult of all topics—the Royal Prerogative. But the subject as a whole is too large to be dealt with even cursorily within the limits of a newspaper review, and all that we can attempt is to point out for special notice that part of the present volume which treats of the Royal revenue and expenditure. Any student might rationally expect that this portion of the book would be of special interest, for Mr. Stubbs has always shown himself a master of the financial side of constitutional history. In his 'Select Charters' and in the first volume of his present work, he exhibited in a masterly manner the connection between the judicial and the financial system which was fully developed by Henry the Second—a connection of which traces are still to be seen in the position of the coroner and the nominal connection between the Court of Exchequer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In this volume he examines with infinite care the financial resources of the Crown during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and explains the meaning of the principle constantly urged by mediæval reformers that "the king should live on his own." Neither the facts of the case nor the views entertained of the king's duty are very easy to understand. It is quite clear that the expenditure of the Crown was felt to be oppressive, but it is by no means so easy to ascertain what were the exact resources of the king, and how far the popular idea that he could and ought to live on his own was justified by the facts of the case. As to the monarch's resources, "we may conclude that in time of peace he had a revenue of about £65,000; that for a national object or for a popular king grants would be readily obtained to the amount of £80,000; and that under great pressure, and by bringing every source of income at once into account, as much as £120,000 might be raised in addition to the ordinary revenue." The "ordinary revenue," however, is what was meant by the "king's own," on which, according to popular theory, the king should live. If it is difficult to give an account of the revenue, the task is still harder of ascertaining the amount of the royal expenditure. "The Wardrobe Account of 28 Edward I. assigns the several items of expenditure thus: Alms, £1,166 14*s.* 6*d.*; necessaries, horses bought, messengers, wages, and shoes, £3,249 16*s.* 2*d.*; victualling stores and provisions for the royal castles, £18,638 1*s.* 8*d.*; the wages of military officers, artillerymen, infantry, and mariners, £9,796 9*s.* 2½*d.*; the proper expenses for the wardrobe, including the purchases made for the Queen and the Chancery, £15,575 18*s.* 5½*d.*; the difference between the sum of the wardrobe acccount and the entire outlay of the King of £10,946 5*s.* 4*d.* is put down to the expense of the household, and probably accounted for in another roll."

Now, these and similar accounts are in several ways of extreme importance. They, in the first place, make it hard to understand the "constant irritation caused by the expenses of the household." The existence of the sentiment that the royal extravagance was the source of popular suffering is certain, but it is also clear that mere personal expenditure was not what would, in the judgment of modern times, be considered a large item in the royal budget. Part of the widespread feeling was due to popular delusions. An ordinary Englishman, living under the Plantagenets, believed the king's treasure to be unlimited, just as a modern Turk fancies that the sultan possesses untold millions of hard coin. An Englishman of the thirteenth or fourteenth century felt also, as does a modern Turk, that he constantly suffered from the exactions of the Government, and as naturally, after the manner of all uncivilized persons, believed that the expenditure of the court was the sole cause of the exactions under which he suffered. Taxation, also, if not exorbitantly heavy, was raised in modes which must have been terribly oppressive. The millions raised by a modern income-tax caused not one-hundredth part of the suffering of the thousands raised by means of purveyance. Payment in kind is of all modes of payment the least remunerative to the recipient and the most oppressive to the man who pays it. A further consideration is that good government, even of a rough kind, is dear. A half-civilized community do not appreciate good government, and detest paying its price. But when everything is taken into consideration which may more or less account for the general outcry against the extravagance of mediæval monarchs, the general feeling cannot, we suspect, be understood by any one who does not realize that this question of royal expenditure touches the radical flaw in the whole feudal system. The king was not a public official, but a great proprietor. His prerogative was, to some extent, made up of the privileges of a great landowner. His public and his private expenditure was hopelessly mixed up together, or rather the distinction which all civilized nations draw between the public revenue and the private property of the ruler did not exist. If Edward II. incurred debts, they were paid, if at all, by the nation. The strange mixture of private and public accounts in the passage which we have cited is characteristic of the whole system. The king, it is true, spent the greater part of the revenue on what we should call public purposes; but these public purposes, as, for example, the administration of justice, were private interests of the Crown. The judges, like other ministers, were, in fact, royal servants. Payments to the judges were, or at any rate seemed to be, payments to men engaged in looking after the rights of the Crown. A good deal of the phraseology of English public life bears traces of the system under which the Government was really a body mainly existing for the benefit of the Crown. The confusion of ideas generated in the barbarism of the Middle Ages produced one-half of the constitutional disputes which culminated in the great Rebellion. The confusion lingered on into quite modern times. The judges were, in the reign of George III., paid out of the civil list, and the condition of things which called for Burke's schemes of economic reform was caused in part by the partial survival of the system which confounded the private expenditure of the king with the public expenses of Government. Even now an English monarch hardly occupies the position of a public official. The time will doubtless come when a king will be seen to be as much the servant of the nation as the President, but this period has in England not yet arrived. The ghost, so to speak, of the feudal system still lingers on in a society based on principles quite foreign to feudalism. While the influence of that system survives, no one will understand the exact position of an English king who has not studied, under some guide as competent as Professor Stubbs, the theories which prevailed when the English Constitution assumed the form which it retains even at the present day.

* 'The Constitutional History of England. By Wm. Stubbs, M.A.' Vol. II. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Price.*
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1876.

The Week.

THERE has been more or less campaign speaking during the week, the most notable speeches being by Messrs. Wheeler, Bristow, Schurz, and Morton. Mr. Wheeler spoke in Vermont, and devoted himself exclusively to reminiscences of the rebellion, showing how many "ex-rebels" there were in the House last winter, how bitter and unrepentant they were, how completely identical in spirit they were with the "Missouri Border-ruffians" twenty years ago in Kansas, how entirely the South was in the hands of these men; and he alleged, as of his own *knowledge*, that the Southern people "regarded the amendments of the Constitution in reference to slavery, and the laws for the protection of freedmen, as the French provinces did their cession to Prussia at the point of the bayonet." He described the issue in the present canvass as "the old issue" of the war, and represented the approaching election as a sort of continuance of "the work so effectively done by your bayonets at Gettysburg." Not one word of allusion to reform of any kind in the Government; not a hint of the need of any reform. We respectfully but solemnly ask the immediate friends and followers of Mr. Hayes, of whom personally we hear all that is good, and whose election we would fain desire without fear or misgiving, whether they mean to allow the reform element in the Republican party to be represented throughout the canvass by this sort of speaking, in which we are invited to vote for Hayes as a continuance of the civil war?

Mr. Schurz, in his address to the Germans at Cleveland, we are glad to say, set an excellent example in making a plain, truthful exposition of the situation, concealing and evading nothing; acknowledging the errors of the Republican party, but giving reasons, such as a man might give at his own fireside, why the party was still more trustworthy than any other, and why Mr. Hayes was entitled to the support of patriotic and conscientious people. It was the speech of a man who respects himself to men whom he respects, and had an eminently healthy tone about it. Mr. Morton's speech at Greencastle, Indiana, was an able but most amusing performance. He produced in favor of paying the greenbacks in gold most of the arguments used against himself on the same question by Mr. Schurz in 1874; castigated Pendleton for advocating payment of the bondholders in greenbacks, as he did himself in 1867; and made the following extraordinary statement—coming from such a source—about Mr. Hendricks:

> "You take the case of Mr. Hendricks, their candidate for Vice-President, your Governor. You know him well. If you do know him as well as I do, and if you have read his speeches as thoroughly as I, you will know that he is on all sides of that question. [Laughter and applause.] I can take his speeches made in Ohio last summer, and I can find in the same speeches an argument in favor of contraction, an argument in favor of expansion, an argument in favor of specie resumption, and an argument against it. [Laughter.] Now, it is not every man who can do that. [Renewed laughter.] But Mr. Hendricks is a man of great ability, and he did do it. So that Mr. Hendricks has got no position upon that question, and I pass him by."

We grant that the party cannot, especially in a canvass, get rid of men like Mr. Morton, but surely some effort ought to be made to represent the reforming wing on the stump by a different sort of orator. Chandler will provide no such men; but must it all be left to Chandler?

The New York *Times* is not satisfied with our view of the law of Mr. Tilden's connection with the St. Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad, and will have it that he somehow stands in the relation of trustee to the present company. Now, suppose the *Times* were to become embarrassed, and its secured creditors were to take possession of it and appoint a committee to get up a joint-stock company to buy it, and the committee were to agree to take a certain amount of the stock of the company in payment for the paper and for the satisfaction of all claims against the old concern. Suppose that with this amount of stock the secured and unsecured creditors were paid off, and there remained a balance in the hands of the committee, to whom would it belong? Undoubtedly, to the old creditors, as it seems to us. If they claimed it, we should call the ownership of it a moral question. If they did not claim it after the committee had waited for them to do so for years, the ownership would become a legal question simply. If the committee decided it in their own favor and divided the amount among themselves, as compensation for their labor and risk, we might think they had erred in the law, but we should be unable to say who had suffered by their error. If the new company were to step in and claim the balance as theirs, and make a great uproar, and call the committee "sharks" and "fraudulent trustees," we should call their conduct ridiculous. We may be wrong in all this: our opinion is only a lay opinion, which we offer very modestly. But we have no doubt whatever of the absurdity of making a "campaign charge" out of the matter. The wild excitement of the Republican organs over it is made the more ludicrous by the fact that almost half the Republican Convention were ready to nominate Blaine, fresh from exposure, for the Presidency, though we admit this slur is not applicable to the *Times*.

The *Times* has got hold of a far better thing in the matter of Mr. Tilden's return of his income-tax, which is certainly a neat, compact charge, and has not been painted or had the cracks stopped with rhetorical putty, and to which, we think, he ought to make a prompt and candid answer. The charge is that he returned his taxable income in the year 1862 as under $8,000, when he swears in his answer in the Terre Haute case that he in that year received from the bondholders fees amounting to $20,000. In subsequent years he made no return at all, and stood the legal fifty per cent. penalty, and paid the tax on an income of (about) $15,000. The conclusion of the *Times* is that he on the first occasion committed deliberate perjury with the intent to save about $1,000. The thing that strikes one as puzzling about the charge at first blush is, that a man of such great wealth as he is said to have been in 1862 should have committed perjury, in recorded writing, for so small an amount; the second is that, having begun to perjure himself, he should not have continued in the following years and saved more money. Until he answers, however, we do not think he ought to be taken to the penitentiary. The rural editors are a good deal puzzled how to take the charge—that is, whether to be more shocked by his perjury or by his withholding his money, as they say, "from the nation in the hour of its peril."

The New York Republican Convention met at Saratoga on Wednesday week, with Messrs. Evarts, Morgan, and Cornell as the leading candidates. The condition of affairs at the beginning was something like that two months ago at Cincinnati, Mr. Evarts being the real Reform Candidate, as Bristow had been there; Cornell representing the "Machine"; and Morgan being the safe man against whom nobody had anything to say—a sort of New York Hayes. There was an immense amount of boasting on the part of the Cornell men, who had "fixed" almost all the primaries in this city, but when it came to the counting of votes they were found to be in a

hopeless minority. They still kept up appearances, however, as boldly as possible; swore that Conkling was coming to the Convention in person, and was going to appeal to the party to "stand by Alonzo B. Cornell, to whom its faith was pledged," and they even went so far as to engage rooms for the great man; but Conkling, who has not risen to his present position without learning the difference between what you want to do and what you can do, prudently stayed away; and so when the crisis arrived Cornell was forced to withdraw, turning over his votes to Morgan, who was nominated on the first ballot. The Independent or anti-Custom-house delegates being sufficiently satisfied at the outset with the prospects of Morgan's nomination, did not press their claims. A document from them, recommending Morgan and suggesting a "reorganization" of the party in New York, was referred to the next State Committee, and the delegates themselves were given seats in the convention without votes. The resolutions are not noticeable in any way unless we except the last, which "tenders" to the President the assurance of their "profound respect and gratitude" for "those illustrious and patriotic services which will secure for his name an imperishable place in history"—a phrase which now appears to be put into all the platforms as a pure form without any reference to its meaning, like the "receive assurances of distinguished consideration" in a diplomatic letter. The nomination of Mr. Morgan is respectable, but we hope no one will be deluded into supposing that it means "reform." Mr. Morgan is an old politician, who has never by a single act given any one any reason to suppose that he dislikes the way in which politics are carried on, or disapproves of Messrs. Conkling, Bliss, Davenport, Murphy, and their ways, except in so far as their ways and his interfere. We see no ground whatever for believing that his election will loosen their grip upon the Government. The perfectly incorrigible character of the "machine" was amusingly shown after Morgan's nomination by Cornell's name being immediately put forward for Lieutenant-Governor, and only withdrawn again after urgent appeal by Messrs. Curtis and Woodin; and it has since been shown even more forcibly by the unanimous election of Cornell as chairman of the new Republican State Committee, Mr. Morgan himself being present.

Among the fresh Republican indiscretions of the day is the decision of the Massachusetts Convention to have Senator Boutwell for their presiding officer; and the reason they give is that he is the "Senior Senator" of the State. This is true, but then a convention can get along very well without having a "Senior Senator" for Chairman. Conventions do so in other States, and good presiding officers are no scarcer in Massachusetts than elsewhere. Moreover, the fact that Mr. Boutwell is "their Senior Senator" is a thing for the Massachusetts people at this juncture to keep quiet about, and not a thing to blazon abroad. Mr. Boutwell's political course is not one which reflects credit on the State, but the contrary. He was put into the Treasury by General Grant, and General Grant is not a very good judge of treasurers. While in the Treasury he denied there was any science of finance; opposed civil-service reform; gloried in the usefulness of his own department in supporting young men while preparing to be ministers and doctors; recommended the dismissal of the Special Commissioner Wells; got his statistics by looking out of the car-windows on the railroads; issued irredeemable paper-money on his own responsibility, "to move the crops"; advised the bestowal of this power on himself and his successor *in perpetuo*; signed a commission authorizing a Methodist minister to go round the world at the public expense to inspect "consular accounts"; appointed McDonald of St. Louis in the teeth of the warnings of the Missouri Senators and United States Marshal as to his character; and, finally, when, after intriguing himself into the Senate with the aid of Ben Butler, he left the Treasury, he secured the appointment of his first assistant, Mr. Richardson, as his successor. Of the quality and condition of his mind it is hardly respectful to the Massachusetts Republicans to speak directly and plainly; but it is proper to mention that on the impeachment trial he proved that Andrew Johnson was a guiltier tyrant than the proconsul Verres by the fact that the United States is larger than Sicily—which reminds one of the saying of the New York wag, that he stammered more in New York than in Baltimore because New York was a bigger city. Mr. Boutwell fell very sick while Butler was securing the appointment of Simmons to the Boston Custom-house, but recovered rapidly afterwards, and has been tolerably quiet ever since, until three weeks ago, when he burst upon an astonished world with "a report" recommending a total change in the structure of the United States Government in order to suppress election frauds in Mississippi. In fact, of all the queer "statesmen" produced by the Republican party since 1865, he is probably the queerest and least presentable.

In view of the fact that Butler is working hard for the nomination in the Seventh Massachusetts District, and at this writing seems very likely to get it—Butler the inflationist, the rabid opponent of civil-service reform, the salary-grabber, the outrage-monger, the aider and abettor of nearly all disorders and abuses in the Government; that Mr. Boutwell's solitary contribution to the canvass has been a "raw-head-and-bloody-bones" report, containing a recommendation that the Government be overturned and another one of his own invention be set up in its stead; that the prominence of men like him—that is, old "outrage statesmen"—is already injuring the party seriously; and that one hears every day of the defection of men like General Bartlett and Mr. Howard Potter of New York, not regular and influential politicians, but men who have only to ask themselves how they feel in order to know how a very large body of the best Republicans are feeling,—in view of such things as these, do not Massachusetts Republicans see the necessity of avoiding unnecessary occasions of scandal and suspicion? Do they not see the necessity of keeping the old fellows who are associated with Republican corruption and shortcoming in the background, and producing as many outward and visible signs as possible of the great spiritual change which they say is going on within the party? Is there, we ask, any use in joining the church, and giving a harmonious call to a new and spotless pastor, if their old bar-room and gambling-house friends still occupy the best places at their tables whenever they give a dinner-party, and have a bed at their houses whenever they get too drunk to reach their own homes?

The Massachusetts Democrats are evidently thinking seriously of nominating Mr. Charles Francis Adams for Governor, in the hope of drawing to his support a large number of Republicans who, under ordinary circumstances, would vote the straight party ticket. Thus far the principal obstacle they have had to encounter is the opposition of the Fenians, who have held a meeting and determined to oppose the nomination as contrary to their interests. The Fenian "charge" against Mr. Adams appears to be that he refused to use his influence when Minister in England to save the Irishmen convicted of political crimes against the British Government. The Boston *Herald* has now published a letter from "Boss" Kelly to Mr. Richard Olney, a leading Massachusetts Democrat, which completely disposes of this accusation. Mr. Kelly says that in 1872, before the Cincinnati nomination, he was an Adams man, and there being at the time rumors in circulation of this same kind, he examined the correspondence which had passed between the British Government and Mr. Adams on the subject with great care, and became "fully satisfied that Mr. Adams had shown himself a noble benefactor and a true friend to those unfortunate people," and adds that he thinks Mr. Adams was "the means of having the sentences of many who were condemned to death commuted to imprisonment for life." The whole correspondence shows, he says, that "nothing was left undone on his [Mr. Adams's] part to relieve and ameliorate their condition in every way he could." "His influence, too, was exercised in many ways to have some of them pardoned." Mr. Kelly expresses the opinion that the hostile rumors have, therefore, no foundation in fact, and concludes by pointing out that as he does not know Mr. Adams, and has never seen him

in his life, he can hardly be actuated by any interested motives. This testimonial has all the more value because Mr. Kelly says that he formed his opinion in 1872, when, as we know, he was still trying to qualify himself to be a good Boss by attending to his political duties, going among the people, and mingling with them. It was not till a long while afterwards that he gave up trying to be a "Good Boss." The notion that Mr. Adams used his position as Minister to get Fenians hung, and gloated over their miserable ends at the dinner-tables of the pampered nobility of Great Britain, is, we believe, wholly unfounded.

General W. F. Bartlett has, in an interview with a correspondent of the Boston *Post*, announced that he is in favor of Tilden's election, a declaration which will probably not attract much attention from the Republican press, although it is really an important event in the canvass in Massachusetts. General Bartlett was one of the most gallant officers who went out from Massachusetts during the war, and has been in sympathy with the general purposes of the Republican party since the war. Those purposes he evidently thinks are practically accomplished, and he denounces in round terms the efforts of General Dix to keep alive, or rather to resuscitate, the old war feeling by such devices as the "rallying" of the "Boys in Blue," which can only have the effect of giving a good political cover to the dragooning of the Southern States by real troops. General Bartlett's defection means mischief for the Republicans in the western part of the State, and with a prohibitory ticket in the field, as there will be, and the growing probability of the nomination of Adams, it looks as if the result was likely to be close, though it is only fair to say that the Republicans are confident of carrying the State.

The pursuit of the Sioux by the combined forces of Generals Crook and Terry has proved abortive, and though there may be some fighting shortly, a new campaign with fresh reinforcements and supplies will have to be entered upon. The vast Indian force moved eastward from the scene of Custer's disaster and divided, one part seeking the Canadian frontier, the other perhaps having the same end in view, perhaps, as is suspected, making for the agencies via the Little Missouri. The northern trail was abandoned, but, by means of the gun-boats patrolling the Yellowstone, efforts have been made to prevent a crossing. The southern trail has been followed up, but thus far without result.

Secretary Morrill succeeded during the week in bringing together the bankers who applied for the privilege of negotiating the sale of a part or the whole of the authorized $300,000,000 U. S. 4½ per cent. bonds. There were three applicants; two were syndicates, composed of domestic bankers and national banks, with one or two foreign bankers; the third was the Rothschilds. As the outcome of the efforts to unite these various interests, we have a syndicate in which all are included, which has absolutely taken $40,000,000 of the bonds, with the privilege of taking the remaining $260,000,000 before the 4th day of next March. Of the $40,000,000, 38 per cent. is given to the Rothschilds, and the remaining 62 per cent. is distributed among the other applicants. The bankers in the syndicate and their representatives, although a beginning has not yet been made, talk confidently of being able to place the entire $300,000,000 before next March; and this has lowered the price of gold and has frightened the holders of 5-20 6 per cent. bonds into selling, so that there has been during the week a declining market for U. S. bonds.

In Wall Street the breaking-up of the coal combination was followed by an active speculation in the shares of the companies most concerned. New Jersey Central stock fell from 59 to 37⅜ in less than three days; Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western from 92⅝ to 77; and Delaware and Hudson from 90½ to 75⅛. There were no sales of Pennsylvania Coal, the only other of the combination stocks dealt in at the New York Exchange. From the lowest prices there was a recovery of 3 to 10 per cent., the recovery having been in New Jersey Central. As the coal stocks have for years past been considered safe, they were distributed among investors, and the amount held by speculators was small; there was, therefore, no concerted speculative movement to resist the decline. On Tuesday the 500,000 tons advertised to be sold at auction by order of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western, the Delaware and Hudson, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron, and the Pennsylvania Coal Companies were sold, and the prices obtained ranged from $1 80 to $2 20 per ton less than the prices which were fixed for August before the combination was broken, and considerably below the cost of production. This heavy reduction will prove of great advantage to every manufacturing interest which uses steam-power, as well as to the public which buys coal for domestic purposes.

The debate in the British House of Commons on the 17th inst. on the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria showed clearly that public indignation had at last produced its effect on the Ministry, and an elaborate explanation was made by Mr. Bourke, and a speech of modified regret by Mr. Disraeli. Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Forsyth, and Sir Vernon Harcourt were particularly strong in their denunciations both of the Turks and the Government, the last especially delivering a regular philippic against the whole Ottoman race. It was acknowledged on all hands that about 12,000 men, women, and children had perished in Bulgaria, and that a very large tract of country had been utterly desolated. A British military commissioner had been sent up to accompany the Turks into Servia—a measure which ought to have been adopted at the outset, and probably would have been if the British ambassador, Sir Henry Elliott, was not out of health. In whose interest or on whose errand our Mr. Schuyler is conducting his investigations, which have been very valuable, does not appear. The atrocities will undoubtedly tell in the arrangements with the Porte as to the government of its Christian subjects, which the Great Powers will insist upon in the peace negotiations, which may be said to have already begun. All the accounts concur in ascribing the failure of the Servian campaign, more than aught else, to the all but complete absence of discipline in the Servian ranks—the officers' ignorance of their duties and want of control over their men. Tchernaieff has been, it is reported, more than once in the campaign reduced to despair.

There has been of late more or less talk about the scheme of a Turkish constitution, which was proposed in the last days of the late Sultan, but a peremptory order has been promulgated in Constantinople forbidding the discussion of the scheme in the newspapers, on the ground that it requires days of prolonged study before it can be carried out. The idea originated, it is said, with the Softas, and was taken up in genuine earnest by Midhat Pasha, who obtained for it a favorable opinion from the Sheikh-al-islam, but found a strong opponent in Avni Pasha, and since his death the ecclesiastical doctors are said to have looked into the matter more carefully, and are no longer disposed to consider it very feasible. The great difficulty about setting up a parliament with legislative power is that it would create within the state an authority equal to the Sultan's—a state of things which the Koran would certainly condemn. A merely consultative council would do no good. It has been abundantly tried already in Turkey, in one way or another, and consists merely of persons who assent to whatever the executive proposes. And then, if Christians are made the equals in all respects of believers, what becomes of Islam? There is probably no doctor of the law at Constantinople who would tolerate the idea of the Sultan's reigning over a mixed population, to all parts of which his relations were precisely the same. At the same time, there is a sort of sub-consciousness running through the Mussulman community that the time has come when something must be done to satisfy Europe and obtain permanent exemption from interference.

THE OPPOSITION AND THE TREASURY.

THE Cobden Club has recently been trying to find out the best mode of repressing the tendency to lavish expenditure which is showing itself in the English budgets, no matter what party produces them, and with which the economical portion of the Opposition finds it difficult or impossible to deal. The Club has accordingly addressed a series of enquiries to some of its foreign members relative to the manner in which the estimates for the year are brought before the legislature, and discussed, adopted, or rejected, in order to see whether there are any checks in use on the Continent which might recommend themselves for adoption in England. The *Economist* contains a summary of some of the replies, which are very interesting reading; but the most interesting is that from the pen of M. Léon Say, the French Minister of Finance, who gives a very clear account of the French system, which is substantially the same as ours, but, as M. Say himself confesses, inferior to the English in one important particular. The estimates for the year are in England drawn up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, having duly prepared himself, he goes down to the House of Commons and expounds his system at great length, tells how much money he needs for the financial year, why he needs it, and from what sources he expects to draw it; and the matter then undergoes full debate, and, if approved of as a whole, the various appropriations are discussed one by one and passed, some, perhaps, being curtailed, and some trifling ones possibly refused. But it is a settled parliamentary usage that if the general scheme be accepted, no serious alteration is subsequently to be made in it, and it is equally well settled that if the Budget, as a scheme of revenue expenditure, be in its leading features disapproved, the Ministry goes out of office, as Lord Derby's did in 1852, when Mr. Disraeli's budget was rejected by a majority of 19. It is not permissible for the House, or for private members of the House, to take it out of the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and alter or amend it on any leading point. In fact, nothing must be done to it which will essentially lessen the responsibility of the Ministry for it. The function of private members towards it is simply that of criticism or suggestion; but, on the other hand, it is not allowable for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to adopt any suggestion which would materially alter his plan. In other words, he must not say, "I will make any sort of budget you please if you will let me stay in office." What he must say is, "There is my budget; I will make any alterations in its minor details you please; but if you do not like it in the main you must find some one to draught another. I resign." And the principle on which this usage is based is the central principle of good parliamentary government—namely, that power and responsibility ought not to be separated.

The French have adopted our plan in its main features. That is, the Minister of Finance draws up a budget, which in form somewhat resembles the report of our Secretary of the Treasury, but is vastly more elaborate and forms a large volume, containing everything in the minutest detail which any one can want to know about the revenue and outlay, of which a copy is given to every member of the legislature. Each of the eleven committees of the Assembly then details three of its members to form a "Budget Committee," like our Committee of Ways and Means, which makes a careful examination of the volume and draws up a report on it, which it submits to the Assembly, and to which the Assembly pays as much or little attention as it pleases. The general debate then follows. As M. Say says, in this debate the Government is compelled to justify very fully the necessity and utility of the various credits it asks for, but then, on the other hand, no private member is debarred, either by law or usage, from proposing any alteration in the plan that may occur to him, and the majority is not debarred by law or usage from adopting his suggestions, however radical they may be. The French system, however, has one enormous advantage over ours. The Minister of Finance is present and participates in the debates. He defends his own ideas, assails those of his critics, and points out to the amateurs the practical difficulties in the way of their schemes. The result is that the public is able to follow the discussion, and is thoroughly instructed by it. It hears from the executive officers why they need so much in that department or so little in this, what they expect this tax to yield and what are the obstacles in the way of collecting that; and although the Minister is not able to control the estimates, and may have to work a scheme of revenue which he has not framed, he always exerts a good deal of influence on its formation. And it has to be remembered that under the monarchy, as well as under the present Republic, the Ministry, as a general rule, was taken from a majority of the Assembly, so that the French have improved somewhat on our system.

With us the majority of the House may be composed of the Opposition, and may be, as it last session was, bitterly hostile to the executive branch of the Government, and interested in having it fail. Mr. Randall, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and the leader of the Opposition, was really the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he drew up the budget on which General Grant and Mr. Bristow were to carry on the Government. Not only had they no opportunity of being heard in opposition to him, but he had the strongest interest, in making his estimates, in having them appear to disadvantage, and in representing to the country that their requirements were extravagant or ill-advised, and that their administration of the finances was probably corrupt or negligent. But this was not all. Mr. Randall himself was not master of the situation by any means. He could report or advise, but no usage of the House forbids the proposing or making by private members of any alteration that occurred to them in his scheme of taxation or distribution of revenue. He could fight for his plan, if he chose, but if it was not adopted he was not responsible, and nobody could tell exactly who was. The matter was still further complicated by the contention between the House and Senate, but into this we need not enter. We need hardly say that the general result was that considerable changes were made in the expenses of the Government without any public discussion of them, without the people's having any clear comprehension of their nature or extent, or knowing what was to be said for or against them, and without having any person accountable for them, except the indeterminate body of persons called "The Democratic Party."

The finances are playing an important part at this moment in the Presidential canvass, but, if anybody will take the trouble to follow what is said about them, he will find that nearly every stump-speaker, no matter of what party, gives a different account of the recent changes made in the receipts and expenditures of the Government. Of course, a partial remedy for this state of things would be found in the plan, so often urged of late, of giving the members of the Cabinet seats, without votes, in the House and Senate, with the right of speech on all matters relating to their own departments (which they would, of course, use freely when the estimates were under discussion), and the obligation to answer all questions put by members, within certain reasonable restrictions, touching their administration. That this would greatly facilitate the transaction of legislative business, would greatly assist in keeping the public informed, and would exert a salutary influence both on the President in choosing members of the Cabinet, and on the members of the Cabinet in their work of administration, there can be little doubt. But it would not save us from the occasional recurrence of the evil from which we are at this moment suffering—the separation of the majority of the House from the Executive by party lines—and the consequent use of the Budget by the leader of the Opposition as a means of party warfare. We doubt very much whether this is remediable at all. The English system of taking the executive officers of the Government from the majority of the legislature would not work well here, for the same reason that it does not work well in any of the British colonies, and works barely well enough to prevent disorganization in those

old European countries to which parliamentary government is new. The reason is that that system needs the help not only of old and deeply-rooted traditions and usages, but of a considerable body of veteran legislators, who have served long, and have the deep sense of parliamentary *convenances*, and of the responsibility of the legislature as a whole to the country, which is only acquired by long service. An Opposition composed largely of and wholly ruled by men to whom politics is a career, and who expect confidently to pass the working years of their lives in the legislature, and who feel that they can afford to wait, is not over-eager for office, takes much thought before striking for it, and looks on power merely as a means of carrying out a policy. In legislatures in which few members remain long, in which their reputations have to be made if at all in a year or two, and in which the possession of power is not necessarily connected with positive action of any kind, the Opposition is generally found ready to seize on the administration and distribute the offices whenever it can get a chance, and is not apt to be troubled with scruples in looking for a pretext. The result is that in some of the British colonies the Ministry is changed as often as a majority of the legislature becomes desirous of a "new deal," so that two or three Ministries have been known to succeed each other in a month, and in France any Ministry is liable to go out unexpectedly on a small trifle. There are none of the premonitory symptoms which in England herald a change months before it occurs—the accumulation of unfavorable opinion out-of-doors, the succession of checks on small matters in the House, the acknowledged failure in practice of cherished Ministerial schemes, the repeated indiscretions of Ministers in debate, and the revelation of deep-seated differences in the Cabinet—which finally satisfy the leaders of the Opposition that the time has come for a bold attempt to seize the reins of government. In a country in which legislation has to be done by a very changing body of men, the best of whom can only attend to it by neglecting their private affairs, it is well that the Executive should not be dependent for its tenure of power on a vote of the majority of the legislature. Its independence of the legislature sometimes causes confusion, no doubt, but nothing like the confusion the other system would cause.

THE LESSON OF GERMAN AND FRENCH FINANCE.

ONE of the most unhappy countries in Europe at this moment is Germany, and the reason of this unhappiness reveals in a striking way how little either victory in war or abundance of money can of itself do to bring about real national prosperity. Indeed, the lesson of Germany bears so pointedly on our own currency problem, that it would be fortunate for us if our inflationists could be got to look into it. Senator Logan mentioned, in one of the debates of 1874–5, that he had given a fortnight to the study of finance, and had in that period, through the great activity of his powerful mind, discovered that the views on currency of nearly all the great masters of political economy were curiously and completely wrong. If he will now turn his attention to Germany for even ten minutes he will come upon a state of facts which must prove puzzling even to him. Germany received after the war with France an enormous sum—about $1,000,000,000 in cash—which was suddenly added to the existing wealth of the country, and was taken from France. Moreover, Germany had only suffered from the war through a year's suspension of industry, and the partial cost of maintaining half a million of idle men and the waste of ammunition. Her soil had in no place been devastated by the fighting, and as her commercial marine is small, she had suffered but little in her trade from the naval superiority of her enemy. France, on the other hand, was ravaged over nearly half her territory. She had not only to maintain her own army, but that of her enemy. She had to suffer, in addition to the ordinary expenditure of successful and unsuccessful war, the frightful waste which attends the raising and equipping in haste of large hosts of undisciplined levies. In addition to the presence of a victorious invader, her trade and industry had to undergo the shock of a domestic revolution, and as soon as the foreign war was ended she found herself engaged in a civil one, of which her capital was the theatre. To crown all, she lost by the peace two of her finest provinces, containing a million and a half of her most ingenious and industrious citizens. According to the Logan school of economists and politicians, France could hardly be worse off or Germany better.

Now see what has happened. French exports and imports have never increased so rapidly, and have never been so large in volume as during the past five years. The enormous taxation necessary to meet the increased burdens has not only been met, but the revenues have risen year by year so as to give a surplus. The volume of irredeemable paper has been so reduced as to bring it to par with gold, and to admit of preparations for specie resumption at an early date; and while this has been going on, the nation has been actually passing through an ordeal which, in all countries and in all ages, has been found most hostile to commercial confidence and progress, the foundation of a new government on a soil wasted by war and revolution. According to the Logan school of economists, what the French ought to have done in 1871 was to purchase a powerful printing-press and begin issuing Government notes, and keep issuing them and applying them to "the wheels of industry" until prosperity came back. There being no Logans in France, they did just the opposite. They began drawing in the notes they had issued and shut up the printing-office, and went resolutely to work moving "the wheels of industry" by steam and hand power. They let the "money kings" and "the coupon-clippers" have their own way. The other day a municipal loan of $20,000,000 was offered by the city of Paris, and it has been taken fifty times over. In fact, the more the French reduce the volume of their currency, the more they seem to have; the more they play into the hands of "the money-power," the more capital seems to find its way into the poor man's pocket.

Turning to Germany, we find that the first effect of the vast and sudden addition to the circulating medium of the country, caused by the payment of the French indemnity, was not to "lubricate the wheels of industry" at all. We believe, indeed, that it produced but a trifling effect on the production compared with the effect it produced on exchange. The only wheel it "lubricated" was the "wheel of fortune"—that is, its effects were those which, by an admirable social law, have always followed any large and sudden addition made to the circulating medium of a country by other means than honest industry. Money made by hard work enriches a country in the truest and best sense of the word. But money obtained by war, plunder, discovery of mines, or printing seems to impoverish a community more or less rapidly. As soon as the French indemnity found its way into Prussian pockets, far from setting men to work harder, it, by raising prices, set everybody who owned anything to thinking of selling out at an advance to somebody else, and made the slow gains of labor seem more paltry and distasteful than ever. It next set people to getting up stock companies and financial enterprises of all sorts in order to take advantage of the general spirit of hopefulness, and to sell, in default of all else, the prospect of future profits. As money was easy and everything going up, everything went off at "an advance," and everybody felt himself growing richer every day; and, as all this came through war, war, even from the commercial point of view, began to seem an admirable practice, and Von Moltke a sort of merchant-prince as well as a hero, and Bismarck a great operator who had given "points" to the whole country. Now, although the money which was "lubricating" people's imagination was hard cash, the pleasant dream only lasted a year or two. The collapse came in due course. The rise in prices stopped, and then the fall in the speculative commodities set in, and there was the usual crop of failures and suicides, and the usual amount of painful disenchantment. The German people have lost their faith in Logan. They find that he is not the great thinker they supposed him to be. They would rather he had not studied finance for a fortnight. They wish he had taken up evolution or some department of natural science. They know that a mind like his must have some tough problem to work upon;

but they think he ought not to plunge into subjects in which even his slight mistakes may bring misery to his fellow-men.

According to all reports, the depression now existing in Germany is deep and bitter. Not only do the people feel poor, but they begin to feel humiliated. Their commissioner at Philadelphia, Herr Reuleaux, apparently of French origin, has sent home a most gloomy report of the figure cut by German industry at the Exposition. He is a man of great experience in expositions, a professor in the Scientific School in Berlin, and a careful, cautious man; but he reports that the German display is cheap and poor, and comments with some severity on the tendency to reproduce Moltke, and Von Roon, and Bismarck in plaster, soap, and wax. In fact, he thinks the national genius has been made coarse, and clumsy, and slightly brutal by the national success; and while the home public is digesting these bitter truths, there comes the news that though the French loan has been, as we have said, taken fifty times over, a new Prussian loan of 100,000,000 thalers, though Prussian credit is and has always been among the best in the world, has been offered at 97 and four and a half per cent., and yet only 24,000,000 of it have been disposed of. This is accounted for in part by the fact that the Prussian Government has been recently playing its creditors what they consider a scurvy trick, in calling in in 1872, without adequate notice, a loan which was only due in 1880; so that the many foreign bondholders, when they presented their coupons in 1874, found that they had lost interest on two years. But this in itself was only a product of the overweening confidence begotten by success too easily won, and by the receipt of money for which no value had been given.

There is nothing more curious or more encouraging than the way in which the laws of political economy are backed up by the laws of morals. The silver-swindlers and paper-money men, and the rest of the army of Jeremy Diddlers who are taxing their ingenuity to find out some seemingly honest but really knavish mode of discharging the national obligations, and in helping "the debtor class" to defraud its creditors, may find in the recent financial history of France and Germany some most fruitful suggestions as to the practical result of their schemes. The lesson it teaches is that there is no way in which communities can get out of difficulties but by honest labor and honest trading. Putting the pea under another thimble, calling an old thing by a new name or a new thing by an old name, finding a treasure, putting out more promises to pay, or taking other people's property, are devices which sometimes seem enormously profitable, but they are never profitable very long. The strong angel who stands guard over the springs of civilization, takes care that human faith in constancy and industry and honesty shall not be seriously shaken by the protracted success of any scheme or policy which promises wealth through idleness, or ease of conscience through tricks.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—XIV.

SIGNOR CASTELLANI'S COLLECTION.

PHILADELPHIA, August 26, 1876.

WE can but assist the movement for the purchase of the Castellani antiques by assuring the public that no such opportunity has yet been offered for securing to America a collection of works of a classic art-period. The name of so eminent an antiquarian as Signor Alessandro Castellani is guarantee for the genuine character of everything offered, and is an especially valuable reference in the matter of the specimens of dactyliography, which we grieve to hear have been subjected to doubts by eminent American mineralogists, misled probably by the fresh appearance of the surface on many of the gems. These stones appear to have had their faces recently polished, a practice with many collectors, and one which does not take anything appreciable from the thickness of the gem, nor affect the outline of the device engraved upon it, though it removes the *primâ-facie* evidence of antiquity. But it is much easier to give an antique look to a modern stone by allowing it to be partially digested by a living dog or turkey than to remove the evidence of age in a real antique. This evidence an expert looks for not on the field of the gem, which may be restored to gloss at the caprice of any owner, but in the character of the cutting-stroke, which is always a polished line, no matter how fine and minute. The modern method of intaglio-engraving leaves a dull or ground line, which may be brought to a polish by an after-process, but which usually remains rough and dusty-looking in the hair-strokes. A modern stone appears excessively fresh and bright in the broader portions of the intaglio, which have been blocked out and then polished; but there will be pin-points and hair-lines which have not received the smoothing operation, as a *loupe* will reveal. The antique intaglio, somewhat less glossy from the operation of time, is genuinely smooth in the bottom of the slightest cut, the carving-tool, however it was managed, having carried its polishing touch wherever it went. The stone itself, which is always old, as old as the earth, should not be put into the hands of a mere mineralogist to have the date of its workmanship determined; and it is difficult to see the right to an opinion on engraving of scientific professors whose knowledge is only great in sards and chalcedony. The peculiar simplicity and largeness of style belonging to antiquity are the characteristics of these 270 gems, many of which are of supreme artistic beauty and of considerable size. One representing the crouching Venus, another Ganymede bestriding the eagle, and a graceful group of a male and female bacchanal chasing each other, as well as many of the heads, are peculiarly precious.

The collection of ancient jewelry, though small, is admirably representative. It has been arranged by Signor Castellani into epochs, descending from the earliest Phœnician importations into Etruria, with symbols of scarabs and other devices that seem far more Oriental than Italian in character. Among the masterpieces of the Etruscan jewellers are many examples of their rope-work and granulated work, until lately the despair of the modern artificer. The rope-work consists of cords made up of four filaments, each finer than a hair, the resulting thread firmly soldered in ornamental patterns upon the jewel; the ancients must have had fine fingers thus to draw metal in almost impalpable threads through a pierced gem, and then weave it in forms of grace across their beaten-work, or attach it as an edging to the leaves and petals of their florid ear-rings and brooches. The granulation consists in soldering minute beads of gold, so fine as to resemble a powder, with complete firmness and coherence upon the gold surfaces. A superb *alabastron* in beaten gold, perhaps seven inches long, and covered with waved patterns in granulated-work to resemble the strata of a stone, is exhibited by Signor Castellani among his jewels. The modern skill to imitate these two methods was found surviving in families of jewellers at St. Angelo in Vado, and has been completely restored to the goldsmith's art of our century by the same artificer, Alessandro, brother of the famous Roman Castellani, who now shows the work of his genius and industry to the public. During a political exile from the Papal dominions of a dozen years, he removed his ateliers to Naples, and there trained a number of clever Neapolitan youths to excel in the granulated work (of which the chief difficulty is soldering) and the rope-work, of which the hair-like strands are effectually turned out by drawing the metal through pierced garnets. To show the perfection of his imitative labors, he exhibits (in the Italian Department of the Main Building) a superb coronet, in which are reassembled all the difficulties of ancient jewellery, exactly counterfeited from the priceless original in the Campana Collection at Paris; two bracelets, copied from fine ones in the same collection; an elaborate necklace, with two large pendants, perfectly imitated from originals in the Kirch Crimean treasure, now in the collection at St. Petersburg; two enormous ear-rings from the Hermitage Collection, two other ear-drops, representing reversed candelabra, from originals found at Tarentum and now at Naples, and other *repliche* representing early Greek work from Melos and Apuleia respectively at the British and Naples Museums. Added to these are ingenious imitations of the singular ornamental eardrops found by Prince Torlonia in the famous hypogæum at Volci, in Etruria, of the date of 300 B.C., where niches of drooping bead-work shelter cocks in brilliant white enamel; the originals of these are in the Castellani Collection proper, while their exact forgeries are in the Italian exhibit, thus challenging the imitation against its source in different parts of the same exposition.

The keramic collection is magnificent. A large specimen of the porcelain manufactured in the Boboli Garden at Florence, long before the supposed Saxon reinvention of the art of making china-ware, shows arabesques around the edge of a distinctly Oriental character, and evidently imitated from an imported Chinese original; while the saint with his lion, in the central portion, is of a hard Mantegna style, of course completely Occidental in taste. A smaller piece of the same rare ware is alongside. There are many specimens of the famous lustred Gubbio ware, several of which are signed with the monogram of Maestro Giorgio Andrioli himself; among them a fine one of the "Adoration of the Shepherds," in relief, and blazing with the finest iridescence; another representing Hercules and Antæus,

with the monogram on the bottom, and the quality of the design exceptionally beautiful. A superb platter of Fontana's Urbino ware has a portrait of Charles V., and the inscription, "In his 31st year and the year '31." A large dish in the shape of a tortoise-shell, identified by modern research as having been made for Duke Este of Modena, fairly deserves the name of "Raphael ware," from the entirely Raphaelesque character of the arabesques covering its broad white ground.

About a hundred cistæ in beaten bronze, from tomb excavations in Palestrina, represent the toilet magnificence of ancient Præneste. These antique bandboxes, filled with mirrors and combs, and coins of *aes rude*, are made interesting from the character of the ornament. They are covered with figures in the style of ancient vase-painting, executed, however, in engraved lines. The handles are statuettes, representing jugglers and athletes. Among the engraved figures with which they and their enclosed mirrors are covered there are strange Etruscan treatments of antique myths, such as Perseus concealing the eye of the Graiæ, or Æneas in Italy, showing the legends which Virgil employed in their rudimentary Italian form. Among these metallic curiosities is a singular axe of iron, ornamented with animals, and accompanied by a vessel representing a human head of completely Phœnician character, proving once more the frequency of Syrian importations in the heart of ancient Italy. A relic in so easily oxidated a material as iron, coming from so early a period, and so perfectly matching the Phœnician types of the Cesnola statues, is of no mean interest.

The most impressive of all, however, are naturally the statues. The enormous Indian Bacchus, perfect but for the right hand, is singularly broad and noble in treatment. The "Spinario," or "Shepherd Martius," or "Athlete extracting the thorn," is more realistic, and, in fact, more beautiful, though later in date, than the bronze original at the Capitol, attributed by Ampère to the school of Praxiteles. The fresh young curly head is portrait-like and charming. The bust of Euripides is the only portrait of the dramatist with a perfect nose, and is therefore an authority on that feature—though the authority for *any* likenesses of the age before Philip II. or Alexander may be a subject of doubt. The "Sappho" (the name was originally applied to a similar head by Winckelmann) is a good bust, though not, probably, Sapphic at all. The Bacchic mask, comic mask of Hercules, Young Apollo, Cupid, Psyche, Trajan, Tiberius, Julia Paola, and Lucius Verus, all are worthy a place in a national collection. We felicitate the contributors to the fund now forming to secure these treasures for the different American museums on the solid and authentic value of the purchase, and assure them that the price of $200,000 is by no means extravagant.

E. S.

Correspondence.

MR. BLISS AND THE LAWRENCE CASE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: When Mr. D. A. Wells's extraordinary combination of errors, falsehoods, and groundless charges and insinuations against one whom, from an intimate acquaintance of forty years, he knows to be influenced by motives as good as his own, was published in the *Tribune* ten days ago, I determined, before replying to it, to see whether it received any echo anywhere. The *Nation* of yesterday, taking Mr. Wells's letter as a text, invents further charges against me. I therefore claim the right to reply, though fully conscious that so long as you control a printing-press and fail to control personal animosity, I cannot expect fair treatment in your columns. The best and probably the briefest way in which to answer the charges is by a narrative of the facts, though that will necessarily occupy considerable space.

I assert that Lawrence was procured to be extradited with the bonâ-fide intent to try him for forgery, and for the precise forgery with which he was charged before the committing magistrate in London. A brief narrative will at once show this, and disprove your constantly-repeated falsehood that I violated any instructions of my superiors, or have, from the outset, pursued anything but a consistent course in a determination to punish criminally, if possible, all who were concerned in or profited by the Lawrence frauds.

The extradition of Lawrence was demanded on fourteen distinct charges of forgery; the forged papers in all were proved before the London magistrate, but, after the entire *modus operandi* had been proved in one case, the solicitor employed by General Schenck, in violation of direct and repeated orders, failed to complete the same merely technical proofs in the other cases, though the witnesses were in court for that purpose. This fact was unknown to any representative of the Government until after Lawrence arrived here. His counsel then took the ground that he could only be tried on the one single charge which had been proved entirely through. The British warrant of extradition—an instrument, by the way, never communicated to our Government—spoke of "forging of a bond and affidavit," but did not define what bond and affidavit. *Lawrence never was arraigned in this country upon any charge except forgery*, and never was arraigned upon any *charge of forgery*, except the charge of forging the identical papers which his own counsel admits were the subjects of the charge upon which he was *extradited*.

What now becomes of the charge that he was wanted for smuggling, that there was no intent to try him for the charge upon which he was surrendered?

There was a disagreement between myself and Lawrence's counsel as to what precise shade of the crime was covered by the extradition charges. The warrant of extradition said "forging of a bond and affidavit." Lawrence's counsel claimed that this meant what was known as the Blanding bond, and I acquiesced in this claim. The indictment charged the making of the forged instruments, and their uttering. Lawrence's counsel claimed, at times, that the language of the British warrant was alone to be looked to, and that that did not embrace the uttering, but that the term "forging," in that document, meant only the making. I took issue upon this. The affidavit in the Blanding case, which was admittedly covered by the extradition charge, was on the back of an entry. Lawrence's counsel claimed that the face of the paper had nothing to do with the case. I claimed that the whole was an instrument, and also that I could maintain a count upon the face as well as upon the back of the instrument. I ought to add that there were originally counts for presenting those papers to an officer of the United States, which on reflection I voluntarily abandoned.

You will see, therefore, that there was at most a legal disagreement as to what was embraced in the extradition crime. I accepted the claim of Lawrence's counsel that the forgery was confined to the single bond and affidavit which they selected from the fourteen proved in court in England. They claimed that the sole definition of the extradition crime was to be found in the warrant issued by the British Government to its jailer to deliver Lawrence to us—a warrant retained by the jailer, never seen by any officer of the United States, and which was admittedly so incomplete that, in order to find what bond and affidavit was meant, it was necessary to resort to the stenographer's minutes of what was shown before the London magistrate. I claimed that if these minutes were to be resorted to at all, they should be resorted to in order to show what charge was proved, and, moreover, that even supposing the warrant was alone resorted to, all the counts upon which I proposed to try Lawrence were sustainable. Here was a distinct legal difference upon two subordinate points. I called the attention of the Attorney-General to it, and he sustained my position. I cannot be too explicit in saying that there never was on my part any intention, and, of course, no attempt, to try Lawrence for any crime until he had been tried for that upon which he was extradited, though I had my own views as to the right so to do.

I am not at liberty to publish official correspondence, but I assert, and appeal to the written documents to prove the truth of the assertion, that I never took any step in the case without reporting to the Attorney-General my intention to take it, and receiving his direct approval, and that I had specific directions to try Lawrence upon the charges and counts upon which I sought to try him. In other words, there was not only no disobedience on my part, but there was the most implicit obedience, and I think I rather vexed my superiors by my unvarying determination to have their prior sanction of the minutest details of my action. Your and Mr. Wells's indignation because I was not removed for disobedience is, therefore, wholly without cause. The letter of the Attorney-General of December 22, 1875, quoted by you, has misled others as well as you. A careful reading of it will show that it does not charge me with disobedience. The fact is that, it being represented to the Attorney-General on Lawrence's part that I was not following his directions, and there being no time to communicate with me, the letter was written, but it was apparently carefully framed so as to remind me what I had been directed to do, but did not say or intimate that I had not followed directions.

You say that when Lawrence pleaded in court that I was about to try him for an offence for which he was not extradited: "Any lawyer will see that if the District-Attorney had been trying to obey the orders of his superior, he would have taken issue upon this fact—that is, he would have denied that there was any difference in the crime set forth in the indictment and that mentioned in the extradition warrant." *This is precisely*

what I did, though I knew in so doing I was giving Lawrence the very delay he desired, as upon that issue evidence must have been taken in England, and notice of motion for a Commission to take it was actually given. Lawrence's counsel, however, instead of leaving the matter to stand in this way, replied—I avoid technical phrases—to my answer, and to their reply I demurred. The matter thus came up before Judge Benedict, and he decided in substance that the question whether the crime charged in the indictment was that for which extradition was had, was not a question for the court but for the Cabinet, and that even if the prisoner's plea were true it presented no defence, and he struck out all the pleadings and directed a plea of not guilty to be entered. My course in this matter was reported to and approved by my superiors. It will probably not weaken my statement in your eyes when I say that every step in the Lawrence matter was approved by Secretary Bristow and Solicitor Wilson, and I have from them more than one most hearty letter of thanks.

I believe I have disposed of the general ground-work of your article and your charges against me. You seize upon my alleged disobedience of orders to preach a sermon on the power and wickedness of the "party," and to abuse Senator Conkling over my shoulders. There having been no disobedience, and my whole course having been from the outset approved by my superiors, the chief value of your sermon is to exhibit the animus which pervades everything which you write as to myself and others greater than I. You and Mr. Wells, however, make one or two other assertions and insinuations which I may as well notice. You, in a measure, and he more distinctly, assert that the proceedings against Lawrence were initiated and carried on by me with a design to extract money from merchants, and that Mr. Jayne was my associate in this matter. To any one who knows the history of the case this perversion of facts is amazing. The fact is precisely this. Lawrence, from the time he arrived here, struggled in every way to escape punishment. If I would have consented to give him immunity on condition of his becoming a witness, I could have done so without any extradition proceedings. For twelve long months after he got back here there was a constant fight against me because I would not consent to this course. The attempt was made to overrule me through the Attorney-General, through Mr. Bristow, through the President, and my removal was more than once sought. In all of these proceedings Mr. Jayne acted in Mr. Lawrence's behalf, and against me. The arrangement which was finally made was initiated through Mr. Bristow and Solicitor Wilson, and in some of its features had my concurrence only because it met the wishes of those gentlemen. It involved no immunity to Lawrence, only gave him a chance to reduce his punishment by services to the Government and to justice. By the way, why is it that while you and Mr. Wells, and others like you, abuse the President because you allege he interfered to prevent the giving immunity to some rascals in the Whiskey Ring, in order that others might be punished and their property confiscated, you denounce what you in substance allege is a similar arrangement, made with the object of punishing importers who have defrauded the Government of hundreds of thousands of dollars of duties? Nothing in the history of the prosecution of the Lawrence frauds justifies the suspicion that money has been its object. Had I been willing to refrain from criminal proceedings, I could have collected many thousands for the Government. I have uniformly insisted upon criminal proceedings, and have only taken civil proceedings in one or two cases in connection with the criminal ones, where there was doubt of the application of the criminal law, and have even in those cases uniformly declared that they could not be got rid of by a money payment.

You assert that the District-Attorney's office is one of the chief centres from which money is furnished to "save the party" when election time comes round. Such falsehoods as this from the pen of any one but a reformer would be best characterized by some of the brief terms which Mr. Greeley was wont to use. I meet it by saying that in four years no money has been collected or furnished by or through my office for party purposes, save my own personal contribution to its necessary expenses—even my own assistants having been free from any contribution. As for your reference to the Phelps-Dodge case, I beg to remind you that the arrangement by which that firm was to pay the sum which I advised the Government to accept was made in effect by my predecessor, Hon. Noah Davis, before I took office.

Yours, etc.,

GEORGE BLISS.

[Upon the point whether Mr. Bliss did or did not obey his instructions and receive the approval of his superiors, we have nothing to oppose to his assertion that his private correspondence proves the affirmative. But that the published letter of the Attorney-General admits of a different construction he acknowledges, and we must pronounce his explanation of its tone and language very singular. Here it is, written, as Mr. Bliss says, by the first law-officer of the Government to one of his principal subordinates on the complaint of a prisoner's counsel, and without hearing the subordinate in his defence:

"SIR: Application is again made to me in the Lawrence case, with a long record and an opinion of Judge Benedict. I now repeat what I have heretofore written with carefulness and urgency, and what I carefully tried to impress upon you when I saw you here, that, for grave political reasons, Lawrence must first be tried upon the charge upon which he was extradited, and upon no other until that trial is ended, and whether subsequent proceedings for other crimes shall or shall not be taken must await the order of the President. Now, upon an examination of the papers, it is perfectly easy for you and the Court to determine upon what charge Lawrence was extradited, and to proceed to try upon that charge, and that only. This is a matter of great importance, and you must not blunder in it. There are consequences involved in it of a serious nature, as I have already told you, and we want to proceed in strict conformity with international law and international courtesy; therefore I merely add, *try him first upon the charge for which he was extradited, and for that only. This instruction is so specific and so definite that it does not seem possible that an honest mistake can be made in this case.* EDWARDS PIERREPONT, *Attorney-General.*"

If this does not support the assumption that Mr. Bliss had been showing a recalcitrant spirit in the matter, and was still suspected of intending to evade his duty, either we do not understand language or Mr. Pierrepont does not know how to use it. To an honest officer who had given no ground for doubting his good faith, the letter was most offensive. It most certainly does "intimate" that Mr. Bliss either had not followed the Attorney-General's directions, or had shown signs of a disposition not to follow them.

As regards the mode in which the question of Lawrence's liability to trial for other offences than the one for which he was extradited was brought before the Court, Mr. Bliss is unfortunately very obscure. We said in our article that Mr. Bliss improperly raised this point by a demurrer to the prisoner's plea that the offence charged in the instrument was a different one from the one for which he had been extradited. Mr. Bliss says he did deny this, and was prepared to take evidence on this issue, but that the prisoner replied to his answer, and that he then demurred to the reply, and "that the matter thus came up before Judge Benedict, and he decided in substance," etc. We take it for granted that by "the matter" Mr. Bliss means the point whether Lawrence was triable for another offence than the one for which he was surrendered, and that by the phrase "thus came up before Judge Benedict" he means that this point was raised by his demurrer—a state of facts which undoubtedly does put Mr. Bliss in a better position than the one described by us. But was it not his demurrer which brought the point before Court? At all events, we followed in our version the account given of the pleadings in the article in the *Law Review*. The author of that article, we believe, had examined the pleadings when he wrote, and he is as good a legal authority as Judge Benedict, and a better one than Mr. Bliss. We neither said nor insinuated anything with regard to the side supported by Jayne in this transaction. We mentioned that he was "in frequent consultation" with the prisoner, and his share in the moiety performances as the subordinate or agent of the District-Attorney and Custom-house stamped his character, and warranted the inference that there was more or less rascality and a good deal of "money" in any business to which he gave much attention.

Mr. Bliss has undoubtedly been the object of a good deal of obloquy at our hands, as well as those of other papers, during his tenure of his present office. None of his predecessors, as well as we can remember, have suffered in the same way; and it is not unnatural for bystanders to ask what it is that rouses so much hostility to an humble, obedient, and hard-working legal servant of the Government, whose business is simply the prosecution of criminals and defrauders of the revenue? It is not the newspapers only who indulge in it. If we talk for five minutes to any New

York merchant or lawyer or clergyman who is dissatisfied with the condition of politics and anxious for some change for the better, he is almost sure to break out into violent and unseemly language against Mr. Bliss. If we go to one of the good Republicans who form the Reform League which sent so many delegates to Cincinnati and which tried the other day to send them to Saratoga, and who passed those reform resolutions at the Union League Club which disgusted Mr. Cornell so much, denouncing the tyranny of office-holders in this city, the chances are a hundred to one that he will inveigh against Mr. Bliss as the head and front of the party corruption and degradation here. When Mr. Bliss wrote to the papers the other day alleging that the reform primaries were mere shows, Mr. Ellwood Thorne, the President, at once replied to him, not respectfully or tenderly, as to an honorable and harmless lawyer, but contemptuously and rudely, accusing Mr. Bliss in the most cruel way of doing what the late Mr. Greeley used to call "lying knowingly and wilfully, with naked intent to deceive."

No one can throw so much light on the origin of this wide-spread prejudice as Mr. Bliss himself, and we think he might do it by answering the following questions; and we promise, if he will do so in these columns, that we will take no editorial advantage of him, and, in fact, will make no comment on his answer, but leave him the last word. We may add that we intend nothing personally offensive in asking him—

1. Who recommended you for your present office, or, in plain English, who got it for you?

2. Do you honestly and sincerely believe that it was your standing at the bar which led to your appointment?

3. Do you suppose your skill and activity as a politician in the organization of "district associations" and "the fixing primaries" and controlling of caucuses and conventions had anything to do with it; and if so, how much?

4. How much of your time have you given on a fair average during the past four years to political "work," and how much money have you "personally" contributed to the funds of the party or for political purposes?

5. What is your idea of what the civil service of this Government ought to be as regards mode of appointment and tenure?

6. Is there any person in this city whose wishes or orders have as much weight as yours in the management of the party; and if so, who? Can any one else "fix a primary" as well as you can?—Ed. Nation.]

POLITICAL CRITICISM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As a constant reader of the *Nation*, I beg leave to enter my protest against a method of personal criticism by which it has begun the pending political canvass.

In an article in your paper of July 27, headed "The South in the Canvass," the following words are used: "During the next three or four months, Mr. Chandler and Mr. Cornell, and their subordinates and *assistants* in the canvass, will look for outrages and murders of negroes in their paper every morning as the most *welcome* bits of news on which the eye could light." (The italics are my own.)

Permit me to ask upon what ground or by what authority you impute to Mr. Chandler, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, a desire that murder shall be committed in order that the Republican party shall succeed? Your language conveys the imputation to my mind and to that of many other persons, and if the writer of the paragraph denies that it contains such an imputation, it surely behooves him to explain what he does mean. Can you avoid the inference that the man who would *welcome the account of a murder* would also desire that murder should be done? If it were said of you that "the editor of the *Nation* would welcome any evidence of a murderous propensity on the part of the Republican leaders in order that he might be able to maintain the imputation which he had thrown upon them," what epithet would you find severe enough to apply to him who should make the statement?

Again, whom do you join with Messrs. Chandler and Cornell under the title of *assistants* in the *welcome* that will be given to murders of negroes? Do you mean all who will assist in the canvass, or only those who will assist as members of the Committee? Your imputation is general, it includes some or all. Do you include the member of the National Committee from Massachusetts? Of course you will reply, No! Then will you please show me wherein the article *excludes* him from the imputation, and how those who are not as well informed as you are supposed to be are to *know* that he would not welcome the account of a murder that would help his cause? You say "the assistants" of Messrs. Chandler and Cornell will welcome the accounts of murder. Will you please *name* the assistants whom you mean to include in this most grave charge?

In another part of this same paper I find also the allegation: "The conflict within the Republican party between corruption and honesty is not yet over, and it behooves everybody, while throwing up his cap for Hayes, to keep a close eye on Chandler and Cornell." I infer from this paragraph that you mean to imply that "Messrs. Chandler and Cornell are both corrupt and dishonest." If you can give any other version of the inuendo in the paragraph I shall be glad to see it. To me it either means that or else (to me) it is the kind of writing that you have so well named "blatherskite."

I have followed the course of Mr. Z. Chandler in the Senate with care and attention upon many questions that called for courage, ability, and integrity, especially in the contest upon the money question, on which his speeches proved him not only true to an honest specie-standard, but true by conviction and from a thorough mastery of the subject. When your paper and others raised a hue-and-cry against his appointment as Secretary of the Interior, I sought evidence in the matter, and found that for the special department of the Government that of all others calls for an able *business* man. Such a man had been chosen; and one against whose personal integrity, through a long and successful business life, no whisper had ever been raised. It now appears that the conclusion which I then reached has been confirmed by a Democratic committee of the present House, whose report has in part been made public. I therefore ask, as a matter of right, why I should suspect Mr. Chandler of corruption or dishonesty, and for what purpose and with what expectation I am to watch him?

Unquestionably, there are great reforms to be made and great abuses to be remedied in the Republican party, and its great merit is that its masses can be trusted to do the work. But I know of no method of causing them to hesitate and falter, or even to doubt whether, after all, such abuses really and in truth exist, than for a paper which is especially looked to for judicial treatment of given cases to indulge in loose inuendo and cynical imputations, unsupported by proof, against the working Executive Committee of the party—that Committee itself having been chosen by a Convention in which the reform element selected a fit candidate as the one to whom the final work might safely be entrusted.

E. A.

Boston, August 8, 1876.

[We print this rather to gratify a friend than because we think it needs any reply. "E. A." went to Cincinnati in 1872 in a state of great disgust with the condition of the Government; none of the evils he then deplored have been remedied; most of them have been considerably aggravated. He has returned, nevertheless, to the party fold as the best thing he can do, and we do not blame him for it, but we must warn him against the extravagant zeal of a penitent. He must not pretend that he is now seated in the New Jerusalem, and that all the old fellows whom he used in his blindness to think evil spirits are really angels of light. We do not believe that he really supposed we meant that Messrs. Chandler and Cornell literally laughed and made merry when they heard of a murder of negroes, any more than he really supposed that we meant that they went out in the street and made a speech when we said in the same sentence that "they ran hastily to the nearest stump to spread the good news." "E. A." is not a humorous or imaginative man, but he cannot profitably participate in political discussion unless he has some comprehension of the rhetorical functions of human imagination. The solemn questions about our meaning in the use of the term "assistants" and about the connection between personal and political "corruption and dishonesty" we really must decline to answer. There are limits to this sort of civility.

Mr. Cornell's political character and career ought to be well known to anybody who puts pen to paper in this canvass. Of Mr. Chandler we shall only say that he has distinguished himself as the

opponent of civil-service reform, that he drove Mr. J. D. Cox out of office on the civil-service reform issue, and that so little impression of honesty, capacity, or seriousness of character had he made after a long political career, that when appointed to the Department of the Interior it was treated by every Republican paper which came under our eye as one of President Grant's sad mistakes. The best thing which the ablest of the Republican organs, the New *Times*, could say for him was that he was "a good man to sit up nights and tell stories." "E. A." apparently knows nothing about this, and tells us that Mr. Chandler has been honest in business, and has administered the affairs of the Department well since he came into office. This may be all true, but it is also true that Mr. Chandler has not a particle of sympathy with any of the reforms which Mr. Hayes is supposed to represent except the reform of the currency, and his appearance at the head of the canvass is, there fore, we fear, simply a mode of whitewashing one of the least reputable of "The Senatorial Group" which has brought the Government to the plight from which Hayes is expected to deliver it. We had intended entering more fully into Mr. Chandler's political history here, but cannot spare the space this week.—Ed. Nation.]

THE MASSACHUSETTS NORMAL ART-SCHOOL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I thought that in my previous letter I had sufficiently demonstrated the untrustworthiness of your correspondent, "Art Student," now called Mary Gunning, in her attack upon the above School. It seems, however, that you think sufficient of her aspersions to allow her to repeat them, and invent new ones as inaccurate as the first. That being so, I must ask you to allow me to contradict the misstatements reiterated, and those which appeared in your issue of August 3 for the first time.

I hope both yourself and your readers will see that I am not responsible for this useless controversy over the details and conduct of the School. The paper which allows its pages to be made the vehicle of such a series of misstatements must take that responsibility. My share in the matter is that in questions of fact the public shall not be misled as long as I have the means of preventing it.

I am, however, bound to say that a disappointed student, whose physical difficulties have made her attempted art-studies turn out a failure, ought not to be allowed in her naturally felt chagrin to misrepresent everything about a School she has benefited by, and left in dudgeon because she made less progress than other students. It seems to me the public can hardly be deeply interested in the private grievances of every art-student, many of which must be wholly imaginary, as is the case with Mrs. Gunning, but if so widely-read a paper as the *Nation* encourages statements such as she makes, there will never be a lack of such, from all parts of the country or the world. The supply of students who know more than their masters, and of lookers-on who know more of sailing a ship than the captain in charge, is practically inexhaustible.

Though I do not wish to occupy much of your valuable space, Mrs. G.'s letter must either be contradicted generally as full of inaccuracies, or refuted in detail, under each of the eight headings the letter is divided into. As the latter seems to me the fairest to both the public and the School, I shall adopt it, trusting to your love of fair play to let your readers who have seen the attack see the defence also; and the latter shall not be longer than the former.

1. Mrs. Gunning refers to page 19 of the Boston Drawing Committee's Report of 1875 for a list to support her previous misstatement of "the names of teachers who fail to comply with the rules and prepare for special examination in drawing." That is a list of (not "above a thousand," but 961 teachers—we might as well be accurate if we quote figures) those who have *passed* the examinations and have therefore complied with the rules, not *failed* to comply. There is not the name of one teacher in that list who has failed to comply, and such a list has never been published as Mrs. G. describes.

2. The "large percentage of the first year's students who were teachers of drawing, or students of the Lowell Institute," now dwindles to eight persons who were teachers out of fifteen persons of whom Mrs. G. "chanced to know something," and she then guesses that of the two hundred remaining students there was as large a percentage, though that is entirely contrary to fact.

3. Not being familiar with the regulations of the School, Mrs. G. may possibly fall into the mistake of confounding those who passed at one examination and those who completed their diplomas by just passing the examination and afterwards completing their works, thus obtaining their diplomas within the year; and of these, as I before stated, the number is not thirteen, as she asserts, but twenty-two. She is equally wrong in the following: "Up to last February the student who passed examinations on any subject was excused from further attention to it. This had been looked forward to as a great relief. Since that time students must keep themselves ready for further examinations on subjects already passed or lose so many marks." Instead of this being the case, students are prohibited from being re examined in a subject already passed. Many students who have passed well on all the subjects, save perhaps one, and obtained low pass-marks on that one subject, come to the School authorities before every examination and beg to be allowed to go in again and raise their records in the one low subject. No student has ever yet been allowed to do so, and in one single case, which occurred this year, where a student surreptitiously worked a paper on a subject he had before passed in, the paper was at once cancelled and the student reprimanded. Your readers can judge, therefore, of the value of statements of facts proceeding from Mrs. G. based on her "personal knowledge" of the School, when this is a specimen of one such statement compared with the actual truth.

4. When Mrs. G. wrote that the School was $20,000 in debt, and that the managers gave that as a reason why the students should pay a fee for incidentals, she made and now makes again two misstatements. At the time she wrote there was no such debt, nor had there been, in the sense of a debt which hangs on from year to year, the cost of fitting having been sanctioned by the Legislature and already paid by the executive. Reassertion does not make true that which has been untrue from first to last. When the work was completed, it was paid for.

5. Mrs. G. is evidently sore over the miscarriage of the libellous circular she assisted to prepare. Why the authors should expect the legislative postmaster to utter so low a production that its authors shrank from issuing it, or publicly identifying themselves with it, I cannot quite see. I suppose, however, that the official referred to knows his business, and, for myself, I should never have known of the existence of such a document but for the students' meeting at which it was read and condemned. But the way in which Mrs. G. *proves* the circular was not anonymous is a delightful piece of reasoning, and of a piece with the rest of her story: "That it was not anonymous you will see by a list of names I send of those interested in its preparation." So a circular without a name on it, and distributed broadcast in that condition, is *not* anonymous, because Mrs. G. sends the editor of the *Nation* a manuscript list of names on a paper detached from the circular!

6. I have only to repeat that no meeting of students has been called by the managers of the School to consider or express approbation of any system. The meeting held was as independent of the managers as the little coterie of half-a-dozen discontented persons who printed the circular I must still call anonymous.

7. Mrs. G. asserts that only three Boston school-teachers have passed the examinations, in opposition to my statement that several had done so each year. At the time I made this statement, I find by the records, twelve had already passed, giving an average of four each year, the lowest number in one year being three, whilst a much greater number have completed portions of the course. I may add also, in support of my statement that the School does not require more labor than can be healthily given by persons not otherwise employed, that out of 126 diplomas or certificates (which is the whole number hitherto granted) earned by students of Classes A and B, 59 of them were obtained by persons who were supporting themselves by their regular work when they took these diplomas in addition to their studies in the School. All these persons are to-day in a robust state of health, so why should less than half the work injure those who have nothing else to do?

8. For lack of more highly qualified and experienced teachers we are obliged to be content with those whose training is yet incomplete, and for the purpose of teaching elementary drawing they do very well. But I do not consider any person is competent to be principal of an art-school unless he or she could pass all the examinations of the four years' course of the Normal Art-School, and what these are, Mr. Editor, may be seen from a circular sent herewith. From this circular it will be seen that about one year and a half is given to scientific and two years and a half to artistic work, and that is as short a time as a person of average intelligence could devote to industrial art-study with the hope of knowing anything about it. I must again protest that I never advised Mrs. G. to take morphine, because I did not know what that drug was. If she had charged me with advising

her to take strychnine or prussic acid, I could not raise this bar of ignorance, but both charges would be equally true, and one about as likely as the other. The gentleman who prescribed morphine was probably her family physician; and if she talked to him as much as to her fellow-students about the prostration of her nerve-force, he would be very likely to do it.

WALTER SMITH, *Director of the School.*

BOSTON, Aug. 10, 1876.

[We can publish nothing more on this subject.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

ROBERTS BROS. will shortly publish 'Mercy Philbrick's Choice,' "from the pen of a well known and successful writer of fiction," who, together with other novelists of like standing, consents to write anonymously for a projected "No Name Series." It is to be hoped that there will be, on the authors' part, no wounding of self-love, and, on the public's, no disappointment of expectations based on the publishers' guarantee.——A 'Young Folks' Book of American Explorers,' by Mr. T. W. Higginson, is in preparation. Lee & Shepard will be the publishers.——Ginn Bros. publish immediately 'Essentials of English Grammar,' a school text-book by Prof. W. D. Whitney.——A memoir of the late Dr. S. G. Howe, by Mrs. Howe; and a memoir of the late W. S. Robinson ("Warrington"), together with a small collection of his letters, edited by his widow, are announced as in preparation.——Lockwood, Brooks & Co. have in press 'The Farmyard Club of Jotham,' by Dr. Geo. B. Loring.——William F. Gill & Co. announce 'Impressions and Reminiscences,' by George Sand, and the Autobiography of Harriet Martineau.——'The Wild Flowers of America,' text by Prof. Geo. L. Goodale and illustrations by Isaac Sprague, will be issued in parts by subscription by Hurd & Houghton.——Of Mr. Leypoldt's 'Tradelist Annual' for 1876, since the work has got beyond the need either of explanation or of praise, it is only necessary to say that the new features are a description of the book and stationery exhibit at the Centennial, with plans and illustrations; a directory of American publishers; and extracts from the Boston Public Library's 'Handbook for Readers,' for the better information of booksellers in regard to works of reference. The topical index is omitted in view of the publication before the close of the year of the comprehensive 'American Catalogue.' Mr. Leypoldt has the satisfaction of pointing to a great improvement in many of the catalogues which compose the 'Annual,' owing to the comparisons it has afforded, and more especially to his own exertions to bring about uniformity on the best principles of catalogue-making.

—The General Meeting of the American Social Science Association, we may remind our readers, will begin its sessions next week at Saratoga on Tuesday, Sept. 5, at 3 P.M. Mr. D. A. Wells, the president, will in his opening address discuss "The Present Industrial, Commercial, and Financial Depression—its Causes and Remedies." Among other papers of interest we note "The Silver Question," by Horace White; "Municipal Indebtedness," by Daniel L. Harris; "Wages," by Prof. F. A. Walker; "The Industrial and Social Condition of the South," by Charles Nordhoff; "Chinese Immigration to the United States"; "Township Organizations in the Newer States," by E. M. Haines; "The Civil Service," by Gamaliel Bradford; "Building Associations in Pennsylvania and Kindred Subjects in Europe," by Thomas Balch; "The Railroad Question"; "The Administration of Justice and a New Method for the Selection of Judges," by Dorman B. Eaton; "The Health of Schools," by Dr. David F. Lincoln, etc., etc. In connection with this meeting will be held the Annual Conference of the State Board of Public Charities. Governor Tilden will deliver the opening address.

—We have received a brief printed account of the nature and successful career of the Chicago Sunday Lecture Society, founded in the spring of 1874 with a cash capital of $6. The lectures are given at an hour in the afternoon which does not interfere with attendance on church services; the price of admission is ten cents; the subjects treated are non-theological, and by the best lecturers procurable, the "purely popular" platform orators being avoided; the officers of the society serve without remuneration. A course of sixteen lectures will begin November 1 proximo, and end March 1, 1877. During the three previous courses the attendance has grown from an average of 125 and an aggregate of 1,250 to 1,377 and 41,320 respectively. The society now has a fund of $400. Organizations patterned after it in St. Louis and Milwaukee have met with a like success. The present bulletin is put forth to encourage the formation of yet other societies; and the secretary, Mr. Alfred B. Mason, 107 Dearborn Street, Chicago, will be happy to furnish information to all who seek it.

—The sad treatment of the earth's satellite by writers of fiction has been often exposed, and we lately had occasion to point out a conspicuous example of it. Another instance, sent us by one of our readers in San Franciso, we give below in his own words:

"Your notice (in Number 577) of Mr. George MacDonald's 'Thomas Wingfold, Curate,' concludes as follows: 'We may point out, too, that he is as reckless of astronomy as the Bible is, not hesitating to introduce into the description of an *evening* scene the "old withered moon low in the west," although he is as well aware as the mathematicians are that the moon, when old, does not rise until after midnight and is then low in the east.' I can match this example of what I suppose we must accept as 'novelist's license' with another equally amusing. The hero of Spielhagen's 'Problematic Characters' has, at the end of the first chapter, a midnight interview with the full moon—he at his meridian (a bed-chamber window), she at the horizon. Lest there should be a doubt as to the hour, a timepiece is thoughtfully introduced which considerately strikes twelve."

—Our attention has been called to a communication published in the *Army and Navy Journal* for July 8, written by Mr. William Duane for the purpose of refuting a "slanderous attack" upon Col. William Duane, publisher and editor of the once famous *Aurora* newspaper, contained in the 'Diary' of Mr. J. Q. Adams recently published by his son; and the suggestion is made that, as the attack in question was "copied into" the *Nation* shortly after its appearance in the volume of the memoirs, we should reprint the reply. We have failed to discover the issue in which the alleged offence is said to have been committed, but we do not mind calling attention to the reply, which is written by Mr. William Duane, of Philadelphia, the grandson of Col. Duane. He says that the "attack" begins with the "erroneous statement that Col. Duane was an Irishman, the fact being that Col. Duane, though the son of an Irish emigrant, was born in the Province of New York." Mr. Duane goes on:

"It concludes as follows: He 'has been these seven years a public defaulter in his accounts, to the amount of between four and five thousand dollars, for which he is now under prosecution.' Having learnt, nearly half a century ago, what was the truth respecting Col. Duane's accounts as Adjutant-General of the United States Army, I have taken steps to procure the best evidence possible respecting the settlement of those accounts. The following document came to me from the Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, being a certificate from the Third Auditor, to whom my letter had been referred: 'The records of this office show that a settlement of the accounts of the late William Duane, Col. U.S.A., was made May 17, 1824, and a balance of $2,397 22 found due him, which sum appears to have been paid the following day, and his accounts balanced.

"(Signed) ALLEN RUTHERFORD, Auditor.'"

This is the substance of the reply; into the "motives" which led to the "attack" Mr. Duane, with a clearly inherited aptitude for the analysis of them, goes thoroughly; but we have not space to follow him.

—The *Atlantic* for September contains an interesting article by Edward Wheelwright, called "Personal Recollections of Jean François Millet." Mr. Wheelwright, it seems, though not exactly a student in Millet's *atelier*, lived for some time at Barbison to get the benefit of the French painter's instruction and advice, and so became almost intimate with him, and very intimate with the village and peasant life by which he was surrounded and from which he painted. Of Barbison—rather a hamlet than a village, unprovided as it is with church or school house or post-office, and supplied with its butcher, baker, *charcutier*, and physician also from the neighboring town of Chailly—he gives a very pleasant account, of a kind that is rarely met with in either English or French writing, because few Englishmen or Americans know much about French life of this sort, while to French writers it is too familiar to suggest minute description. Mr. Wheelwright has unusual powers of description, not of the brilliant or picturesque order, but of that kind which comes from a good command of language, combined with an accurate memory and taste. He has evidently taken to heart as a writer the lesson which he says Millet tried to impress upon him as the secret of painting—that the one thing is to *see* the object yourself before attempting to place it before other's eyes. Barbison, in Mr. Wheelwright's hands, becomes a very real place. The slightly winding single street, neatly paved with square blocks of stone, swept clean and kept in excellent repair; the line of houses on each side, at short intervals apart, the spaces between them shut in by high walls, enclosing the one-storied dwellings—the older ones covered with ancient thatch and moss, made gay in the spring by the blossoms coming from chance seeds that had found a resting-place there; the houses on the sunny side of the way half hidden by grape-vines growing upon trellises—all these objects Mr. Wheelwright makes very vivid, as he does also the interiors behind the gateways; the *cour*, with its domestic manure-heap, well, wood-pile, and the garden in the rear opening directly upon the great Plain, stretching as far as the eye can reach, level and open, with here and there groups of rocks and trees and widely-scattered villages, free of walls

fences, or hedges except immediately around these, and all under cultivation, with ploughing, sowing, and reaping, and the annual revolution of peasant life. On the other side of the village we have the *Porte aux Vaches*, near the entrance to the forest of Fontainebleau, whither the cow-herd of the commune, who comes every morning through the village street blowing his horn (at the sound of which the doors of the cow-houses open), takes the lowing herd in a long procession, and watches them till nightfall, when the procession forms again, the goodwives again open their gates, and each cow as it reaches home turns in at the well-known entrance. Apropos of the "Biblical character" of Millet's pictures, Mr. Wheelwright makes some interesting observations. We should hardly have expected to find any connecting link between the life of the New World and the Old in a French hamlet like Barbison, but we do find it, it seems, through the Bible, which describes persons and modes of life impressed upon our minds early in life, yet without any corresponding external types. These types may still be found in existence in this little village :

"Many of the images that illustrate so profusely the sacred writings, and which to us are mere figures of speech, are in the old countries of Europe, as well as in the East, actual facts. When you see the sower go forth to sow in the uninclosed fields, you understand how some of the seed might easily fall by the wayside : and when you see women and children weeding the green grain, a new light is cast upon the parable of the tares that choked the wheat. On the plain of Barbison, as in Palestine, the shepherd still *leads* his sheep, and the sheep know his voice ; still, at certain seasons, the shepherds abide in the fields at night, watching their flocks. The gleaners still follow the reapers amid the wheat, and in Millet's picture of Ruth and Boaz the story is told, with no violation of probability, as happening in a French harvest-field. You may give it the Scripture title or call it *Les Moissonneurs* with equal propriety."

—The appearance in the *Atlantic* of Mr. Howells's farce, "The Parlor Car," is an unusual experiment in magazine literature. There seems to be in this bright little play, as well as in its author's novels, a striking of just the right light-comedy key. Whether the piece possesses the indefinable but essential something without which a play is naught, and of which the stage itself is the only touchstone, it is of course impossible for us to say. It is a serious misfortune for the future of our dramatic literature that there is no market here for one act plays ; as our audiences do not like long performances, managers, relying for attraction on one strong play, think they would only weaken their programme by adding a shorter piece. A play in three acts is now the shortest with any chance of production. It is only by accident or at a benefit that we see a 'Morning Call' or 'Uncle's Will.' This was not always so here ; it is not so now in Europe : MM. Dumas, Augier, and Feuillet do not disdain to write one-act comedies, nor does the public despise them. The first performance of one act by MM. Meilhac and Halévy is a Parisian event, and with the 'Visite de Noces' M. Dumas drew crowded houses for many nights. By the exclusion of the short comedy not only is our stage deprived of the many tempting subjects fit for dramatic treatment, yet too slight to bear expansion beyond the limits of a single act, but the development of the younger dramatic authors is directly and doubly hindered. For, first, the manager, relying upon one long play expensively mounted, rarely dares to trust to the work, however good, of a novice, although he would hardly hesitate to risk the production of a single act—were they the fashion—by an unknown writer, who, thus getting an opening, might in time gain experience, and at last become well enough known for the manager to venture upon the production of a more important piece. And, secondly, the playwright is less likely to produce good three- and five-act plays when deprived of the opportunity of practising his pen in slighter work. Especially is he seen at a disadvantage when compared with the novelist. The short story bears the same relation to the novel as the one-act comedy to the five-act. Now, to the novelist are open the many magazines in the writing of short stories on which he may try his prentice-hand, testing his strength and gaining ease. That we have no American comedy as good as any one of the novels of James, Howells, Aldrich, or De Forest is due, at least in part, to the fact that to the writer of fiction are given opportunities of experience denied to the embryo dramatist.

—The *Galaxy* has one of the posthumous instalments of General Custer's papers and the beginning of some new political reminiscences by Mr. Gideon Welles, which are sure to be worth reading, as well as a good many other articles, about some of which we do not feel so confident. Mr. Albert Rhodes, who wields a facile pen—though not a pen of that kind which immediately suggests a proverb with regard to its weight in the world's affairs as compared with the sword—has an article in this number called "Shall We Drink Wine?" a question which he proposes to answer : We shall, but it will be a light wine. It is, as he says, persistently maintained by some of the temperance agitators that wine is as bad as alcoholic liquors, and this they prove by a number of Scriptural texts, while others of a more rational type think that the only reason why the inhabitants of wine-growing countries are not given to drunkenness is because they are not of "Saxon race." This last position Mr. Rhodes thinks untenable, because "the population of Spain and France is largely Celtic, and it is a sober one ; while that of Ireland, also Celtic, is as much, if not more, addicted to drunkenness than our own." This sentence looks as if "Celtic" arguments of all sorts might among the weaker brethren prove as misleading as "Latin" arguments used to twenty years ago, when all the peculiarities of civilization and problems of politics along the European coast of the Mediterranean were explained and solved on the theory that the inhabitants were descendants of Romulus. The negative argument used by Mr. Rhodes may be sound, but we doubt if it convinces many people that there is not something in the blood of English-speaking people which inclines them to strong drink, and which the introduction of light wines will never wholly eradicate. The fact, too, that the French are a temperate people has of late years been less readily taken for granted than of old, and the revelations as to the ravages made among the Parisians by absinthe, and the description published a few years since of the drunken habits of the peasantry in the champagne country, reinforced by the circumstance that there is no literature fuller of the praise of bacchanalian joys than the minor poetry of France, may cause us to doubt whether even cheap and light wines will altogether save us. No doubt, high civilization, with all the safeguards it provides in the way of constant occupation, cultivated tastes, and diversified amusements, constantly tends to sober habits, and accordingly we find that the drunkenest nations in the world are those in which there is the least of what we call civilization, as, for example, Russia. If we are willing to admit that France and Germany are more highly civilized than ourselves and England and the tribes presided over by Sitting-Bull and Man-that-walks-under-the-ground, we may find an explanation of their inferior appetite for brandy and whiskey.

—"California Housekeepers and Chinese Servants" is the title of an article in *Scribner's* by Sarah E. Henshaw, which gives a more minute and intelligible account of the merits and vices of Mongolian domestics than we remember to have met with elsewhere. To change from Irish to Chinese is not, in this observer's opinion, to pass from purgatory to paradise. The change does not give absolute rest, but rather refreshes the housekeeper, as a change from one kind of bodily exertion to another reinvigorates the athlete. The change is one which substitutes a set of heathen faults for a set of Christian faults. The stories she tells illustrate this melancholy proposition. The first is of a "China-boy," engaged in opposition to the remonstrances of the "trusted Bridget" already in the house. A "neat, rather handsome fellow" he is described as having been, who appears, bundle in hand, disappears into his room, and reappears in five minutes "clad in the daintiest of white blouses and aprons, his pigtail girded around his head as meaning business, and, with the quietest step and mien," coming to the parlor, where, with "his head slightly bowed, his hands folded, perfectly silent," he awaits orders. Sad as it is to relate, after this auspicious beginning, in the middle of the afternoon another Chinaman appeared on the scene, and much conversation ensued, the employer supposing in her ignorance that it consisted of mutual congratulations between the friends on the character of the place. At five o'clock the "China-boy," again submissive, and with bowed head, "stood before" his mistress, and announced the situation in these words : "My fiend heap-good boy ; he stay you ; I catch-um place, San Flancisco." On which he summarily departed, leaving behind him a quite inferior substitute, "and with him," the writer adds, "went, as we learned that evening, all the cracked-wheat which we chanced to have in the flour-closet." Very keen, observant, and bright, these Chinese servants will take in all that it is necessary to learn about a house without seeming to notice anything, and without the need of that drill which is so necessary with the Irish, so that it is not on the score of stupidity that any objection can be made to them. With obstinacy, however, it is a different matter, for, as has been often observed, it is next to impossible to make them do anything otherwise than as they learnt it from the first person who taught them. Whether this is really obstinacy or a peculiarity of race might perhaps be a question. Another point in their character is their clear apprehension of "the aggregate value of small quantities" and the ease with which minute taxes levied on the family stores may, in the long run, be made to amount to a considerable provision against a rainy day. To lie and steal are not with them vices, but to be found out is a disgraceful crime, and this system of ethics is evidently one which does not work as well for the master as for the man. No matter how kind you may be to them, they show no gratitude. "The Chinaman who takes care of our garden, a great gambler, and therefore

often reduced to straits, will come to us when hungry to be warmed and filled, and if he gets opportunity will carry off on leaving the premises a loaf of bread, a roll of butter, or all the eggs in the hen-house." One blessing about Chinese service is that there is no "hard feeling," which so often "makes it a matter of dread to discharge an Irish girl." The Mongolian simply says, "You no likee me, I go," and departs, leaving everything in order behind him. As regards the strong feeling of hospitality which leads the Irish to entertain their relations and "followers" at their employer's expense, there seems to be little difference between them and the Chinese; indeed, is not this a trait common almost to all races of servants? while as to permanency of service no one expects it, inasmuch as the Chinese come here for money, and twenty-five cents is a sufficient inducement for going or staying anywhere. High wages, therefore, is the only sure reliance. "When they desire to leave, there is absolutely nothing which can be appealed to to prevent it, no matter what the embarrassment, inconvenience, or trouble of the family, except money. Therefore, it has come to pass that most housekeepers make it a rule never to pay them quite all their wages until ready to part with them. For only thus can anything like justice be extorted from our Celestial servitors. All are eager for money, all are grasping and venal; and this unblushingly, as a matter of course, as the recognized law of their life. And for skill in a bargain they out-Yankee us all. No one understands so well how to ask a high price, to recede step by step, to chaffer and argue and feel the pulse of the market, and to drop just in time to secure the prize." On the other hand, they have, or at any rate it is a difficult matter to say whether they have not, a sense of honor of a certain kind; and many housekeepers believe that less pilfering goes on if they are trusted than if everything is put under lock and key. They are, as everybody knows, good cooks, laundrymen, and waiters, but "chamber-work" they "do not take to, and they are as ready to slight it as other servants." One thing which, the writer conjectures, "probably would never enter the mind of Eastern people in connection with Chinese servants," but which is "true everywhere in California among those who employ them," is that, no matter how good a Chinaman may be, "ladies never leave their children with them, especially little girls." This seems to come not from any dread inspired by experience, but a vague feeling that the Chinese character is an "unknown quantity," and may easily be trusted too far. Housekeepers will find the article, which seems to be based on a pretty wide experience, practically valuable, and bachelors, without houses to keep, who read it will no doubt gloat with a base feeling of satisfaction over a collection of facts which go to show that, even with Chinese servants, married life has its allotted crosses.

—There is in the July number of the *New Quarterly Magazine* an article by Mr. J. W. Comyns Carr, contrasting the "Academy and the Salon," which is not without interest for those engaged in watching the progress of the art spirit in the United States, and especially is it interesting to those among us—carping critics, it may be—who do not see in our N.A. (modelled upon the English R.A.) perfection itself. Mr. Carr thinks that not only does the Royal Academy not represent the state of English art, but from its very nature cannot do so. It is a sluggish, fixed, unyielding body, with enormous *vis inertiæ*, which "has lost no time in proving its utter inability to secure the support of what is highest, and it has indeed scarcely succeeded in keeping pace with popular taste." In one particular, perhaps the most important, the Academy compares very unfavorably with the Salon. In London the jury to select works of art for the annual exhibition is in fact composed of the members of the council, who assume the duties and responsibilities of their office in order of rotation. In the larger body of forty-two members, out of which the council is formed, there is no chance of change, save by death or retirement. . . . Thus, perhaps, for a generation or more the artists of England may have to make their appeal to what is practically a fixed tribunal of taste." In Paris, the jury this year consisted of twenty, five appointed by the Administration and fifteen elected by the votes of a constituency comprising "all artists who are either members of the Institute or decorated with the Legion of Honor, or who have obtained a medal or 'Prix du Salon' at any preceding exhibition." The number of votes cast was 246. Among the fifteen elected were MM. Bonnat, Fromentin, Breton, Delaunay, Henner, and Vollon, and only five of the fifteen were members of the Institute. Of course entire satisfaction is never given by the jury, even in Paris, as the occasional exhibition of rejected works of art shows, but both in theory and practice the Salon is more justly made up than the Academy, to which many of the leading modern artists—notably Messrs. Rossetti, Whistler, and Burne Jones—rarely or never contribute. Mr. Carr's article is suggestive reading, even for Americans, for although the evil effects are not so great in our N.A. as in the R.A., yet the system is essentially the same, though we think that when the need of reform becomes urgent it will be more readily obtained here, where the influence of French art and French example is strong, than in England, where it has to combat with hereditary prejudice.

—The archæologists of Athens are delighted with the results of their recent excavations around the base of the Acropolis. The site of the temple of Asclepius has been brought to light, and many inscriptions have been found, sepulchral, votive, and public, with sculptures and fragments of statues. One of the public inscriptions has been printed in the Athenian newspapers, and is of unusual historical value. It consists of eighty lines, thirty-two letters in the line, and is in a very perfect state. The inscription is a psephism, fixing the relations between Athens and her ally, Chalcis, which had revolted with the rest of Euboea, and was reconquered 445 B.C. Thucydides, I. 114, describes the war briefly. Plutarch is more full, and adds that Pericles expelled the aristocracy of the Hippobotae from Chalcis. The expulsion may have taken place before the passage of this psephism under the authority of Pericles as conqueror, or possibly may have been an exercise of the power to guard Euboea herein conferred on the board of generals. Thucydides refers to terms of surrender, and these are doubtless incorporated into the present decree. Another Athenian decree of the same period, referring to Histiaea of Euboea, is preserved in a very imperfect form in Boeckh, C. I. 73 c. This psephism is in three parts, originating with three different movers. The first section prescribes the oaths to be taken by the Boule and Dicasts of Athens on the one side, and by all the adult males of Chalcis on the other. The Athenians pledge themselves to abstain generally from arbitrary violence in various forms, and the Chalcidians take a comprehensive oath of allegiance, including a promise to pay tribute. Registers are to be made of all persons who take the oath, and any Chalcidian not taking it is to be deprived of civil rights and forfeit all his property. The second section provides that the oath, for which some directions have been already given, shall be taken in the same way as had been prescribed in the case of the Eretrians. The matter of hostages, in respect to which some change seems to have been proposed by the conquered city, is left as already voted until some change shall be mutually satisfactory. Foreign residents, who do not pay taxes at Athens, must do so at Chalcis like the citizens. A copy of this act, engraved on stone, shall be erected in both cities. Sacrifices which have been ordered by the oracles in behalf of Euboea shall be offered at once. Speed in executing these arrangements is repeatedly enjoined. The last section authorizes the euthynae for Chalcidians against one another to be in Chalcis, except for banishment, death, and atimy; for these there may be an appeal to Athens. The board of generals is to exercise the best watch possible over Euboea in the interest of Athens. There are some matters of interest incidentally made known by the inscription, such as the existence of a temple of Olympian Zeus at Chalcis, and its use as a depository of records. It has also terms that call for special explanation, as "the Heliaea of the Thesmothetae"; but its great value is in showing the relation of Athens to one of her subject allies.

—Since the above was written, a copy of the *Athenaion* has been received which contains a lithographic fac-simile of the inscription respecting Chalcis with the text of fourteen other decrees of less importance. From the fac-simile it appears that there is no lacuna in the title of the inscription where the name of the clerk usually appears in decrees of this period. There are indications on the side of the stone where the lines begin that it was originally joined to another slab not yet discovered, which probably bore a prior decree relating to the same subject. Some of the inscribed stones were found in removing a piece of mediæval masonry which had been supposed to be necessary to support the Cimonian wall on the south edge of the Acropolis. Among the other inscriptions are decrees relating to the Halieis, to Miletus, Neopolis on Thasos, Klazomenæ, Samos and Mytilene, and also respecting "an alliance of Athenians and Arcadians and Achæans and Aleans" in 362 B.C., the year of the battle of Mantinea. The Archæological Society deserves credit for publishing the details of its discoveries so promptly.

RECENT NOVELS.*

MRS. WHITNEY'S novels are very much alike, and, in spite of the frequent faults of style and manner, there is always something so attractive in the picture she draws of New England life that it makes the reader patient of exaggeration and distortion in the execution. In her latest novel, 'Sights and Insights,' the good side of her work is as good as it is

* 'Sights and Insights: Patience Strong's Story of Over the Way. By Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney, author of 'The Other Girls,' etc.' 2 vols. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876.

anywhere else, but the faults are, if anything, more marked than usual, so that the division of the subject in the title indicates also to what part praise and to what part blame is to be given. "The Sights" are those of Europe, and they are in many ways well described; the "Insights" are views into the human heart, and they are of a very singular sort.

The story is told by Miss Patience Strong, an orphan, forty-eight years of age, who mourns her mother, referring to her generally as "motherdie," *e.g.*, "I have motherdie's dear little tin foot-warmer, which is better than any bag, and warms heart and feet both, being a little piece of the very home-corner of home that I can take all over the world with me." Her main interest in life is what goes on among the people about her, detecting or inventing motives for their actions, judging their character and approving it according to their proneness to gush, and following out their intrigues, not out of contemptible curiosity, but out of a certain kindly sympathy and a sort of pride in her own power of insight. She tells the story in a series of letters to a friend, and, while avowedly describing her visit to Europe, she smuggles in one full-fledged love-affair and a promising flirtation or two which may yet come to something. The object of this journey is the restoration of the health of an old servant, Emery Ann, who furnishes a good deal of enlivening Yankee talk to a book with almost as pronounced a religious tone as the once famous Fairchild family. On the steamer on the way out, and in Europe, there is a good supply of Mrs. Whitney's former heroes and heroines. General Rushleigh comes with his old flame, who married Mr. Armstrong; Miss Euphrasia Kirkbright, the Goldthwaites, a young Halabird, and others make ghostly re-entrance into this book. But whatever their names, whether old friends or new ones, like Mr. Truesdaile, an Englishman, they all talk in the same ingenious way, hiding their meaning in a cloud of words; as, for instance, in answer to the question, "What does water give you a feeling of?" Miss Strong answers: "It feels . . . of many things, as it has many forms—of life, of truth, and the eternal refreshing; of cleansing and satisfying, of surrounding and inflowing, of answering and likeness, of pureness, of gladness, of might that is fluid—gentle and awful as great floods, of everlastingness"; or again, struggling for obscure illustrations: "'But life *is* images after all,' said Margaret; 'everything is an image. When these people [they were looking at statues] were alive, their bodies were images; their looks and their motions were signs. You can have nothing in any other way. A thought is a sign; for it must come in a sign shape, or else, as we say, we do not get hold of it.'" No extracts, however, can give any fair notion of the way the characters carry on their talk together, quoting texts and bits of texts at one another, till the reader's head is giddy; for instance, General Rushleigh helps on a conversation about graven images by saying:

"'A thought put into words even is a dead thing, except as the words touch back upon the life out of which they came, or that which is quick to receive it.'

"'And stone is the very hardest, most literal thing, the deadest, the lowest; so I suppose it stands for all the rest.'

"'That is just it,' said General Rushleigh. 'It stands for that all through the Scriptures. The stones of the Temple that should not be left one upon another, because the Lord had come to make a living Temple; the stones that he himself would not make bread of, because man shall live by the gift of God; the *promise* about the giving—that if a man asks bread the Father will not give him a stone; and the forbidding: "Ye shall not make to *yourselves* graven images": don't they all mean one thing—that life is not dead but living? Fluent in beautiful change, coming down and out always; fed to us, not held and stored away; pulsed into us, not set outside of us to grasp and define,'" etc., etc.

People who could talk in this way or listen to it with enjoyment could very well sit in their parlors at home and reason themselves to Europe or up the side of a house without inconvenience. When it is known that certainly a third of the book is made of this curious jumble of sentimentality, religion, transcendentalism, and stammering affectation, the reader may feel as inclined to fly from the novel as he would from these people in real life, with their intense admiration for themselves and their ways, and contempt for people who do not boast of being sympathetic, and with their absolutely indecorous want of reserve.

To outweigh faults of this magnitude, and we have tried not to exaggerate them, there must be something in the novel of great merit, and what this is it is not hard to find. Mrs. Whitney has gone over the familiar track of European travel, and she has expressed anew and with considerable accuracy the impression made upon those who see it all for the first time. The little round Miss Patience Strong made in Switzerland led her into no unknown by-ways, but the beauty of the scenery and its novelty really moved her, and the nonsense left her when she was not under the immediate influence of her travelling companions. Pictures, statues, ruins, and famous architecture found in her a warm admirer, who was sincere in her admiration even if at times a trifle incoherent. We have here something more genuine and better worth reading than the would-be mystical talk of General Rushleigh and the rest. Another merit of the book is that these characters, whom we have been abusing, have beneath all their absurdities and narrowness qualities which can only be admired. This reprieve does not include Miss Euphrasia Kirkbright; she is incorrigible; and why she should be crowded into two voyages across the Atlantic it is hard to see, when one reflects how easy it would have been to marry her to a foreign nobleman, to have thrust her down a crevasse in the Alps, to let her be washed overboard on the way out, or even not come at all or by another steamer, for she was of no more service to them than a sea-chair was when they all were travelling on the Continent. The men are not so very well drawn; General Rushleigh seems about as much of an actual being as does the "general reader," and Stephen, though undoubtedly "earnest," is yet young; but the women are better. Mrs. Regis is a very amiable creature, and whenever Mrs. Whitney undertakes to paint her black, that hue is diluted into a very pallid tint; but the girls are admirable. Margaret's talk is often foolishness, but she is a fine, honest creature; Edith is another, who is more amusing; and the two represent, in their better qualities, the results of that principle of American education which lets girls grow up in something like independence. Certainly, the purity, innocence, and self-reliance of this girlishness are all well indicated here, as they invariably are by Mrs. Whitney, and this is her surest claim to admiration.

Whoever cares to read again about the abduction of a young and beautiful heiress whose golden locks are cut off and sent to her father in a bag which he thinks contains potatoes, so that the blow is to him a double one; about the general belief of most of the characters that she is dead, while the reader is as certain that she is alive as of his own existence; about the wiles of the lawyer who has plotted all this villany that he may marry the rich girl to his own son; about her delusions during her captivity, and her opinion that it is all as it should be, and her escape when her hair is grown again—whoever cares for all this, let him take up 'Cripps, the Carrier.' Its author, Mr. R. D. Blackmore, has acquired a certain amount of reputation by his stories, but he has shown a contempt for it which would honor an Eastern sage in writing this melodramatic tale. It is hard reading; the dependence of the chapters on one another is ill observed, and the rustic talk of many of the characters is inclined to be wearisome; but what is more remarkable than anything else is the indifference of every one, father and neighbors, to the dreadful tragedy which is supposed to have taken place. They could hardly have been more indifferent or readier to bow to the decrees of Providence if nothing worse had happened than that the bag of potatoes had been stolen, than they are about the disappearance of this girl, and under the circumstances it is hard to suppose that the reader can be much moved. Mr. Blackmore may recall the lines which tell him who has to weep first if he wishes to make his readers weep.

Mrs. Cadell's 'Ida Craven' is a very good novel. Its subject is the married life of a young woman who, after a scrappy education in different parts of Europe, when still very young, marries an East Indian official twenty years her senior. She takes this step without loving him, as much from a careless curiosity about her own fate as from any motive, while at the same time she likes him as much as she does any one. When in India with him, she tries to make him a good wife; but her romantic dreams are far from satisfied, and when she has much idle and lonely time on her hands the appearance of an attractive but slightly scampish former lover of hers arouses her from her apathy and threatens to cause considerable confusion. It will be noticed that Mrs. Cadell is not the first novelist to step on this thin ice, but there have not been many who have treated the matter with more taste and naturalness. Generally, this condition of things is treated in a conventional manner by novelists, who plunge their hands into the hearts of the indifferent wife, the unconscious husband, and the ardent lover, and bring up a good deal of morbid sentiment which attempts to show that what is wrong is right. In 'Ida Craven,' however, we find a much healthier treatment; the heroine has eyes to see her duty, and does it; she turns off her philandering lover and tells her husband, who swallows the pill as well as he can; and in time the curtain falls on a reunited and happy couple. These few lines do but scant justice to the clever way in which the author has drawn the heroine's character and has followed its growth from the stony-hearted indifference of early youth to its maturity through severe experience. Observation and humor form a good part of the

'Cripps, the Carrier: A Woodland Tale. By Richard Doddridge Blackmore, author of 'Lorna Doone,' 'Alice Lorrain.'' With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

'Ida Craven. By Mrs. H. M. Cadell.' Leisure Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.

outfit of a number of Englishwomen who have a way of writing very readable novels. Mrs. Oliphant is perhaps the best representative of the class, which many readers will recognize, and Mrs. Cadell is a new and very promising addition to a list of writers who have given the present generation much innocent enjoyment.

'Aileen Bay' is a singular book, in which the author has written a description of his home near the Great Dismal Swamp, where "at night the moon spreads her glow-worm light over each roof, and in the dreamlike vicissitude Hamburg represents a fairy village discovered as by a microscope. Many nights have I stood beside some dear form and watched the beautiful stars raise the milky-way, and then, looking around at the rows and circles of trees, wondered if I should ever see another world that I would like better. I almost always concluded, 'I am afraid not.'" The story is something almost incredible. The hero had been unhappy in his marriage and had fled to the Dismal Swamp, where he had discovered a foundling, a little girl, whom he brought up by hand on arrow-root, gruel, catnip, and sugar-rag, and determined to train up for a more congenial mate. When she was five years old he sent her to a neighbor's, and "it now became my intent to visit her every Sunday. I would not go oftener, lest I should become an old thing to her and blight prematurely the hope I was cherishing in the future. The distance was a mile, pine woods all the way, where my sighs might have been heard every day in the week like the howls of the wind, my heart weeping over the traces of her dear little feet. These I ask not to forget," etc. Here is another gem: "I was sitting low down upon the root of a tree in the loneliest of lonely places, listening to the soft howls of summer, as attentively as a maiden to her 'first' lover's vow. From such consolation—such it were—I was interrupted by the fluttering of heavy wings in the distance, and on looking attentively, as I was prepared to do, I descried a fowl by the violent shaking of a limb. The tree was a tall gum, and in its topmost branches, waving towards the sea, sat three chicken-hens and their lord, a masterly fellow, who had just gone to roost." The plot of the story matches the style of this bold author.

Lady Margaret Majendie's 'Giannetto' is a prettily-written little Italian story, with charming descriptions of some few sides of life in that country, and a general air of having been studied from nature, while it suffers meanwhile from the introduction of a sort of supernatural flavor which nowadays, when literalness of local color is so abundant, is as unimpressive as a ghost would be in a horse-car at midday. The story tells of a singer who, after having been dumb from birth, bursts out into song; and his voice, obtained, it is suggested, by a compact with the Evil One, gives him wealth to the detriment of his moral character. With that exception, which is an important one, the little book is agreeable reading.

'Fire and Flame' is a translation from the German of Levin Schücking, and treats of the extraordinarily complicated love-affairs of Ferdinand von Schott and Elsie von Mellroth. Since it is on the plot of the novel that all the interest depends, it would be unfair to give that at any length; it may be permitted, however, to say that the snarls of the thread of the story are agreeably baffling, and that he will be a wise reader who is not off the track once or twice before finishing the book—and that is high praise, for readers and authors generally run about as close a race as do burglars and safe-makers. The writer does not make a happy start, for after beginning in the year 1851 with love-affairs, robberies, engagements, etc., on arriving at Chapter VI. one finds: "The events just related are now stories of long-vanished days. Many years have passed since then, seventeen, perhaps eighteen," and after leaping over that gap and going on for a few chapters more, it is necessary to turn back again seventeen years, and fill up the intervening interval. There is no such lapse of time, however, to explain calling the Prince of Achsenstein "thin and bony" on page 68, and then, p. 118, speaking of his "stout form." This does not mar the story, it is true; the Prince had to be put out of the way, and so he was suddenly fattened up for an attack of apoplexy. The translation is well done and reads smoothly. This novel will probably not live seventeen years in the future, but it will do fairly well for a rainy afternoon in the country in this autumn and the next.

'The Pilot and his Wife' is a story of considerable ability, treating of Norwegian life, and containing two well-drawn characters—those who give the book its title. The pilot is a man of a self-tormenting, jealous temperament, and the story deals with his struggle with this dark side of his nature, and the victory of reason and better thoughts. The book abounds in a rare poetic force.

Although "Ouida" has been considered worthy of a long article in a recent number of the *Westminster Review*, she shows in her latest novel, 'In a Winter City,' very little inclination to leave that atmosphere of boundless wealth, strong perfumes, and cigarette-smoke which her readers know so well. We have here the same high society, gambling, drinking, flirting, and being cynical, that we have often met under other but not higher-sounding names. There is but little doubt that in the future this accomplished writer will be devoting her attention to tales with a distinct moral purpose, if not to the composition of tracts; at present, however, she employs herself in amassing material for future repentance. It would be superfluous to say that she writes like a rowdy who has a certain feeling for things pathetic. In this novel, with a great deal of more than useless filigree, she narrates with some skill the love of an Italian duke for an immensely wealthy English widow, who loses her fortune when she marries again. "Ouida" manages, in spite of all her faults, to make the people seem at times like something more than dissipated dolls.

In far better taste is 'Miss Molly.' This simple story describes a pleasing flirt whose experience of life is tolerably rugged. Her lover, after becoming engaged to her, is sentenced to five years' imprisonment for manslaughter. He is haughty, and thinks it would be unfair of him to marry her under the circumstances, but she thinks not.

'Free, yet Forging their Own Chains,' in spite of its sententious title, is a novel of some merit, of which the scene is laid in the coal region of Pennsylvania. It does not lack exciting incidents, and it contains enough villains to equip a good-sized county-jail. The virtues of the good and the vices of the bad are put in rather glaring contrast.

This is what the hero of 'Leah Mordecai' writes in his journal: "Saturday night—by Jove! *Sunday morning*, I suppose I should write to be strictly truthful. And I guess that orthodox people would roll their pious eyes, and declare that I had better be in bed at this hour, instead of writing in my journal. But it makes no difference." Meanwhile, the heroine is soliloquizing thus: "Miserable girl that I am! Surely some evil star shone over the hour and place of my birth. But I'll hope on for the best, and still continue to look forward to the coming day when my life shall be separated from the wretched woman who now so darkly overshadows my existence." This wretched woman was a step-mother, who managed to outdo any woman we ever read about in fiction in inflicting misfortune upon her fellow-characters.

Verses from the 'Harvard Advocate.' (New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1876. 12mo, pp. 154.)—College generations are so short that the survival of a college paper for ten years gives proof of its possession of more than common vitality. This volume of verses affords in part an explanation of the long life of the *Harvard Advocate*. In tone they are creditable to the youths who frequent our oldest university, the more so because there is no pretence or affectation of age in them. By-and-by most of these young poets will see, as clearly as their elders see now, that the writing of verse is usually a mere trick and disposition of youthful blood. And yet the exercise of rhyming is not without its use as a refined and refining gymnastics of the mind. Many a young would-be sonneteer has learned to prize the sonnets of Shakspere, Milton, Wordsworth, or Keats more truly at their worth through his own unwasted labor over the fourteen lines in which he desires to enshrine the charms of his Chloe or the loveliness of his Lucasta. Have we not all been young once? And now that we write verses no more, do we always read the best with a fervor as inspiring as at the very time that we were writing some of the worst? The verses in this volume are written by several hands, and many are of unusual excellence. The best among them, written by a young man of great promise, since dead, bear evidence of uncommon poetical abilities and a remarkable maturity of expression, as well as mastery of versification. The art of parodying has been of late years pushed to such a height of perfection that more than one poet of established reputation is able to write better in the manner of some other bard than in his own; and it is to be expected that in a collection of college verse there will be found a good many imitations and burlesques; but we confess we did not expect to find any nearly so good as the "Poetical Molecules" in this volume, in which not merely the style but the substance itself of the

'Aileen Bay: A Story. By S. O. Stedman. With an Introductory Sketch of the Author's Home, "Hamburg." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.
'Giannetto. By Lady Margaret Majendie.' Leisure Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.
'Fire and Flame. From the German of Levin Schücking. Translated by Eva M. Johnson.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.
'The Pilot and his Wife. By Jonas Lie. Translated by Mrs. Ole Bull.' Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1876.

'In a Winter City. By Ouida.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.
'Miss Molly. By Beatrice May Brett.' Leisure Hour Series. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1876.
'Free, yet Forging their own Chains. By C. M. Cornwall.' New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1876.
'Leah Mordecai: A Novel. By Mrs. Belle Kendrick Abbott.' New York: Baker, Pratt & Co. 1876.

imitated original appears cleverly parodied. But it would be unfair to give the impression that this light vein is the predominant one in the volume. The "Song" on page 111 would alone redeem the reputation of a worse book, and we would quote it here but that it is so graceful and pleasing and simple that we have not the heart to mar it by contact with prose.

Concise History of the American People, from the Discoveries of the Continent to 1876. By Jacob Harris Patton, A.M. (New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1876.)—This is one of the innumerable "seasonable" books which have flooded the country this year. All these histories, so called, come down to the "Centennial year of the Nation's Independence"; all aim to be something which is neither an elaborate history nor a school compend; and all have fulfilled their chief purpose when the edition has been sold. They are difficult books to criticise, for, like the soldier in the ballad,

> "No characteristic traits have they
> Of any distinctive kind."

They generally dilate on the liberal spirit of Columbus, narrate with gusto the legend of Pocahontas saving John Smith, deplore Puritan intolerance while celebrating the virtues of the Pilgrims in seeking for "freedom to worship God," devote at least a third of the volume to the seven years of Revolution, and close with a series of bold eulogies on the founders of the Republic and a brief sketch of material progress since 1789. The plan is, of course, utterly defective, but not ill-adapted to sell a book. The general public does not care to have such pretty stories as that of Pocahontas exploded in a popular work, prefers to have the Revolution given in great detail because it is the only picturesque period, and are gratified by eulogistic sketches of the "fathers," who are all represented as striving together harmoniously against an indefinite evil character (not named) in order to found a nation. Of this sort is the book before us; a perfectly harmless, mild book, rather superficial, very good-natured, not seriously inaccurate, well bound, and illustrated by a series of very bad woodcuts representing celebrated Americans of all periods and of all degrees of eminence, from Washington down to Geo. D. Prentice. There are no theories, good or bad, in the book, and no useless searching for cause and effect. Beyond increasing the national tendency to self-complacency, such a work as Mr. Patton's does no harm, but, on the other hand, it does no good, and can have no permanent value for any one except the writer and publisher.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Bardeen (C. W.), Common-School Law	(C. W. Bardeen) $0 50
Champlin (J. T.), Selections from Tacitus	(John Allyn) 1 50
Church (Rev. A.), Ovid	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Doddridge (J.), Settlement and Indian Wars of Virginia and Pennsylvania	(J. Munsell)
Gray (Prof. A.), Darwiniana	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Hoose (J. H.), Studies in Articulation	(C. W. Bardeen) 50
Lamb (Mrs. M. J.), History of the City of New York, swd. Parts I.-IV	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)
Merchant's Wife: A Political Romance, swd.	(Boston)
Magnus (P.), Elementary Mechanics	(John Wiley & Sons) 1 50
Pratt (D. J.), Regents' Questions, 1866 to 1876	(C. W. Bardeen) 1 00
Pearson (C. H.), English History in the Fourteenth Century	(Rivingtons)
Ridgaway (Rev. H. B.), The Lord's Land	(Nelson & Phillips)
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(*Continued from page* iv.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1876.

The Week.

THE Democratic Convention of this State met at Saratoga on Wednesday week in great perplexity of mind about the Governorship. Mr. Dorsheimer was Governor Tilden's candidate, but was not vigorously pushed by him, and was coldly received by the Convention as being too new a Democrat. Mr. Clarkson Potter appeared on the whole the person most in favor next to Mr. Horatio Seymour, and was commended even by Mr. John Kelly to the favor of the Convention as "an elegant gentleman"; and a charge of having advocated secession was disposed of by reading the speech in which he was said to have done it, from which it appeared that he only did it in what Mr. Kelly, who is not "an elegant gentleman," called an "hypothecated case." But the passion of the Convention and the galleries for Horatio Seymour made even the consideration of any other candidate's claims impossible. It was in vain that his friends announced that he was old and sick and would not accept; in vain he himself telegraphed a peremptory refusal; the delegates and the gallery would not be gainsaid, and he was accordingly nominated "by acclamation" in the evening, "the acclamation" being of the most frantic description. Mr. Dorsheimer was renominated for the Lieutenant-Governorship. Among the pleasing incidents of the occasion was the appearance of Tammany and Anti-Tammany—the Short-Hairs and Swallow-Tails—as a united whole, Morrissey and Kelly having become reconciled; which shows that Morrissey is not so good a man as the "Reform Republicans" tried to persuade us last year.

By the bye, what has become of that great movement got up by the *Evening Post* and the *Times* for the repeal of the Tammany Society's charter? From the way it was spoken of at the time, we were led to expect the happiest results from it both for the United States and for Humanity. We fear, like so many other noble schemes, it has miscarried, and the result is that Tammany continues its career of mischief. We observe, too, in some Republican papers, some sharp comments on the prominence and popularity in the Convention of such men as Kelly and Morrissey and Judge "Tim" Campbell, but these taunts, if much of the current political philosophy be sound, are very uncalled for. According to a favorite theory of representation—we believe even Mr. Nordhoff preaches it in his political manual for young politicians—every district is best represented by persons like the bulk of its population: old farmers by old farmers, ignorant Irish by ignorant Irishmen, thieving negroes by negro thieves, Mackerelville by "a son of Mackerelville." On this theory, surely even "the bad men" have their right to be represented by "bad men." John Morrissey and John Kelly and the esteemed and learned "Tim" Campbell represent very powerful constituencies; and these sneers at them, and the assumption that they occupy social or moral positions inferior to other American citizens, are very unbecoming, and indeed have a flavor of "caste" about them. Some of us may like being "bad men" and others being "good men," but neither should give themselves airs on account of differences of taste.

About the way in which Mr. Tilden's name was received there is a difference of opinion among the newspapers. The *Tribune* says it was received with "faint demonstrations of favor"; the *Times*, that it was received with "marked coldness"; the *Herald*, that it called forth "enthusiastic cheers"; while the *World* refrains from any report whatever on this point. That there is no great enthusiasm for Tilden, however, in the Democratic ranks there is little doubt. He represents nothing very strongly on which the party has set its heart, and "the boys" who do most of the shouting care little for reform. It is quite certain, however, that it is only among the Independent or the doubtful Republican votes that the "charges" will do him any harm, and the only one likely to prove effective even there is that about his income-tax. The platform ratifies the Presidential nominations; adheres to the Constitutional Amendments, and denounces intimidation "in every shape"; calls for Canal reform, and protests against the late order of the Secretary of War sending troops to the South.

The nomination appears to have been aided or brought about by a barefaced fraud practised on the Convention by "a member of the Sub-Committee," in the shape of a despatch from Utica assuring the Convention that Mr. Seymour had consented to serve in case he was nominated. Of course, now that it is discovered that he never authorized such a declaration, and that he is resolute in his determination not to accept the nomination, there is much indignation in the party, and the managers have been sorely puzzled what to do. They could either order the election of another Convention or call the late one together again, or go on and vote for Seymour, sick or well, dead or alive, willing or unwilling. The *World* recommended the last-named course, but the Convention is to be called together again next week, though that can make little difference now. The public is thoroughly disgusted. The "inside history" of the Convention, which now begins to be written, declares that "the machine" was fixed for the nomination of Mr. Dorsheimer, but that his brother-in-law, Mr. Hibbard, having mentioned in his speech that he (Dorsheimer) was descended from Martin Luther, the Irish Catholics, of whom the Convention was largely composed, crossed themselves devoutly and set their teeth against him as a limb of Satan. Mr. Potter was undoubtedly the most promising and rational nomination in all ways; but rationality had hardly any more place in the body than in a corral of hungry mules.

There has as yet been no light thrown on the income-tax charge by Mr. Tilden or any of his friends, and the excitement and horror of the Republican papers over it increase, particularly as the New York *Times* has been diligent in fishing out additions to his income in 1862 and the following years, which make up a very heavy total. The only thing which bears the appearance of a defence comes from the Albany *Argus*, which in the course of a terrible fight with the "perjured Albany *Evening Journal*" ("perjurers" are in this campaign as plenty as blackberries) quotes Commissioner Lewis's decision in May, 1863, as follows:

> "A merchant's return of income should cover the business of the year 1862, excluding previous years. Uncollected accounts must be estimated. Physicians and lawyers should include actual receipts for services rendered in 1862, together with the estimate of unrealized or contingent income due to that year."

This might possibly be made to cover Mr. Tilden's small returns of 1862, but, in view of the generally flourishing condition of his affairs apart from the Terre Haute receipts, it is difficult to see how; and it cannot possibly cover the failure to make any return at all the following years, which though it might pass as not dishonest in a private man, because the law left him the alternative, can hardly pass in a candidate for the Presidency as anything but a very ugly flaw, which at all events calls for abundant explanation. The Blaine Republicans, it is needless to say, are not entitled to call for it, the morality of that wing of the party being repulsive cant. It is easy to see the difficulty that a Presidential candidate must feel in answering charges of this kind. If he notices one, he of course runs the risk of raising a presumption that those he does not notice are unanswerable; but this is not a case of general allegation, or vague sus-

picion, or of complicated transactions. There are two apparently contradictory sworn statements of his own, relating to matters of fact, and he owes it to the public of all parties to show if he can that they do not mean what they seem to mean. Failing this, it will be absurd to talk of his election as likely to prove a reform movement, or as anything but an indication of the low moral tone of the majority of the voters. The defences hitherto put forward in this matter by his supporters have been for the most part quibbles, for which, however, it would be unfair as yet to hold him responsible.

The Massachusetts Republican Convention, which met at Worcester on Tuesday, renominated Governor Rice, and was a model of harmony and obedience to programme. The value of its contribution to reform within the party may be judged from the fact that it was presided over by Senator Boutwell, and that Butler was put by the managers on the State Central Committee—an act the announcement of which was greeted with great applause, and which, if Butler had not already ensured his own election to Congress, would suffice to elect him. To show what solemn trifling a nominating Convention, under the present system, can be guilty of, we append one of the planks of the Worcester platform:

"We reiterate the declaration of a year ago that the Republican party of Massachusetts will support no man for office whose personal character is not an absolute guarantee of his fidelity to every public trust; and, while we stand pledged to civil-service reform, a return to a specie basis, and the equal rights of all American citizens, we demand as a matter of consistency the nomination of only those candidates who will be true to the fulfilment of that pledge."

The Connecticut Republicans have renominated the State officers of last year, and have again distinguished themselves by a tolerably concise and straightforward platform, which, however, opens a little darkly with an expression of devotion to the Constitution of the United States, to the State of Connecticut, and "to the inspirations in which the party was born"—whatever that may mean; castigates the Democratic politicians who "originated theories of State sovereignty"; calls for civil-service reform on the Hayes plan, and for resumption in 1879 according to the law of 1875, and again castigates the Democrats; declares for generosity and good-will to the South, but protests against giving office to "ex-rebels"; calls for protection for everybody, and expresses high approval of law, liberty, improvements, progress, the elevation and comfort of the people, and national honor, and of economy and wisdom in legislation; again castigates the Democrats for evasion, dishonesty, and deception, corruption and insults to Union soldiers; castigates them again for nominating such a bad man for the Presidency; cordially endorses Hayes and Wheeler, and compliments President Grant for his "patriotic services." This restriction of the eulogy of late to his "patriotic services" is very judicious. The principal speech was delivered by Mr. Jewell; it said a good word for the Resumption Act, was moderate and sensible with regard to the South, and strong and clear with regard to civil-service reform.

The New Jersey Republicans have also had their convention, and adopted the usual platform, which was, however, particularly strong on civil-service reform. The meeting in the evening was addressed by Senator Frelinghuysen, who gave Mr. Robeson a certificate of honesty, and pretended that he had not been injured by the Democratic investigations of him—which is not worthy of Mr. Frelinghuysen—and maintained that the loss by dishonesty under Van Buren, the Democratic rascal, was far greater than under General Grant. The best speech was by General Woodford, who was both able and sensible with regard to the South, and gave civil-service reform the brunt of his remarks. There is something pathetic in the efforts of the Republicans to find charges of fraud on the Government against the Democrats. Recently, they have got some faint encouragement out of the rediscovery of some improper investments of Government and Smithsonian funds in bad State and other bonds in Buchanan's day, and of frauds in the transfer of the Cherokee lands about 1838, and they say, in producing them, with a faint smile, "The same old party, you know." It is not much, and it was a generation ago, but it is something. Then they have recently detected a Democrat, and a Southerner too, cheating the Government out of $800 worth of bricks, and the *Times* shows the wretch up, in large headlines, as a "Specimen Southern Democrat." This is not quite as bad as the Freedmen's Bank swindle; but then, how bad it is! Why will Southern Democrats commit these frauds in bricks? Why don't they imitate the Southern Republicans, live by honest toil, and read their Bibles and the *Congressional Record* in moments of relaxation? Then, too, it is alleged that the Pennsylvania Molly Maguires are Democrats, and we are given to understand that *all* Democrats would like to be Molly Maguires if they could only spare the time to be out nights. In fact, it is amazing to see how much wickedness Satan has put into this one party; but it is more amazing that they can stay so bad, year after year, in the same community with so good a body of men as the Republicans. How is it that the example of the latter has not more effect? that the constant spectacle of pure living under their very noses does not tell on the scoundrels?

Other political topics of the week have been the elections in Arkansas and Vermont, which went precisely as they were expected to go both now and in November, and Attorney-General Taft's election-circular to United-States Marshals. The sole interest attaching to the contest in Vermont was the relative size of the Republican majority, which appears to be, at this writing, considerably in excess of the "off-year" majorities, and nearly equal to that which Grant secured in 1872. The Attorney-General's circular embodies well-considered and temperate instructions from which political coloring has been carefully excluded, and to which nobody can object. The marshals are directed to take measures against apprehended or possible force and violence, in language too pointed to embrace constructive "intimidation." The Attorney-General informs them that he issues these instructions not only in conformity to the statutes, but upon due consideration also of "recent important judgments given by the Supreme Court of the United States upon acts of Congress which regulate this general topic." This is a refreshing contrast to the spirit in which his predecessor, Mr. Williams, of blessed memory, would have performed the same duty.

The attention of Wall Street was divided during the week between the operations of the syndicate, to whom the Treasury entrusted the negotiation of the new 4½ per cent. bonds, and the speculation at the Stock Exchange. Books were opened here and in London on Thursday, the 31st ult., for the 4½ per cent. bonds, and remained open until four o'clock the following Monday. The subscriptions to the loan were larger in this country than had been expected, and in London they came up to expectations. The Treasury has issued a call for $10,000,000 5.20 6 per cent. bonds. The speculation at the Stock Exchange was led by the attack on the securities of the coal railroads, but before the week closed extended to other securities, which, by every process of reasoning, should be benefited rather than injured by the breaking-up of the coal monopoly and the decline in the price of coal. The decline in New Jersey Central stock, which has fallen more than any other, amounted to 10½ per cent., and of this only 3 per cent. was recovered. The bonds of the company and the securities guaranteed by the New Jersey Central also suffered a large decline. At one time an investors' panic was threatened, but the week closed with indications of a more settled feeling, although in the case of the

New Jersey Central its credit has been so injured that if necessary for it to borrow it may be embarrassed. The reported success of the syndicate led to a decline in the 5 and 6 per cent. bonds of the Government, from the fear that these bonds will be rapidly called in and replaced with 4½ or 4 per cents. The price of gold was also depressed at one time to 109¼. Outside of Wall Street the indications of an improvement in general trade continue to accumulate, and it is now generally admitted that a permanent recovery has begun. The gold value of the United States legal-tender note has ranged during the week between 90¾ ($0.9080) and 91½ ($0.9153) cents. The silver market has been steady and dull, and the dollar of our fathers, if in existence, would have ruled between 87½ and 87 cents.

The deposition of the Sultan Murad, which has been expected daily almost ever since his accession, has taken place, and his younger brother, Hamed, has been put in his place. The misfortune which has overtaken the two last occupants of the imperial throne was also impending over their predecessor during the Crimean war. Abdul Medjid was well known to have been suffering more or less during the whole of his reign from the nervous prostration which finally hastened his death, and Abdul Aziz undoubtedly fell a victim to the same malady. If anything could prove a warning to the Turks, this exhaustion of the imperial family would do so, and they would put monogamy and monogamous habits among the proposed constitutional reforms. An empire the members of whose ruling family live like cattle can hardly in our day hope for salvation, particularly when the ruling family is a sacred race. The breakdown of the line shows what would have happened long ago if Turkey had been in the hands of an aristocracy of birth. The only "old family" in the country is that of the Sultan. The high officers of state come up in every generation from the ranks of the people, where monogamy and comparative purity are the rule, and there is consequently a tolerably hardy breed of men available for the conduct of the administration. That the Sultan's line has not sooner become extinct is due to the intermarriage with the Circassian peasant women, but it is plain that this is not going to save it; and it is high time for the reformers to lay hands on the harem and extinguish that most beastly institution. Its evil influence on the native princes in India is kept down by the prompt dethronement by the British Government of any one who, after fair warning, shows signs of its effects on character or physique; and it is hard to see why, if the Powers are going to interfere in Turkey at all, they should not take hold of the greatest obstacle to the assimilation of Turkish administration to that of European countries—the polygamy of the official class. The training of youth for the cares of a civilized monarchical state is not possible under such a system.

The lines at Alexinatz seem to have been forced or the position turned—it makes little difference which—in spite of a gallant though by no means obstinate defence. The Servians are badly officered, and the volunteers, who have been arriving in great numbers from Russia, have arrived too late. General Tchernaieff and some of the Servian politicians seem to have been disposed to continue the contest, in the belief that the great Powers would in any event prevent the infliction by Turkey of any very heavy penalty on Servia; but the Powers are not prepared to stand any such nonsense as this, and the latest news from Constantinople is that they have already proposed mediation to the Porte, and we shall probably hear before this paper appears of an armistice. But there is little likelihood that peace will be concluded without a powerful curb being put on the Turks. The Bulgarian atrocities have completely turned the tide of public feeling in England and overcome the fear and jealousy of Russia, so that we shall probably witness the co-operation of the two Powers in exacting guarantees for the Christians, and neither France nor Germany nor Austria will be slow to adhere to the same policy. There has been no such vehemence in English public feeling on any question of foreign politics since 1815. The Servians and Montenegrins were clearly led by the feebleness of the Turkish defence in Herzegovina into underestimating the power of the empire; but the fact is that the difference between the Turk's real capacity when roused by a sense of pressing danger, and his apparent capacity in his ordinary sluggish mood, is something which Western races, with their steadier and more sustained energy, find it difficult to comprehend. But his strength in a conflict with a state like Servia lies in the splendid obedience of the Turkish troops, of which the raw lines of Servian yeomanry know nothing.

The Turkish Government, which has been very much annoyed by the reports of the European consuls and commissioners on the doings in Bulgaria, determined that they would do some "reporting" also, and accordingly sent down a commissioner-extraordinary in the person of Edib Effendi, whose narrative bears a funny resemblance to the minority report of a Congressional committee. The European observers, it must be remembered, are unanimous in declaring that about twelve thousand Bulgarian Christians—men, women, and children—had been massacred by the Turkish irregulars and regulars, about sixty villages burnt, and a large district laid waste, and that the slaughter was accompanied by shocking atrocities. Far different was the state of things discovered by Edib Effendi. What he reports is that a terrible conspiracy was prepared in the region around about Philippopolis for the massacre of all Mussulmans, male and female; that it was happily discovered before the day appointed, and this precipitated the outbreak, the massacres taking place as appointed, at Bazardshik and in other localities, of all Mahometans, of all ages and both sexes, and with the customary torture and mutilation and arson; that a few unhappy Mussulmans took arms for their own defence, but were prevented from using them by the arrival of the troops. There were burnt, he says, in all twenty-eight villages, many of them, he admits, by the troops, owing to the furious obstinacy of the insurgents in defending them, but the attacks were not made until the defenders had been requested to remove the women and children and old men, which, however, they refused to do; but it made no great difference, for the imperial troops took the greatest care of all helpless persons, and especially of children. A few women were hit by random balls, but this was all; and, indeed, hardly anybody but Mussulmans were killed. About four hundred of these fell, but not over eighty Christians. At one place—Batak—there was a severe fight, in this way: The Mussulmans of the surrounding villages, hearing that the Christians of this large village had made all their arrangements to massacre them, armed themselves and marched thither in a body to see what it was all about; and, on reaching the village, to their astonishment were received with musket-shots. They then entreated the Bulgarians to abandon their evil designs, but in vain, and were then forced to attack them, and there was a desperate fight. The Bulgarians took refuge in a stone church and defended it fiercely, and the Mussulmans then set fire to wooden buildings around the church, and, the Bulgarians coming out, there was a terrible combat, but the Mussulmans took care of all the children and the widows, as in duty bound to do by the Mahometan law. He goes through various cases, and always tells the same story—wild and furious ferocity on the part of the Christians, unwilling resistance on the part of the Mussulmans, accompanied by tender care for the women and children. The losses in these fights on the Christian side he sets down as very trifling, and those on the Mussulman side as very heavy. To those who know anything of the antecedent relations of the Mussulman and Christian populations in European Turkey, the report of course reads like a burlesque, and this impression is deepened by the fuzzy grandiloquence of the style. The effect of it on European opinion has been simply exasperating.

THE NOMINATING CONVENTION IN ITS LAST STAGE.

THE result of the Democratic attempt at Saratoga to nominate a governor of New York is to be rejoiced over, if for no other reason, for the fact that it will, it is to be believed, set the public thinking more seriously than ever before upon the present mode of presenting the American people with candidates for high offices. We know, of course, all that can be said as to the moral and mental inferiority of the material of which Democratic Conventions are composed as compared with Republican Conventions. The Republican Conventions have the advantage, as a general rule, in character and intelligence, but the same causes are at work in both cases rendering the Convention an unfit instrument for the purpose for which it was intended. When the Convention system was first started, the country was comparatively small and the population comparatively homogeneous. The delegates, as a general rule, knew each other, or something about each other, and did not live very far apart, and were animated by very similar passions and ideas, and the work of management was comparatively easy. The control of the committees over the business was strong and well settled, and constituted a tolerable defence against any outrageous absurdity or failure. But as the country grows in size and population Conventions grow more and more unwieldy, and their course less and less easy to predict. The gallery, with its huge body of spectators, is becoming more and more of a power in the proceedings, and fills the building with a moral atmosphere of extreme inflammability. About the platforms the delegates care less and less, and, in fact, listen to them with some impatience. In the present Presidential campaign they have been absolutely, and, we may say, for the first time, superseded by the candidates' letters of acceptance. It is not what the Conventions have said that people are now discussing, but what Tilden and Hendricks and Hayes and Wheeler have said. But when the time comes for nominating in a convention, the delegates are thrown into a great nervous excitement, as recruits by the opening of a general action. No one knows what is going to happen, and no one knows with any certainty even for whom he will finally vote. The delegates know who the leading candidates are, but what their fellows think about them, what can be or is said for or against them, what influences are operating for or against them, they do not know. There has been no discussion of their claims except in the newspapers or in the streets and hotel parlors. There are "charges" afloat against them, but they have never been sifted; and there are rumors of charges ready to be produced in case they are nominated, but no one knows of what nature. There are managing men seen to be busily at work and in possession of important information and great power, but what they think or can or will do, the main body cannot tell. The grandiloquent nominating speeches, in which one candidate after another is presented as "the pillar of a nation's hope, the centre of a world's desire," are listened to by the crowd of trembling and excited men, as the above-mentioned recruits listen to the artillery fire at long range with which battles are so often opened; and then, when the balloting begins, it is as if the drums beat the charge. There is a rush forward into darkness, a casting of votes for the most part blind and tremulous, and an eager waiting for the unknown something which is to produce the crisis and decide the fortunes of the day. Anything less resembling deliberation it would be difficult to imagine.

The Democratic Convention at Saratoga differed from Republican Conventions only in having gone somewhat further in the direction in which all conventions are going, and in having succumbed very completely to dangers with which all conventions are menaced. There is no certainty in any of them that the body will not dissolve into a vast mass-meeting, swept by some tremendous wave of passion or overcome by some monstrous fraud or delusion. Anybody has it in his power, by reading a lying telegram or setting afloat an absurd story, to stampede it like a herd of Texas cattle. In a body small enough and carefully enough selected to nominate properly, the assertion that Seymour was willing to serve would have been sifted and looked into, and either corroborated or refuted, before any action was taken on it. So also Mr. Dorsheimer's descent from Martin Luther would have been verified, and its full political bearing have been measured, before abandoning him. May be he is not a direct descendant at all, and belongs only to a collateral branch of the family.

It is to be regretted, too, and it will be more and more regretted every year, we may be sure, that the character of candidates cannot be regularly and thoroughly sifted by the nominating body, and that a nomination cannot be made to mean that one or two hundred reputable and well-known citizens have looked into A.'s or B.'s life and history and have heard what is to be said against him, and think him a fit and proper person to be President. What a nomination means at present is that a partially packed body, composed of many thousands of practically excited men, have by dint of yelling and vociferating, and by a sort of accident, designated C. or D., of whom they know little or nothing, as a person whom the party would do well to elect. The consequence is that the examination of the candidate's character, which, when the community was small and the lives of Presidential aspirants very conspicuous and transparent, was entirely unnecessary, is now begun *after* nomination, and in perhaps the least fit of all places—the columns of the party newspapers; and we have the spectacle of men's private affairs being overhauled in editorial articles, and thousands of people running about red in the face with indignation over "frauds" of which they have only imperfect information, and the facts of which they only half understand or have only half reached.*

That there ought to be some formal examination of a candidate's character *before* nomination—that is, that persons who have anything to allege against him ought to be heard by some competent body—there is no question. In a commercial society like ours, in which the ordinary course of politics furnishes no sifting process, in which everybody is engaged in transactions of greater or less complexity, and exposed to temptations of various degrees of strength, and in which no objection is felt to putting obscure men in high places, any man who aspires to the chief place in the Government ought to have his public and private reputation overhauled as a matter of course. We have the Democratic candidate for the Presidency at this moment undergoing such an examination by a process which is discreditable to American society. It is only by the merest accident that the Republicans did not furnish us with another. The Venetians, whose skill in the art of government has never been surpassed, and who were the first in modern Europe to substitute great traders for great landholders in high offices of state, felt the necessity of "charges" in the election of the Doge just as much as we do in the election of the President, but they arranged an effective mode of examining them. When the new mode of choosing the Doge was adopted in 1268 by the creation of an electoral college of forty-one members, by an elaborate process, partly lots and partly election, the electors were shut up until the choice was made, and balloted incessantly until some candidate obtained twenty-five votes. But as each name was taken from the ballot-box "charges" were called for and listened to in full, and if the candidate was one of the electors he had to retire into another room while they were being made, and on his return they were read to him, and he had to answer them. As the candidate had to be a member of the Grand Council—that is, one of four hundred and seventy principal persons—it was comparatively easy to examine his life and character, and, above all, to find out how he stood as a "wrecker," a defrauder of the revenue, or as a distributor of "bogus money." But the smaller the number of eligible persons, the less need was there for any examination at all. With our vast number of possible candidates and our growing practice of dropping down on the obscure man of whom nothing *has* been said, examination is doubly necessary; but it ought to be a sober and quiet examination by a small body of men commanding

* To save trouble to some correspondents, let us mention here that Blaine, Schenck, Belknap, and others were regularly investigated by a Congressional Committee. Tilden has not been. He has been tried simply by a party newspaper in the middle of the canvass.

public confidence. For instance, the *Times'* "Campaign Supplement" ought to have been laid before some such body *before* Tilden's nomination. If it be said that no such body would be competent to examine such charges, inasmuch as they would have no power to summon witnesses and compel them to testify, the answer is that it could make an examination sufficient for the purpose, and that, anyhow, it could examine them much better than the readers of a party newspaper, who form the tribunal to whom they are now submitted enveloped in a cloud of excited rhetoric. Fully nine-tenths of those who are convinced that Tilden committed fraud in the Terre Haute affair and perjury in the income-tax matter, and are furious with anybody who does not adopt their conclusions, know absolutely nothing about either the law or the facts except what they have got from angry articles in a hostile journal.

Considerations of this sort, powerful as they may seem to thinking men, will probably, however, not make so much impression as an argument in favor of a change in the mode of nominating as the way in which the nominating convention is being converted into an empty form by such operations as Butler is carrying on in Massachusetts. In the Seventh District of that State, he actually, by general admission, had secured the nomination a fortnight at least before the meeting of the Convention, simply by diligence in "fixing the primaries," so that when the Convention does meet the nomination will simply be an empty form. This is the last stage in the descent of the system into absolute absurdity. The first was when from a deliberative body it became a mere voting and shouting body; the second is when it ceases even to vote or shout, and merely confirms action already taken by small knots of obscure persons, meeting in small rooms, under the control of one of the candidates. And it will be observed that it is with this last stage that all professional politicians now occupy themselves. They no longer make arrangements to influence the Convention after it has met. They spend their strength on the manufacture of the Convention, so that when it meets it will not need to be influenced at all, and will confine itself to adopting conclusions already prepared for it. What we need is a small body of conspicuous men, to talk of candidates without excitement and hear what there is to be said against them, and to decide after full discussion, lasting as long as may be necessary, without the presence of an enormous and turbulent crowd. The election of such a body would be a process in which all men would take an interest—even the cold, cynical, "daily-bath man" who refuses to "mingle with the people," and persistently neglects his political duties and declines the offices to which his fellow-citizens are constantly desirous of electing him.

"INTIMIDATION" AT THE SOUTH.

WE print elsewhere two letters on this subject which have a good deal of bearing on the Southern question, both in this canvass and probably in many canvasses to come. The first is from a Northern man who has been long settled in the South, and whose interests and sympathies are naturally all on the side of good government. We have no doubt the explanation he gives of the peculiar turbulence of the States in which the blacks are in a majority is the true one, as far as it goes. But he might have added that, government being worse in those States than elsewhere, in some almost unbearably bad, the temper of the whites, as the bulk of the property-holders who pay the taxes, is constantly revolutionary, and they are only restrained, as we here in the North should be under like circumstances, from armed rebellion, by the fear of the overwhelming power of the United States. The case is without parallel in history. Always, hitherto, even under the Turks and Tartars, bad government has been carried on by those who possessed the physical force and the intelligence to use it with effect. In this instance, however, it is carried on by persons who would, if let alone, be incapable of retaining power for a day, and under leaders who are only remarkable for their vice and ignorance. Therefore, no misgovernment has ever before been so irritating as well as exacting. People submit with sullen resignation to a ruler who can thrash them if they do not submit; but to have to submit to a government which we despise as well as hate, and which if left to itself we could overturn in half an hour—surely this is a new form of political misery. The nearest approach to a parallel for it that we can remember is the way in which the Pope and the small Italian princes were enabled to harass their subjects by the support of Austria. We take no account here of the bad character, real or alleged, of the Southern whites. The worst men on earth are entitled as a natural right, as the only indisputable natural right, to good government. The very convicts in jails are. No human being can sink so low as to justify us in handing him over to thieves or rascals to be tortured and despoiled. If every white Southerner deserved to be flogged once a week and fed on bread and water, the sentence should be pronounced by an upright judge and inflicted by a respectable jailer, and no frauds on the part of the baker should be allowed.

That we should have to recall these things in every canvass in which the Republican party finds itself at all hard pressed is very sad; and although there are many signs in this one that a more enlightened and nobler temper with regard to the South begins to prevail, yet when one sees Mr. Wheeler, the Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency, who wrote the letter of acceptance that we all thought so wise and moderate, going up to Vermont and opening the canvass with a fierce and bitter denunciation of the Southerners, in which he described them as conquered enemies, feeling towards us as the Alsatians feel towards the Prussians, and needing to be met at the polls in the same spirit in which they were met on the battle-field, one feels that there must still be a considerable change in the spirit of the ruling party at the North before we can have permanent pacification or real prosperity. The usual reply to all pleas of this kind is that all the South has to do in order to secure peace and unity is to adapt itself to the situation; that the North is ready to be good friends and forget the past, if the Southern whites will only respect the rights of the newly-made colored voters. But this answer is always made by those who, while acknowledging the magnitude and difficulty of the negro problem, have got rid of it as far as they are concerned by drafting and adopting two or three Constitutional Amendments, the operation of which never touches them in the least. We can recall nothing in history equal in complexity and peril as a social and political revolution to the sudden conversion of the Southern blacks into voters. It touches every portion of the social fabric, from foundation to apex. No such experiment has ever been made. It may have been well to make it, but it is not well for Northern orators and politicians, after having ordered it, to throw the whole burden and risk of it on the South, to refuse to contribute anything to its solution but "troops" and invective, and treat every manifestation of impatience and vexation or fury on the part of the unfortunate people whose liberty and property have been staked on the result, and whose social and moral and mental preparation for such an experiment was probably the worst in the world, as simple malignity. We do not know of a more devilish sight than Southern whites, with twenty centuries of Christian civilization behind them, tormenting, abusing, or killing the poor blacks of whom fate has made them fellow-citizens; but the one we should place next it in point of wicked absurdity is that of an orator up in Connecticut or Vermont, whose property and liberty, and the future of whose children, and the peace and order of whose home, are protected by the votes of men of his own race and creed and civilization, glibly telling Southerners fifteen hundred miles away how easy it is for them to live and prosper under the rule of the constituencies of Moses and Whipper. When you ask such a man, "What have *you* done to settle this great contention? wherein have you contributed to make the negroes good citizens, good neighbors, intelligent and far-sighted politicians?" all the reply you will get is that he voted for the Constitutional Amendments,

and votes the regular Republican ticket every year on his way to his business, just to show those fellows down there that they must adapt themselves to their situation. But that is not what the Prussians do with the Alsatians, to adopt Mr. Wheeler's illustration. When they conquered them they did not hand them over to a pack of jail-birds and defaulters, at the head of a horde of the most ignorant peasantry in the world. They gave them the government of as good judges, assessors, and legislators as Western civilization provides. They gave them schools and colleges and libraries and roads, and they made life and property as secure as the force of a great empire ever makes them. They did not, in short, ask for order and obedience until they had given everything which any conquering government can give in return. What is the Republican party that it should take the airs and use the language of a conqueror towards the South, without performing one of a conqueror's duties?

It would be an inestimable blessing if this canvass produced something clearer and more definite and distinct with regard to the South than the vague declamations of the letters of acceptance and the vapid commonplaces of the stump-speakers. When these latter tell us, as several of them have done during the past week, that the Republican party, be its sins what they may, must be kept in power until voters of all colors are as free and independent in South Carolina or Mississippi as they are in Vermont or Maine—and we know that this sort of talk impresses the imagination of the voters, and furnishes a ready cover for endless rascality and a good excuse for every legislative or administrative shortcoming—we feel more than ever the importance of spreading at the North a distinct and rational conception of the possibilities, both near and remote, of such a society as that of the South. That men should think so little of the various agencies which have made the Vermont voter what he is as to call for a reproduction of him among the blacks in South Carolina within ten years of emancipation, and get angry and threaten "troops" if it cannot be supplied, shows an ignorance of the conditions of political freedom which is dangerous to the North itself. We ought to know by the experience of many ages and nations that giving a man the suffrage does but little towards giving him the power of using it independently. The history of the electoral franchise in every country shows that the use a man makes of it, when once the security of his person and of his property is provided for, depends on the degree of his education and his pecuniary condition. The English and Irish and Scotch farmers were "intimidated" by their landlords into voting with them as long as their tenure was insecure. The landlord could not beat or rob a voter, but he could direct him at the polls. The artisan in hard times is ready to vote with his employer, though he will not submit to abuse at his hands. The French peasant votes with the maire and the prefect. Wherever poor or dependent men have votes, and where the social conditions are unequal, there is that kind of subserviency in voting which we call "intimidation" at the South. Where there is a voting proletariat, the sale of votes in some form is almost a certainty, for we cannot expect men to place more value on their electoral freedom than on their daily bread. Nay, we have now ourselves for forty years recognized in our administration the duty of a man's voting with his employer. The sixty thousand office-holders of the United States have for the most part to vote the Administration ticket on pain of dismissal. The voters who groan and inveigh over the political subserviency of the negroes at the South know this; many of them are ardent and unblushing supporters of the very system which they find so abhorrent at the South.

For our part, we consider the state of things in which the negro votes with his employer, and thereby secures himself good-will, security, fair wages, and light taxes, or, in other words, most of the results of good government, though by no means an ideal or thoroughly healthy state of things, still a great step in advance and a gratifying result of the experiment. It is a state of things in which he obtains more or less political education, gets acquainted with the machinery of government, acquires the habit of acting with white men in politics, and the reputation among them of being of their party; and, as long as his vote is not cast against popular education, he can, under his employer's advice, hardly, in the present condition of Southern society, make a bad use of it. Casting it against his employer, under the guidance of rascally adventurers, may seem to some people a sign of a growing spirit of independence; to us, it is simply a sign of social disorganization and political corruption. The real independence of the voter at the South will come, as elsewhere, slowly, through education, the acquisition of property, and the mutual respect which results from long-continued order, prosperity, and general intelligence. It is thus, and in no other way, through centuries of trial and endeavor, it has been brought about in New England, among the men of the race which has taught the art of government to the modern world. Why, in the name of all that is reasonable, should we expect it to come in any other way, or suddenly, among the Southern negroes? Have we really to put up with Conkling and Morton and Logan until newly emancipated slaves show the spirit which charged at Naseby and held the redoubt at Bunker Hill?

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—XV.

THE VIENNA BAKERY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 2, 1876.

QUITE away in one corner of the Exhibition grounds there is a low, broad-roofed building, surrounded by an ample verandah, known as the Vienna Bakery. In its more conspicuous feature, this is simply an airy, cheerful, and well-managed restaurant, where one gets coffee served in the Vienna fashion, where the ices and the chocolate are good, and where the prices are by no means low. The hidden purpose of this restaurant is not to make money by the sale of coffee and ices, but to tempt people to make the acquaintance of the best bread in the world, and even this is but an incident to the business of selling what is known as German Press-Yeast. That is to say, the proprietors are manufacturers of press-yeast (or compressed yeast), and are advertising their wares by attracting the public with the excellent appointments of a Viennese café, and showing the public what wonderfully good bread their yeast produces. It is to some extent an embarrassment in writing on the bread question, from this point of view, that one cannot quite escape the suspicion of advertising Messrs. Gaff & Fleischmann's goods.

However, the bread problem is undoubtedly, so far as the American people are concerned, the most important which we have to solve. Dyspepsia is our national curse. It is the source of the greatest sufferings and the greatest weaknesses of the American people, and it is pretty generally conceded that among the factors of our national disease none is so important and none so universal as the bad quality of our national bread. The excessive using of tobacco, of coffee, of tea, and of whiskey certainly has much to do with our enfeebled digestions, but all these together must sink into insignificance when compared with the vile character of what is known as bread in ninety-nine-hundredths of the households of our country—sour, heavy, sawdusty, innutritious, unpalatable stuffing, which performs, of course, a certain useful office in nutrition, but which at the same time makes such serious demands upon the converting powers of the stomach as to leave the digestive apparatus of most of our people, even before attaining middle age, in such a wrecked and ruined condition as destroys much of the comfort and happiness and usefulness of their later years.

To understand the reason for the superiority of Vienna bread, it is necessary to consider some of the elementary conditions of all bread-making. Bread made from wheat is much better than bread made from any other grain, because the proportions and character of its constituent parts are better suited to the object sought. The chief of constituents are starch and gluten. Starch has the quality of absorbing moisture, and then, under the application of heat, of bursting its cells, thus losing entirely its granular character and forming a glue-like or horny substance, retaining its horny character under ordinary temperatures and in the presence of ordinary atmospheric moisture. Gluten—a quite different substance, belonging to the muscle-forming group as starch does to the fat-formers—has at ordinary temperatures a great affinity for water, which is expelled from it under the influence of heat, but which it readily absorbs again on becoming cool. Before cooking, starch is little affected by water, and so far as the starch of flour is concerned, it simply becomes wetted on the outside of its granules, without any change of condition which would give cohesion to these granules. Gluten, on the other hand, is extremely tenacious and elastic.

It has in itself, when wetted, the property of pastiness to a high degree. In a grain of wheat there is a small amount of gluten in intimate connection with the starch which occupies the centre of the grain, but the larger part exists in an outer coating lying immediately beneath the bran. From ordinary flours of the better quality most of this gluten, which adheres to the bran, is discarded, but there still remains a sufficient proportion for the purposes of the baker. On the mixture of water with flour the granules of starch become wetted on their outside, and the gluten absorbs a large amount of water, becoming a thin, tenacious paste. During the process of kneading, this paste is so intimately mixed with the starch as to convey to every particle of the mass a certain amount of tenacity or pastiness. Were this freshly-mixed dough subjected to a high heat it would constitute *chemically* nutritious bread, but it would have the serious drawback that, even when finely masticated, it would enter the stomach in solid pellets, of which only the exterior surfaces would be subjected to the digesting juices. The very old art of making porous bread has for its purpose the creation of a spongy or porous condition which will enable the gastric fluids to penetrate and attack the interior of the mass.

The quality of Vienna bread depends, of course, very largely upon the quality of the flour of which it is made—ordinarily produced by the careful "high-milling" process of Austria from the best wheat in the world—that of Hungary and Southern Russia. Prof. Horsford thinks that we shall never be able quite to equal the quality of the best Vienna bread, for the reason that we can hardly hope to grow a wheat quite equal to that of Hungary. The proprietor of the Vienna Bakery, on the other hand, assures me that the bread which he now makes from the "new-process" flour from Minnesota is as good as any in Germany. Practically, it is enough for us to know that it is very far superior to any other bread that has ever been made in America, and we may be quite content with the knowledge that bread of this good quality can be made from flour of our own production. In bread-making, it is hardly necessary to say that the quality of the flour has great influence, and while by improved processes we may greatly improve our bread, no improvement of the process will absolve us from the need of selecting our flour with care.

Aside from the influence of the wheat and the milling, the difference between Vienna bread and others is a difference in the process by which the porous condition of the mass is obtained—not the principle, for this is in nearly all cases the same. This principle is to create within the mass of the well-kneaded and pasty, tenacious dough a widespread production of carbonic acid, which, contained within its most intimate pores, causes a slight "rising" or increase of volume by its natural expansive force, and enlarges rapidly and considerably under the high temperature of the oven. Carbonic acid is a product of the fermentation of dough, and any mass of wheaten dough left to stand sufficiently long at a moderately warm temperature, undergoes a spontaneous fermentation, during the early stage of which there is an active production of carbonic acid within its interior. This production of gas is accompanied, except in its very earliest stages, by a souring, which at once attacks the gluten of the flour and seriously affects its value as food and as a chemical and structural constituent of the bread. In proportion to the extent to which the souring is carried does the injury increase. The fermentation of dough is much accelerated by the addition of a mass of dough which has already undergone fermentation and has accumulated the yeast-plant, which is an incentive to and an accompaniment of the process, but, at the same time, this fermented dough (or leaven) is sour, and it hastens the souring of the fresh dough. For centuries the only leaven used consisted of a portion of dough from the former baking, which, sour as it was, was added to the fresh making of bread. Indeed, over a very large part of the world this process, with some minor modifications, is still in general use, and it is customary to overcome the sour taste transmitted by the old leaven, and somewhat increased in the newly-fermented mass, by the use of carbonate of soda, which neutralizes the acid formed and sets free a certain amount of carbonic acid to increase the lightness of the mass. There have been and there still are many processes employed for producing carbonic acid without fermentation, and for increasing the influence of the fermentation just described. These are generally chemical devices for producing within the mass of dough a copious and active source of carbonic acid. For example, in the use of cream-of-tartar and carbonate of soda there arises, on their solution, an active internal effervescence which gives lightness to the bread, but because of the difficulty of securing an intimate admixture of the neutralizing elements this device is very apt to give a dash of cream-of-tartar here and of soda there, which is sadly detrimental to the result, whether considered from the point of view of looks or of digestibility. The use of sour milk and soda is subject to the same objection; so is the use of dilute muriatic acid and soda—a combination which, hypothetically, may be made to produce the salt needed for flavoring the bread. The various baking powders are more or less effective in securing a quick rising, but the distribution of these chemical constituents throughout the flour, or their equal solution, or their action under heat, or their influence upon the starch or upon the gluten, seems not to be sufficiently well regulated for them ever to produce the best result. English bread is no better than our own, and, while French bread is very much better, it is still subject to the decided drawback that its infusion of carbonic acid is produced by a progressive fermentation which is accompanied with more or less formation of acid—enough with the earlier part of each day's product to affect quite seriously the color and character of the glutinous element of the product.

We have much for which to thank the Austrian inventors in the improvements they have introduced into the art of milling, but the turning point—that which enabled the production of a bread never before equalled—was the discovery in 1847, by Adolf Ignaz Mautner, of a process for securing a pure yeast, entirely unaccompanied by organic matter in a state of acetous fermentation—a yeast which, on being incorporated with dough, sets immediately about its process of growth, transferring certain elements of the mass into alcohol and carbonic acid, and producing enough of the latter for the best distension of the material *before any souring has set in*. Indeed, the cardinal fact about the new bread, the root from which its chief excellence springs, is simply this: that we have a process by which, without the use of chemicals, we may instantly set up throughout the whole mass of dough a natural, yeast-produced fermentation, which shall give the necessary spring of carbonic acid before acetous fermentation or any other degenerating process shall have affected the character of the flour. We get the stiffness of the glassy starch and the toughness and elasticity of the gluten in nearly undiminished force, and distend the whole mass with such an intimate infusion of carbonic acid that the crumb of our bread is entirely porous and cohesive, while the native flavor of the wheat remains fresh and unspoiled.

Press-yeast, as I understand it, is produced by the fermentation of an organic emulsion, which is permitted to proceed at the most favorable temperature until the whole mass is in a state of active yeast-growth. At this moment ice-water is introduced, reducing the temperature sufficiently to check the growth, and the yeast-cells, which permeate the emulsion in every part, rise in a fresh and active condition as froth. This froth is removed and repeatedly washed in clear cool water; the resulting mass is subjected to hydraulic pressure, and formed into the cakes of press-yeast which it is the office of the Vienna Bakery to introduce. It is estimated that one cubic inch of air-dried press-yeast contains over a thousand million yeast-plants. These organisms retain their vitality for almost an indefinite period if kept at a low temperature, as in a refrigerator; but if exposed to the high heat of summer they immediately begin to grow, and probably die for want of nutrition. Practically, the yeast must be freshly procured, or if a supply is to be kept on hand it must be kept at a low temperature—say below 50°.

The best known form of the Vienna bread is what is called the "Kaiser-Semmel," a little round loaf the size of a lady's fist. The form, of course, is immaterial, but a great advantage is claimed for the size, for the reason that the interior of the crumb (or white part of the bread) becomes thoroughly cooked before there is too great an induration of the crust. The crust undergoes decided transformations under the destructive distillation to which it is subject in a hot oven. An early effect of this distillation is to produce the agreeable aroma of freshly-baked bread, but if continued too long there are other substances produced less grateful to the smell, of bitter taste, and quite innutritious. When bread is baked in large loaves too much crust is formed before the interior of the crumb is properly cooked—cooking being the coagulation of the vegetable albumen, the drying of the gluten, and the production of the horny condition of the starch which gives rigidity to the cell-walls and maintains the porous condition of the bread. At a temperature at which a large loaf would require from one to three hours for its baking, the Kaiser-Semmel is baked in from ten to fifteen minutes. Some comment was originally made as to the stupidity of the proprietor of the Vienna Bakery in not providing butter with his bread. He shrugged his shoulders and did provide it, and no doubt his transient customers use it, but I very early found myself joining the throng of regular frequenters of the establishment who discard butter as an entirely useless addition to such bread as is here furnished, for the Kaiser-Semmel has that aromatic and grateful taste which needs no help from butter to make it entirely palatable and acceptable.

No consideration of the bread question, where the chemical element has been touched upon at all, would be complete without a consideration of the effect of "high-milling" upon the nutritiousness of the product. In this

respect my comments must remain incomplete, for the fair discussion of this feature would occupy far too much space. It is a noted fact that, in discarding the colored portions of the flour, and using only the white interior of the grain for our bread, we discard an amount of phosphoric acid and nitrogen which we should be vastly the better for using, but which no one does use, or practically no one who can afford the whiter product. Perhaps, after all, the phospho-nitrogen question is chiefly important to those whose diet is almost exclusively of bread. Those who consume the variety of food usual in this country probably get enough timber for their bones and muscles from the meat and milk and other food which form so large a part of their diet. Surely we shall lose nothing in this regard, as compared with our present food, by adopting the whitest of press-yeast bread ; and if we can supply ourselves with such delicious and perfectly nutritious and digestible rolls and loaves as are made at the Vienna Bakery, our grateful stomachs will testify to our wisdom, and fill our veins with the blood of a new and more vigorous life.

G. E. W., Jr.

BAYREUTH BEFORE THE FESTIVAL.

Bayreuth, August 13, 1876.

THE time was when pageants of princes, wonderful fêtes, and dazzling spectacles, in an opera-house still splendid with Renaissance decoration, were not strange to the eyes of the Bayreuthers ; and personages no less distinguished than Voltaire and Frederic the Great found delight in the entertainments given here at the court of Frederic's brother-in-law, and in the beautiful gardens of the Eremitage, the Bavarian Versailles. But the palaces have long since grown unaccustomed to the "sound of revelry by night," and the traditions of the people are memories of that same unbroken quiet which made Bayreuth the chosen home of Jean Paul Richter during the last twenty years of his life, and gave to the valleys of its neighboring mountains the charms of "a transplanted vale of Tempe." Such an event, therefore, as Wagner's "Bühnenfestspiel," with its attendant preparations and the gathering of strangers from great distances, could not but set the town in strange commotion. People and prices have undergone a simultaneous change. Under ordinary circumstances, the civility of mine host of the hotel, with possibly six new guests a day to provide for, would have expressed itself in a series of bowing, scraping, and gesticulating movements which long habit had taught him to perform with a dexterity suggestive of grace. But now his six guests are sixty ; and the increase in the number to be received has necessitated such rapidity in the motions of polite reception, that they have become nothing less than a series of contortions painful to look upon. Other cases of deranged natures may be found in almost every house where one applies for rooms. The ordinary charge in the hotels for a single room is a mark* and a half per day. This price, it has been announced, will be raised from the 13th to the 30th instant to five marks. Accordingly, housekeepers make a similar and even higher charge, but with a timidity that is ludicrous. For no sooner is the demand made than a feeling of remorse apparently seizes them for being guilty of what, in the absence of all precedent, must appear as an extortion ; and the chances are that, held in perplexity between the hope of becoming rich and the fear of being robbers, they will accept the first price offered, or will, at any rate, not permit the seeker for a room to get far away before finding a boy running after him to say that the room may be had for half what was asked for it.

This mental excitement and its consequent interference with the course of habit reached the first climax last Sunday, when all the peasant folk of the town appeared with shoes, stockings, and washed faces. The occasion was the arrival of King Ludwig II. of Bavaria. For days the people had been expectant, and soldiers—who serve here as scene-shifters in Wagner's theatre as well as gardeners in the public parks, and are decidedly the most useful implement that Germany has yet invented—might have been seen everywhere assisting in putting the city in proper order for the reception. Bayreuth has little of the quaintness of Nürnberg and of the old quarters of Frankfort, but it has enough of the mould of ages to make the contrast great between the dinginess of the houses and the gay decorations with which the town was bright on Sunday. Wreaths and flags and festoons of evergreen, caught up with white and blue, the colors of Bavaria, lined all its principal streets. Occasionally, in place of the long Bavarian streamers, one saw the red, white, and black flag of the Empire ; while here and there, in some crooked, narrow street, almost filling up the little space between the opposite houses, hung the flag of the old German Confederation, as though the news of the events of the past six years were yet to come, or, if arrived, were yet to disclose their meaning to people who had not awakened from the traditions of the past to the realities of the present. His Majesty was not here at the time expected, but chose to arrive at two o'clock in the morning. At that hour, even, he dreaded the possibility of being made the subject of a public reception, and left the train six miles from town, where he was met by Wagner and the Bürgermeister, and driven to his castle of the Eremitage. All day Sunday the town stood waiting for a glimpse of him, and toward five o'clock a good part of the twenty thousand inhabitants lined the road to the theatre and crowded about its entrances. For the king had come to Bayreuth, after an absence of nearly ten years, to attend the final rehearsals of the "Ring des Nibelungen," which could not now have been presented but for his munificent patronage in advancing the large sums that were necessary before returns from the sale of tickets could be obtained. The people, however, were disappointed ; the king took a road that approached the theatre from the rear, and entered the princes' gallery without enduring prolonged shouts of loyalty and a reception by the city fathers. Ever anxious to avoid the popular stare, his Majesty is accustomed to have operas performed at Munich for his sole delight ; and, hoping to meet his wishes, as the auditorium is in full sight of the princes' gallery, the Committee permitted not more than a few dozen people at the performance of "Rheingold" to be admitted to it, although two hundred were allowed to fill the gallery above. Finding, however, that the darkening of the theatre removed the conditions under which an audience became disagreeable to him, the King, at the subsequent performances, was glad to have the requests of the numerous applicants for admission granted.

To describe these last rehearsals would be to anticipate an event which Wagner justly demands shall be judged by itself and not by its preparations. What these preparations have been, what zeal has promoted them, with what marvellous supervision by the all-observing Wagner, and what unselfishness on the part of artists, gathered from all Germany, who have spent their summer vacation in work that is to bring them no pecuniary reward, and have set aside, in generous devotion to a national object, all local jealousies —nobody who has not watched the work from the beginning can realize. But the last two weeks have, nevertheless, been full of interest to a newcomer. A fortnight ago the present crowd of strangers had not yet gathered here ; and the seats at the *tables-d'hôte* and in the beer-gardens were filled chiefly by the artists, by intimate friends of Wagner, and by musicians and leaders of orchestras from all parts of Germany. Indeed, the number of *Kapellmeisters* who seem to be necessarily drawn at this time to a focus in Bayreuth is something alarming. One trembles for the existence of German orchestras, with all their leaders away ; and surely not many can be left at home. Until within a few days, every other man seemed to be a *Kapellmeister*. Each new train brought more *Kapellmeisters;* and to address any one at the *table-d'hôte* as "*Herr Kapellmeister!*" was to cause half-a-dozen heads to turn around at once. It reminded me of what has been described as the state of affairs in the reading-room of the Parker House, Boston. Somebody asked, "Professor, will you take a cigar ?" when nineteen gentlemen arose and said, "Thank you, I don't care if I do."

Of course, the centre of interest for *Kapellmeisters* and for everybody else was the theatre, or, as Wagner calls it, *Bühnenfestspielhaus*. Prior to the 29th of July no more than a single act of any of the dramas had been rehearsed on any one day ; but with that date began the rehearsals, on alternate days, of each of the four dramas entire, with scenery and costumes ; and after that, on successive days, they were rehearsed for the last time in the presence, as I have said, of the King of Bavaria. Towards four o'clock on each day of a rehearsal, the streets began to be alive with people who had left their rooms or the gardens to which they had gone for a cup of coffee after the *table-d'hôte*, to take the road to the theatre. Its strange shape rises, about a mile from the principal street of the town, on the slope of one of the ranges of high hills which form an irregular amphitheatre, in the centre of which, divided by the Main, fresh from its neighboring source, lies Bayreuth. Close by the theatre are restaurants, on the balconies of which one has a chance to rest and to observe from without the building which one is about to enter. Its outer appearance discloses at once its inner utilities ; but there is no attempt to make the useful a basis for the beautiful. In the long curve with which the whole front façade bends outward one recognizes the line which the thirty rows of seats in the amphitheatre follow within. And the abruptness with which the back part of the building rises forty feet higher than the front marks plainly the division between the auditorium and the stage, above which whole scenes disappear into a region that is also the home of the clouds of numerous thunder-storms. Before long one's observations from without are interrupted by the approach of a carriage, in which Herr Wagner, his wife, and her father, Franz Liszt, and perhaps

* A mark is equal to one English shilling.

Wagner's devoted friend at court, the Baroness von Schleinitz, attract attention ; and shortly after, a horn, sounding the principal "motive" of the drama to be given, announces that the rehearsal is about to begin. Then everybody turns from his glass of beer, or from the musical score or the text he has been reading, to the doors of the theatre. It would be interesting to know how these dozens of people, the most intimate friends of Wagner as well as the most entire strangers, obtained admission ; for until the last two rehearsals of the final series tickets were not distributed merely on the ground of one's holding a *Patronatschein* (a ticket to one or more of the actual performances), but as a special favor, upon application to Herr Wagner himself, or rather to Madame Wagner, who, among numerous executive duties, had this matter under her charge. An exceptional method of getting a ticket came within the experience of a friend of mine. He had made no application to Wagner, but went to the theatre on the afternoon of a rehearsal of "Siegfried," hoping to be able to find a ticket for sale ; for all Bayreuthers who had provided lodgings at their own expense for one member of the orchestra were entitled to a gallery ticket for one series of rehearsals, and many of them are more mercenary than musical. But on this occasion no tickets were to be had ; and after waiting till the end of the second act my friend started for home. Within a moment two Germans passed him, and he overheard the remark, "One must be a regular Wagnerite to be able to stand any more of that !" Here was the opportunity : my friend addressed the speaker, and said he should be very glad to buy his ticket. "Will you tell us where we can find the best beer in Bayreuth ?" was the reply. "Yes, at Angermann's." "Well, then, you may have the ticket." And so the bargain was concluded. For an actual fact, this is not surpassed in interest by the naïveté of the young lady in Dresden who wrote to Wagner hoping that he would send her a ticket for all the performances, as she had never missed a single one of his operas.

Once within the theatre, the novelties of its construction are one's first surprise. The seats rise, row above row, to the princes' gallery. There are no boxes or seats of any description on the sides ; but instead of leaving a bare expanse of wall, the architect has made use of an expedient which adds greatly to the scenic illusion of the stage. At equal intervals projections of wall are built out from the sides into the auditorium, and opposite the termination of each projection stands a column supporting a chandelier. But the distance of the extremity of each projection from the side wall increases as they approach the stage. Hence the form given to the rows of seats, taken all together, is that of a blunt wedge—the narrowest rows being next to the stage, the widest adjoining the princes' gallery. The optical effect of a view of the stage from the back of the theatre is consequently very much like that of looking into the mouth of a tunnel ; and the illusion of distance in all objects seen upon the stage is greatly heightened. But undoubtedly the greatest novelty, as well as the greatest improvement, in the arrangement of the theatre is the position given to the orchestra. Sunk seventeen feet below the level of the stage, its movements are visible from no part of the house. A screen curving over the "mystic gulf" from the side nearest the audience conceals the musicians from those who, having seats in the first row, which is on a level with the stage, might otherwise peer down upon them ; and another projection from the edge of the stage, on the opposite side of the "gulf," serves the double purpose of a sounding-board, and of a protection from the gaze of those in the gallery of that part of the orchestra which extends under the stage. Thus the attention of the audience is completely isolated from the distracting influences of the up-and-down motions of the violins and the gesticulations of the conductor ; and when the curtain, divided in the middle, is pushed aside by the invisible hands, as it were, of an artist about to show us the picture he has finished, we feel that the illusion is complete, and that the aims of art require just that self-forgetfulness which the darkening of the auditorium during the performance aids in bringing about in the audience, through the subordination of everything to the ideal creations of the stage. But a musical result, quite equal in importance to the improved optical effect, is also produced by this novel position of the orchestra. In ordinary theatres and concert-halls one never hears an orchestra without feeling that there is a certain dissipation of musical energy. The sound is so widely diffused that we long for something that will bring it, so to speak, to a focus. This desire Wagner gratifies. The orchestra is no longer analyzed by the hearer, in spite of himself, into its component elements, but its sound sweeps along during the ever-changing flow of incident with the steady strength of an under-current. The difference is great. One can withstand the hits of a thousand pieces of iron, provided they be small enough ; but there is no resisting them when cast into a cannon-ball. An account of the other agencies employed to effect a perfect representation must await my description of the dramas themselves.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRI IV.

PARIS, August 11, 1876.

M. DUSSIEUX, professor at the Military School of Saint-Cyr, is the author of a book which is very useful to the students of history. It is a 'Genealogy of the House of Bourbon from 1256 to 1871.' A new work of his has just appeared under the name of 'Intimate Letters of Henri IV.' No period of French history is more interesting than the end of the sixteenth century and the time of our religious wars, and this period culminates, as it were, in the glorious reign of Henri IV. These documents which concern such men as the last Valois, Marguerite of Navarre, Coligny, La Noue, Epernon, the Dukes of Guise, the first Condés, Sully, Bouillon, and others, are among the most valuable of all times. They show us a society in a state of continual fermentation, torn by the noblest and the vilest passions. The ideal of monarchy which was personated by Louis XIV. was not yet perceived ; there remained much in the French nobility of the old feudal views: the nobleman was bound by the *feudum*, but he only gave his allegiance conditionally ; he assumed rights of his own ; he discussed the limits of his loyalty. The Huguenots attempted to introduce into France "civil and religious liberty." Many of them were inclined to a form of government similar to the government of the Netherlands. France constantly wavered between the Netherlands and England on one side and the House of Spain on the other. The old dreams of conquests in the South, so long cherished by the French kings, were not abandoned by the Guises till the seventeenth century. The Protestants were the first to understand that France could not make any permanent conquest on the south of the Alps ; they looked to the north. Coligny was the first to perceive that our national interests consisted in the conquest of better boundaries on the east and towards the Rhine ; he felt drawn to the House of Orange, and intended to divide the Spanish Netherlands between the Stadtholders and France. It is the glory of Henri IV. to have well understood that the interests of France lay in this direction ; and his famous "grand dessein," interrupted by the crime of Ravaillac, was nothing but the settlement of this terrible question of our northern frontier, which to this very day has remained undecided.

Students of history enter into the minutest details which concern the strong men of the sixteenth century, but the popular imagination cannot embrace too many facts. It has concentrated itself around the original figure of Henri IV. ; even to this day the "Bearnais," the man who conquered the Crown, is the most popular among our kings. The Government has published all the correspondence of Henri IV. This work embraces as many as eight quarto volumes, in which 7,000 letters are to be found. Its publication began under the ministry of M. Villemain. All the archives of France and of Europe were ransacked ; but these big volumes will only be read by few people, and M. Dussieux has rendered us a great service by compacting in a single volume the most important parts of the correspondence.

The letters of Henri IV. have much interest not only from an historical but also from a literary point of view. They were written hastily, and show all the freedom of a time when everything, even grammar, was still unruly. Greatly as I admire the language of the Louis XIV. period—so noble, measured, tranquil, and disciplined—I find, perhaps, more vivid pleasures in the youthful and energetic language of Montaigne, of D'Aubigné, of Régnier. Henri IV. was not a great scholar ; he was a pure *Gaulois ;* he did not, like Ronsard, try to imitate the ancients ; he did not borrow words from the Latin and Greek dictionaries; he spoke the language of the people, and was in this respect an unconscious predecessor of Molière. His sentences are short and curt, while many of his contemporaries liked long and endless periods. His words were often acts ; he had not much time before him, and as a king he could afford to despise rhetoric. There is a curious difference between his rapid style and the style of Sully in the 'Economies Royales.' The warriors of the period, Henri IV., the Duc de Bouillon, Coligny, were the best writers.

The King always honored the men of science and the poets : he was in correspondence with Scaliger, with Casaubon, with Grotius, with Montaigne, with François de Sales ; his relations were familiar with the poet Desportes, with Régnier, with Malherbe, with Bishop Bertaut, who never left him after his conversion to Catholicism. All his friends were men of great intellect—President Jeannin, Sully, Villeroy, De Plessis-Mornay, La Noue, Lesdiguières. He re-established the Collége de France, founded by Francis I. ; he reformed the University of Paris. His wit was unbounded, and he enjoyed it much in others. His "bons mots" are of the best sort.

In the correspondence published by M. Dussieux, the letters of the King to his mistresses take a very large part. We cannot excuse the vices of the

"Bearnais," but we must remember that he was brought very young to the corrupt court of the Valois, that he was married to the famous Marguerite, who was the Messalina of her time, who never liked him, and who had so many lovers that the list would be almost as long as that of Leporello. What lessons could he receive from Catherine de Medicis, from Charles IX., from the Duc d'Anjou, who became Henri III., from the Duc d'Alençon, from D'Epernon, from Bussy, from the Mignons? Read in the 'Tragiques' of D'Aubigné the description of the court where the King of Navarre spent his youth: the dreams of love consoled him for the constant humiliation he had to suffer, and for the permanent fear of assassination. It is true that this excuse cannot be found for him in the latter part of his life; his insane love for the Princess of Condé had certainly some little part in the "grand dessein." He could not live without a passion. He often incurred great dangers or forgot important duties to satisfy his desires. The "Belle Corisande," Countess of Guiche; Gabrielle d'Estrées, the Duchess of Beaufort; Entragues, the Marchioness of Verneuil; the Countess of Romorantin, are only the most famous among those who saw at their feet the greatest man of their time.

One of the characteristics of Henri IV. is his great sentiment of humanity in a time of ferocious passions, which produced such men as Montluc and the Baron des Adrets, which saw St. Bartholomew, when assassination seemed the natural revenge of hatred. "By patience and by straight walking I shall triumph over the children of this age" (May 4, 1586). He was patient. "Paris was not built in a day" (September 15, 1588). He could be merciful. He did not forgive Biron, but he pardoned Bouillon, though he had lost all confidence in him. He was essentially a patriot. "France is obliged to me, for I work hard for her." He was tolerant, and would be just even to the Jesuits; he made an edict which allowed them to come back to France; they had been expelled after the crime of Jean Châtel. The Parliament remonstrated. "I am much obliged," said he, "to you for the care you take of my person and of the state. . . . The University ejects the Jesuits, as, since their departure, it is, as it were, deserted, and the students have gone abroad to find them. They draw to themselves the 'beaux esprits' and choose the best of them, for which I honor them. I wish that virtue should be everywhere the mark and distinction of men. They do what they can, and so have I done myself. It must be acknowledged that with their patience and good life they succeed in everything, and the great care which they take not to change anything in their first institution will make them last long." He goes on and defends them against the imputation of enticing fanatics to the murder of kings: "Don't reproach them with the League; they thought they were in the right, and were mistaken like many others, I believe with less malice than many others. They say that the King of Spain makes use of them, and so can I. I take them to be necessary to my state, and if they have been here by toleration they will now be here by right. They are born under me, and I will not mistrust my subjects. If you fear that they will give my secrets to the enemy, I will only let them know what I wish. Let me conduct this affair; I have had more difficult things on my hands."

There was, perhaps, too much imprudence in this confidence of Henri IV. in the great principle of tolerance; the King, remembering in what state he had found his kingdom and what extraordinary results toleration had produced, could well believe in it. He was better than his time: he succeeded in giving France a degree of prosperity which she had never known; the interest of money fell under his reign from ten to four per cent.

Most of the letters of M. Dussieux's volumes are letters addressed to Sully, to the Constable of Montmorency, to Madame de Gramont, to the Marquise de Verneuil, and to Gabrielle d'Estrées. It is somewhat to be regretted that the selection did not entirely exclude the King's mistresses; but even in the last letters there are constant allusions to the political events of the time. Everybody knows the letter addressed by Henri IV. to Crillon after the battle of Arques: "Hang yourself, brave Crillon; we fought at Arques, and you were not there." But this is a version invented by Voltaire. The original letter is thus worded: "Brave Crillon, hang yourself for not having been near me last Monday on the finest occasion which was ever seen or will ever be seen. Believe that I longed much for you. The Cardinal made us a furious visit, but he went away very piteously. I hope to be next Thursday at Amiens, where I shall not stay long, as I meditate something, for I have now one of the finest armies that can be imagined. There is nothing missed in it but the brave Crillon, who will always be welcome." I cannot resist the temptation of translating one among so many love-letters: it is addressed to Gabrielle d'Estrées (September 12, 1593):

"My handsome love: Two hours after the arrival of the bearer, you will see a knight who loves you much; they call him the King of France and Navarre, a title truly honorable, but a very heavy one; the name of your subject is much more delicious. All put together do very well, and I have resolved not to cede them to anybody. Enough talk, as I shall see you soon. Good morning, my all: I kiss your beautiful eyes a million times. This 12th September, from our delicious desert of Fontainebleau."

The collector, M. Dussieux, has added to the letters a certain number of the King's speeches. It is a pity he omitted the famous speech of Henri IV. to the notables of Rouen, but it is so well known that he perhaps thought there was no necessity of reproducing it.

Correspondence.

INTIMIDATION AT THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In No. 580 of the *Nation*, in "The Week," among other things, you say, in speaking of the Southern problem, "How is it that peace and order reign in the States in which the whites are in a majority? We ask this question in all seriousness; a candid answer to it would go to the root of the Southern trouble." The Southern problem is a question of the most momentous importance, and its solution is surrounded with the gravest difficulties, and it ought, certainly, to have the most candid discussion.

The reason of the peace and order in the States in which the whites are in a majority is twofold: firstly, the order and peace of an indirect general intimidation; secondly, the peace of self-interest, in this: "If you vote at all, vote the Democratic ticket, or I will discharge you," addressed by the white employer to the negro laborer, which is sternly carried out, and which, with the dependence of the colored man, means his sustenance. Just as long as the negro is deprived of his political rights or fails to exercise them he is very welcome to live, for he is the most tractable of laborers and order reigns. The campaign uproar breaks out, where the negroes have a decided majority, just before an important election, because it is *then* and *there* that intimidation is to some practical purpose. It does not break out in Georgia, because *there* the negro, as a general thing, does not vote unless it be the Democratic ticket; at least, enough are kept from the polls to ensure a constant Democratic majority.

I have endeavored to answer your question with all candor, as every citizen should when dealing with a question of solemn importance. But the "root of the Southern trouble" lies deeper. It lies in this, that the body politic is standing on its head. Dense ignorance of constituency, and, its constant concomitant in a republic, dense corruption and demagogism, are at the head of the state. This was brought about by universal suffrage, and the ballot in the hands of the negro seemed absolutely necessary in reconstruction to prevent him from serfdom, as witness the "black laws" of this State of 1865.

For information as to the purpose as a plan, and the process of this intimidation, please read in the *News and Courier*, of Charleston, S. C., of the 16th and 17th inst., the account of the Republican meeting at Edgefield C.H. in one number, and the editorial on "The Bane and the Antidote" in the other. Informed.

Beaufort, S. C., Aug. 17, 1876.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: What is intimidation? I remember, not so very long ago, that, as the workmen at one of the largest factories in this city were leaving the shops on election day, a ticket was placed in each man's hand, with an intimation that unless he voted that ticket he would be discharged. I remember a poor man, a widower with a number of small children, whom it was attempted to have discharged from earning $1 50 a night as doorkeeper of the Academy of Music, because he had on the previous day voted contrary to the opinions of the Board of Directors of that establishment. I remember that a leading firm of real-estate agents were forced by the Union League of this city to discharge their standing counsel, a lawyer of position, since a candidate for the judiciary, on account of his political opinions. I know that a large manufacturer, trying to obtain a Government contract, was obliged to abandon his attorney, who had been his adviser and friend for years, in order that he might be a competitor. Were all of these actions improper? If I am an idiotic manufacturer, who believes that a protective duty is not only of great public importance, but vital to my own peculiar business—that without it I shall be ruined—is it wrong of me not to employ a man who I believe will help to bring about that ruin? Where is the line to be drawn? In the law of trades-unions

you may not strike a man, you may not "picket" him, but you, and all your fellows, may refuse to work in the same shop with him, which, of course, is tantamount to driving him into the union or starving.

If the Southern whites believe that the Republican party is their enemy; that if allowed to rule it will deprive them of their possessions, their happiness, and some of their lives, what acts may they do in order to guard these which may not in the indefinite and inexact language of Messrs. Morton and Boutwell be called "intimidation" and "ostracism"? Is it intimidation for the citizens of Louisiana and South Carolina to refuse to employ men who will vote for those who have by taxation confiscated their estates, and who establish a judiciary for injustice? If the Mississippian refuses to admit to social intercourse the man who is in favor of what he thinks is his ruin, how does he differ from or where greater is the ostracism than the trades-union?

Putting aside all acts of physical violence, which on all hands are admitted to be wrong, it seems to me that before penalties and pains are to be inflicted for or popular opinion invoked against ostracism and intimidation, we ought to have it settled first what ostracism and intimidation are, where they may and where they may not be practised. J. S.

PHILADELPHIA, August 22, 1876.

MR. BLISS'S REPLY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You seem anxious for a "change of base" in your attacks upon me, and therefore propound certain questions. I will try and answer them, though your language is in some respects so indefinite that it will be difficult to be very precise in the answers, while some of your questions are, to say the least, such as no man has any *right* to ask either privately or publicly.

1. "Who recommended you for your present office?"

I do not now remember all or many of them. I made no general canvass for recommendations. I applied, I think, to only half-a-dozen persons. There were two or three lawyers of standing who wrote letters in my behalf, including at least one judge whose ability you would not question. One gentleman of high standing at the bar spoke to the President without my instigation. Several citizens, laymen, either wrote or spoke to him. I think Governor Morgan and Jackson S. Schultz were among these. I have always believed, however, that my appointment was due in considerable measure to the President himself. I have no disposition to conceal the fact that Senator Conkling favored my appointment. I am not ashamed of his course, his character, or his friendship, and believe him at once far abler and far purer than those who attack him and set themselves up as his judges. On the other hand, I do not believe that either he, nor any of the other persons who favored my appointment, are unwilling to have their action judged by its results. Nor have I any doubt that my activity in politics had much to do with my appointment. I believe that an active interest in public affairs is and should be a recommendation to public office, just as I think inattention to them should be a disqualification.

2. You ask me if I "honestly and sincerely believe" that it was my standing at the bar which led to my appointment. Until you put this question, I did not suppose you thought I could "honestly or sincerely" believe anything. I do not believe it was alone my standing at the bar which led to my appointment, nor do I believe that their standing at the bar alone led to the appointment of many or indeed any of my recent predecessors. I believe my standing was as good as that of several of them, and that politics influenced their appointment as well as mine.

3. This question, too, is largely answered above. I think you overrate at once my skill and activity and my experience in controlling or "fixing" primaries, caucuses, or conventions. My political work has been largely done in other directions. I never "fixed" a primary, if by that phrase you mean the preventing the fair expression of the opinions of all who took or were entitled to take part in it. I have attended primary elections, and propose to continue to do so. If you and those like you attended more, you would know more about them and would probably growl less. You might perhaps improve them. You would certainly have a better right to criticise them. Since I have had any influence in such matters, I have attended no primary at which there was even an accusation of unfair dealing. In the district in which I reside, which is the only one in which I ever attended a primary, I have procured the adoption of a practice which does away with all secret or close caucuses. Every member of the association is invited to every caucus, and can make himself heard. No Republican has, to my knowledge, ever been refused admission to the association. From the indefiniteness of your word "fixing," I can only meet it by repeating that neither in primary, caucus, nor convention have I ever been concerned in anything which prevented, or was intended to prevent, the fair expression of the views and wishes of all. I have usually had my own candidates and my own opinions, and have urged the one and expressed the other freely. Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have been beaten. When overruled, I have concluded I was wrong, for, not being the editor of a weekly reform newspaper, I have never claimed omniscience. I may add I do not believe that Republican caucuses or primaries or conventions in this city are often "fixed," if by that you mean the prevention of the fair expression of opinion.

4. "How much time have you given, on a fair average, during the past four years, to political 'work,' and how much money have you personally contributed to the funds of the party or for political purposes?"

As to work, I can't say; I have done a great deal, and hope to do a good deal more. If your enquiry is meant to insinuate that I have neglected my official duties, then, at the expense of a charge of boasting, I meet the insinuation squarely by asserting that I have given to those duties more hours and days in every year than any of my predecessors for many years; that I have disposed of more business than any of them; that I have done more towards clearing the calendars than any of them; that I have disposed of business more promptly than any of them; and that I have disposed of it—to say the least—quite as successfully as any of them. My statements are capable of easy proof. If you doubt them, I refer you to Judges Blatchford, Shipman, Benedict, and Wallace; to the records of the courts, or to the files of the Departments at Washington.

As to funds, I don't know what I have spent for political purposes within four years. I have always paid according to my means, and have given little if anything more since I have been in office than before. To organized committees I have probably given a thousand dollars a year for several years, and if able shall continue to do so, though I don't know as it is any of your business, any more than it is my business to enquire how much house-rent you pay, or whether you ever stole a newspaper.

5. To give my ideas of appointment and tenure in the civil service, as you request, would take a good deal of time and space. I don't believe honest or efficient officers are to be got by examinations directed as to their knowledge of grammar or geography. The first man examined under the recent civil-service rules in this city—a man who stood far above all his competitors—wears a convict's uniform in Albany Penitentiary, whither I sent him for corruption in office. Nor do I believe you can have that civil service which seems to be your theoretical one until you change the Constitution so as to be able to control by law the appointment of officers. So long as the President has the constitutional right to appoint whom he chooses, and so long as Presidents are human, any theory of civil-service reform which begins at the other end, and seeks only to prevent the removal of office-holders unless they can be shown to be dishonest or incapable, will be a halting one. I believe that it would be an improvement if an efficient and honest officer could not be removed except for misconduct in office. But though it is easy to lay down such a theoretical rule, the difficulty is that, under a system governed by it, you are in danger of getting office-holders who have just enough of efficiency or honesty to prevent any defined charges on which they can be removed, and yet whom it would be an improvement to any service to get rid of. Any one who knows the English service knows that this is so. You seem to suppose that under our present mode of appointment no office-holder can have independence. To disprove this, it is not necessary to go further back than the Convention at Saratoga. Mr. Cornell was asserted to be, and I believe was, the favorite candidate of Mr. Conkling. Every one of the prominent Federal office-holders in this city felt under deep personal and political obligations to the last-named gentleman, and yet nearly all of them were against the candidacy of Mr. Cornell at this time, and so acted, and I don't believe Mr. Conkling or any one else cherishes any hard feelings against them.

6. You ask me to compare my influence in the party in this city with that of others. I can say, without much modesty, that in my opinion several persons have more weight than I, and that I am probably as frequently overruled as almost any one. I am apt to state my views frankly—too frankly for my own popularity or influence—I urge them as strongly as I can. If they are adopted, I am glad. If I am overruled, I acquiesce. Right here permit me to say, that I believe that nearly or quite all of good government we have had in this city in the last half-dozen years has been obtained either through the gentlemen with whom I am accustomed to act, or with their hearty concurrence. I do not believe you can remember a time when, by the general concurrence of all, the Federal offices—Collectorship, Post-office, Revenue offices (excepting, of course, the District-Attorney's)—have been filled more honestly, efficiently, or acceptably than now. As for our municipal officers, consider who are regarded as among

the ablest and best. Are they not in the judiciary Davis, Barrett, Brady, Van Vorst, Sedgwick, Sanford, Hackett, Gildersleeve? Yet you owe every one of them to the earnest support of the much-maligned "machine." So of the District-Attorney, Mr. Phelps. Among the aldermen and the civil justices, those who are regarded as the best—indeed, almost the only ones who are regarded as unexceptionable—were elected by or with the active concurrence of the Republicans. The same is true of the non-elective officers whose appointments have been made from the Republican party, such as Mr. Wales, of the Dock Department; Bailey, of Charities and Corrections; Andrews, of Taxes and Assessments; Wheeler and Erhardt, of the Police Department. Indeed, there does not occur to me any person as being in office whom even your critical eye would detect as being inefficient or corrupt who owes his place to the support of the local Republican leaders. On the other hand, if you find an incompetent or dishonest man in office, I believe, as a rule, you will find the Republicans opposed him. Whatever may have been the motives of the controllers of the "machine," selfish or otherwise, they have given the people good officers wherever they have had the power. There may have been exceptions, but they do not occur to me. The greatest failures among those whom they supported have been the "reformers"—men who were not from their ranks.

You ask me, Can any one else "fix a primary" as well as I can? If they cannot, then "fix'ng" is very different business from what I suppose you mean. If you want examples of my superiors in this respect, I would name Ellwood E. Thorne and many of his associates—for they need neither voters nor voting-places—and various "reformers," including one or more reputed contributors to the *Nation*. My experience in the matter of primaries has, I have already pointed out, been more limited than you have apparently supposed.

Thus far I have sought to answer your questions, and claim the fulfilment of your promise with reference thereto. I am moved, however, to add one or two things which are suggested by some things you have said from time to time, but which I have no right to ask you to admit to your columns unless they commend themselves to you.

Your obedient servant, GEORGE BLISS.

[The remainder of Mr. Bliss's letter relates to the organization of the Republican party in this city, and is also interesting reading, but for reasons of space we shall hold it over until next week. He will not consider it a breach of our promise if we point out to him in our own defence against his charge of impertinence, and in as few words as possible, that the contributions of officeholders to campaign funds have acquired by custom the nature of a tax (he may call it voluntary if he pleases), and therefore operate in practice as a deduction from their salaries. Their amount, therefore, in the case of any officeholder, is a legitimate subject of enquiry by any voter. Gen. Barlow, indeed, when United States Marshal, was assessed not only on his official salary, but on his supposed illicit profits.—ED. NATION.]

MR. BLISS AND THE EXTRADITION DIFFICULTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the letter of Mr. Bliss to the *Nation* of August 31, he asserts substantially that it was never intended in this country to arraign Lawrence for any other crime but that of forgery, and he never was arraigned for any other; but because it was proposed to arraign him on a charge of forgery which was not formally proven before the English magistrate, although it was alleged before him, Lawrence's counsel took the ground that he could not be tried. "This statement," says the Springfield *Republican*, whose language I copy, as clearly putting Mr. Bliss's view of the matter, "we must say, entirely changes the aspect of the Lawrence case, and cuts the ground completely from under the argument of Mr. Wells and Beach Lawrence, who have charged that it was the intent of District-Attorney Bliss to put Lawrence on trial, not for forgery, but for smuggling, which is not an extradition crime."

Certainly, if this statement is correct it does put an entirely different aspect on the Lawrence case, and goes far to substantiate the charges which Mr. Bliss makes against me in his letter of "errors, falsehoods, and insinuations." But is it correct? That it is not seems to me to be demonstrated from the following evidence: *First*, The letter of Attorney-General Pierrepont, of December, 1875, cannot be made to bear any other interpretation than that the writer believed it was the intention of Mr. Bliss to arraign and try Lawrence for offences other than that for which he was extradited, and that, in fact, steps had been already taken by the District-Attorney of New York to that effect. *Second*, That Mr. Bliss did commence proceedings against Lawrence for offences other than that for which he was extradited, is proved by the following extract from the opinion of the Solicitor-General of July 16, 1875, Ex. Document No. 173, p. 58, which says:

"Immediately on his arrival in New York the petitioner (Lawrence) was arrested under bench-warrants issued out of the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York upon charges of other forgeries, of conspiracy, etc., that had been committed before his extradition; and since such arrest a capias in a civil action, sued out of the same court for unpaid duties owing to the United States, has been served upon him. Copies of the above-mentioned warrants, etc., are appended to the petition, the civil capias being in assumpsit for $1,386,400 on account of unpaid duties."

Again, in the despatch of Lord Derby of June 30, 1876, the British Foreign Minister makes the following statement:

"Her Majesty's Government desire to point out that it was with reference to the case of Lawrence that this question at issue between the two Governments arose. Lawrence was surrendered to the Government of the United States on a charge of forgery. *He was indicted in the United States on a charge of smuggling, which is not one of the extradition offences.* Mr. Fish, in his despatch of the 24th of May, states that this indictment for smuggling was found against Lawrence before the demand for his extradition. This may be so, but Lawrence was arrested and held to bail on this indictment for smuggling after his extradition. These proceedings on this indictment for smuggling, taken after extradition, made the case, in substance, the same as if he had been indicted for smuggling after extradition."

I submit, in view of these citations from official documents, that if Mr. Bliss's statement is correct—*i.e.*, that Lawrence was never arraigned or *intended* to be arraigned, in this country on any charge other than forgery—the officials on both sides of the water who have been discussing this extradition question clearly don't understand the subject they have been so long writing about; and if I have been led into errors, falsehoods, and insinuations on this point, it has been because the official documents laid before the British and American public have never rightfully presented the facts in the case.

I am, yours respectfully, DAVID A. WELLS.

Sept. 2, 1876.

THE TERRE HAUTE "FRAUD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The influence of the *Nation* depends chiefly upon the general confidence which has been felt in its truthfulness and impartiality. It is of the utmost consequence that there be at least one paper in the country which can discuss politics and politicians with the sole view of arriving at the truth and of administering praise or condemnation from a high moral standpoint. Having determined to support Hayes and Wheeler, it is natural that you should seek not to be unjust to the other side, and this purpose is most praiseworthy. It seems to me that this desire to be impartial has carried you of late too far, and has led you to justify or excuse acts in Democratic politicians which would have met with severe condemnation if done by Republicans.

A conspicuous instance of this is found in your article in this week's paper upon Mr. Tilden's connection with the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad. The article indicates that you think Mr. Tilden not to blame for anything he has done in connection with this road. But the facts, as you state them, lead me to a contrary conclusion. The substance of your statement is that Mr. Tilden and his associates, as the agents of the bondholders, purchased the road under a foreclosure sale, and then sold it to a reorganized company, and received from it new securities, which they were to hand over to the old bondholders. The amount of the new securities was proportioned to the old bonds, and every old bondholder was entitled to his proportion. After the delivery of the new securities to all the bondholders who called for them, a considerable amount was left, which Mr. Tilden and his associates divided among themselves, and, with the exception of one member, now claim to hold as their individual property. The present company has brought suit to require this purchasing committee to account for the undistributed securities.

Now, I can easily see that it may be a doubtful legal and moral question whether the new company has any right to these undistributed securities, and if Mr. Tilden and his associates had confined themselves to disputing the right of complainants, I should have said nothing. But they claim to own these securities, and the claim seems to me not merely baseless but dishonest. They base their claim on the ground that they have incurred liabilities and rendered services for which they will not otherwise have an adequate reward. But when they undertook the work they must have had some agreement, express or implied, as to the amount

of their compensation, and no doubt they have received this. They certainly could not have expected to receive their pay from the securities which were uncalled for, for they could not have expected that the bondholders would not all appear. In receiving these securities, then, they are getting just so much more for their services than the agreement under which they acted contemplated. They are claiming property which was never intended to be theirs.

Now, I do not say that Mr. Tilden in this is guilty of a State-prison offence—possibly he has done no worse than many a sharp operator in railroads has done before. But when a man is a candidate for the high office of President of the United States, and claims that, if elected, he will reform the corruption which all good men so much deplore, we may well ask whether his conduct has heretofore been that of a high-minded, honorable man—whether the undue love of money which has been the temptation under which so many of our public men have fallen has not in him led to unjustifiable practices. And it seems to me that no desire to seem impartial towards the candidate whom the *Nation* opposes should lead it to excuse or pass without condemnation the claim which Mr. Tilden makes in the suit referred to. The question seems to me simple: Does Mr. Tilden own a share of these securities? If so, on what can his claim be based? If he does not own them, then how can we characterize his claim to own them, except to say that it is dishonest and unworthy of an honorable man?

C. A. Kent.

Detroit, August 26, 1876.

[We are making no efforts to be particularly impartial towards Mr. Tilden or anybody else. We are simply trying to tell the truth, as it appears to us, about various events of the day. In a Presidential canvass a great many good people lose sight of the obligation of truth-telling, and begin to consider what the immediate consequence of truth-telling will be, and get into a queer, inflamed state of mind, in which their mental and moral vision is distorted and their sense of proportion lost. If Mr. Tilden were not a Presidential candidate, we do not believe there would ever have been five minutes' discussion about this Terre Haute affair, and the notion that it was a stupendous fraud would have been treated as ridiculous. So, also, if Mr. Blaine had not been a Presidential candidate, there never would have been two opinions among reputable men about the propriety of a Speaker's purposely helping a railroad lobby by his rulings, and then calling the attention of the head lobbyist to what he had done, with a view to future remembrance. Our advice to every one who feels excited about the Terre Haute "fraud" and other campaign frauds or errors, is to sit down to consider them soberly, after having, by whatever process of discipline he finds most effective, banished from his mind his interest in the canvass and his conclusions as to the consequences which would flow from the election of either candidate. The first duty of every man to his country is not to elect either Tilden or Hayes, but to be veracious and candid and honest. We have said all we have to say about the Terre Haute matter. The old creditors of the railroad, we repeat, have not claimed the securities appropriated by the Purchasing Committee, although every opportunity has been given them to do so. When they do, and we hear what they have to say, and what Tilden says in reply, we shall take the subject up again. The dispute now pending between Tilden and the new company is pre-eminently a *legal* dispute, and fitter far to be passed on by the courts than by stump-orators and newspapers. Mr. Kent's statement of the case is full of errors, but we have no space to spare for their correction. To show what a fog of absurdity "the campaign" has thrown about the matter, we need only point to the fact that the New York *Times* has likened Mr. Tilden's position to that of the embezzling cashier of a private firm. But we have no hope of the return of rationality before the second week in November.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

McPHERSON'S 'Handbook of Politics for 1876' (Washington: Solomons & Chapman) is hardly inferior to any of its predecessors in value for all who make a study of our republican development. We need only instance, among its varied contents, the text of the "Wheeler adjustment"; the text and history of the Supplementary Civil-Rights Act, and the judicial action upon it; the legislation in regard to Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina; the Resumption Act; the impeachment proceedings in Belknap's case; the digest of Wisconsin railroad legislation now in force, etc., etc. Material for the Presidential campaign is also furnished in the accounts of the Democratic and Republican National Conventions, and the candidates' letters of acceptance.——The 'Centennial Portfolio' published by Thomas Hunter, Philadelphia, contains fifty views of buildings at the Exhibition fairly lithographed in two colors, with statistical and descriptive text. We have been abundantly repaid for the time spent in turning over its pages by comparing the wonderful architecture of the various State buildings, and by the editor's laudable attempts to name the "style" of each.——G. P. Putnam's Sons issue immediately, as the third volume of Prof. J. M. Hart's series of German Classics, 'Selections from Goethe's Prose'; 'The Elements of Psychology' and 'The Science of Ethics,' by Prof. Henry N. Day; and 'Outlines of the History of Philosophy,' by Prof. J. J. Elmendorf.——Harper & Bros. will reprint Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne's 'Life of John Locke.'——Mr. S. B. Ruggles is engaged upon a 'History of Gold and Silver in Civilized Countries,' coming down to July 4, 1876.——The second volume of the new series, the fiftieth in all, of the 'Almanach des Spectacles' (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles; New York: F. W. Christern, 1876, pp. iii.–155), has at last been printed at the presses of M. Jouast with the same daintiness and delicacy of typographical execution as the first volume, which we noticed a year ago (No. 533). The volume for 1875 is as carefully edited as that for 1874; the scope of the work is unchanged, only the results of the contests at the Conservatory are added and the bibliographical list for the year is made fuller. The prefixed etching by M. Léon Gaucherel is a striking full-length portrait of Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt, the Sociétaire of the Comédie Française elected during the year.——The second instalment of Carl Wolff's 'Historischer Atlas' (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt) contains seven maps, one of which, No. 17, Germany 1815–1866, covers the same period as Spruner's No. 49, and is a good example of the difference between these two atlases both in scope and in cartographical execution. No. 18, Central Europe after the revival of the German Empire, 1871, takes in the region from Belgrade to Madrid and from Rome to Copenhagen, and will be found very useful for everyday reference.——The *Novelle* to the German penal code is given textually in Band II., Heft 1, of Part III. of 'Die Gesetzgebung des deutschen Reiches' (New York: E. Steiger), with a complete alphabetical index of subjects. Band I., Heft 5, deals with the penal provisions in sundry laws and ordinances relating to navigation and commerce.

—From the Boston Public Library we have received the new catalogue of its Roxbury branch (distinguished from the first edition by being liberally equipped with bibliographical notes as a guide to readers, in what we may now fortunately call the fashion), together with its own twenty-fourth annual report. During the year ending April 30, 1876, nearly a million volumes were called for by the patrons of the central library and its branches, or 25 per cent. more than the year previous, while the greatest delivery of volumes on any one day (8,035) showed an increase of 32 per cent. in the same time. What is most gratifying is that the branches do not in the least diminish the circulation of the central library. The registered number of persons privileged to take out books is nearly 100,000 in a city of 342,000 inhabitants; and the Superintendent estimates that three-fourths of them avail themselves of their privilege, yet with only the loss last year of 100 volumes (one in ten thousand circulated). Also noteworthy is the steady increase of the library by gifts, in which way, apart from the product of trust-funds, more than a third of all its volumes have been acquired since its foundation. The catalogue work of the year, of the more serious kind, has been the printing of the Ticknor Catalogue, which is approaching the letter D, and the cataloguing of the Barton Collection, which has been carried through a third of the Shaksperiana. Scholars will be interested to know, too, that along with its own newspaper catalogue, the library has made a record of the invaluable files in the libraries of the Boston Athenæum and the Massachusetts Historical Society. The account of the autographic mode of preparing cards for the catalogue deserves the attention of all librarians.

—*Harper's Monthly* for September offers very little that calls for comment excepting the penultimate instalment of "Daniel Deronda," and we are so near the end of the story that further criticism had better be deferred. In *Lippincott's* we found ourselves turning first to the little tale by Pushkin, called in the translation "The Queen of Spades." It has the genuine Russian tinge of tragedy, and, while it does not suggest that eminence which Pushkin enjoys in another field of the imagination, it is not

without both ingenuity and a certain kind of power. The second paper on George Sand is noticeable chiefly for the interpretation given by a correspondent of the writer to the great novelist's last words, "Laissez la verdure." It has hitherto been rendered, poetically and probably, "Put only a sod above me." But here we read: "She asked that the grass might not be trodden on. They could not at first make out what she meant; they did afterwards. She evidently alluded to the grass over her mother's grave, beside which she wished to be buried." Mr. Wilson's third paper on the "Eastern Shore" apparently does not exhaust the subject, and is unexpectedly interesting. We are still asked to regard it as the land of plenty, but from another side, that of fruit production, large and small. Of the peach we are told:

"For a distance of ten miles by at least two in width the banks of the Upper Chester form a continuation of orchards, one of which alone, known as the 'Round Top,' contains over one thousand acres. This little river is navigable for not quite thirty miles, yet in 1875 it required seven steamers and more than twice that number of sailing craft to carry its peaches to market, and that notwithstanding the facilities offered to the same country by two lines of railroad. These boats carried at least ten thousand bushels of peaches a day, the railroad carrying from three to ten car-loads daily."

Further on we hear of one small town in Somerset County shipping as many as six car-loads of strawberries daily. The canning and drying of fruit is a great and growing enterprise; but the account given of the peach-parers had better be passed over by the fastidious. It appears that there is a not insignificant lumber interest on the peninsula, where the existence of a tulip-tree ten feet in diameter is recorded; and even a fur trade. Finally, the sportsman has abundant game of limited variety, including, strange to say, the "dove," a bird which Mr. Wilson says is found breeding in New York and Massachusetts, though he has never met a Northern man familiar with it.

—Apropos of what we have been saying of late as to the immorality of the silver movement, M. Michel Chevalier, in an interesting article in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on the "Depreciation of Silver," remarks, we hope without having the Chicago *Tribune* or Cincinnati *Commercial* in his mind:

"To speak honestly: to continue by any process, or by giving permission to any one, that coinage of the silver pieces called five francs since the metal has fallen so much in value, is to subject our money to a serious debasement, which, though not criminal as that practised by counterfeiters is, has in its effects many points of resemblance to it. This is not a flattering comparison; but in the one case as in the other a disc of metal is given to the public which professes to be worth more than it really is. Certainly it would be unjust to confound the two acts in the same condemnation. The counterfeiter knows that he is in revolt against the law; the private person who gets the mint to convert silver ingots into five-franc pieces does not violate the law. He profits by the fact that by a change in circumstances some of the provisions of the law of the year XI. (the French coinage act) have become defective, and that the Government has failed to go on with the work of reform, though it was its duty to do so. But society is injured in both cases, and the injury is in the one as in the other proportionate to the difference between the effective value of the money uttered and the false value which the counterfeiter attributes to it, or the legal value which it draws from a worn-out but unrepealed legislation."

In another place he says:

"Strictly speaking, the individual is only exercising his rights when he uses the liberty which the law allows him, and which, by a piece of regrettable forgetfulness, has been allowed to stand when it ought properly to have been barred by the facts which ought to supply the rule; *but the case of a state profiting by a state of things which it was its duty to reform is worse than that of an individual who follows a path which ought to have been closed, but which the carelessness or indolence of the Government has left open.* The state cannot pretend that it does not know that the practice in which it is indulging is injurious to society, since this is the very reason why it has forbidden private persons to resort to it. *The excuse of the gain to the treasury is not admissible either. A state can only seek profit through means which are plainly moral and of public utility.*"

This is very hard on the Chicago *Tribune*, which has been for some time urging our Government to resort to this very swindle, and is at the same time greatly excited over Tilden's Terre Haute "frauds."

—Professor Mommsen, with more zeal and courage perhaps than entire fairness or discretion, has set himself to righting some of the abuses of the German universities. His attack was first directed against the *promotio in absentia*, the principal cause of the prostitution of the once honored and valuable title of Doctor. So far as Mommsen's charge is true, that "the German Doctor has become a by-word in England," the humiliating fact is due to this utterly indefensible abuse. Nothing can be said in extenuation of the scandal except that, at some universities, the professors have in a great degree been dependent upon the fees for their bread and butter. This ought not to have been passed over in silence. Professor Mommsen knows that many an ordinary professor in Jena and elsewhere receives such a pitiful salary that it is simply impossible to subsist on it, and even a German professor and his children must eat. Still, though it is clear that the blame does not rest wholly with the universities, the *promotio in absentia* ought to be abolished absolutely and for ever, no matter how much some professors may be in need of the fees. If they cannot live without them, and if the Government does not provide for them in some other way, they will have to give up their professorships. We shall then see, on a larger scale, what has already for some time given rise to bitter reflections. In several branches of learning the chairs of the first universities are occupied by young and comparatively untried men, because there is an alarming lack of competition, for the simple reason that at least one-half of the professorships are so underpaid that it becomes a *sine quâ non* for whoever aspires to the academical career to have means of his own. It is pretty safe to assert that the *promotio in absentia* will become a mere historical reminiscence long before any serious attempt is made to remedy this other evil.

—Mommsen's second point is that some universities have entirely dispensed with a dissertation, while others have made the examination so easy that only a semi-barbarian could fail to pass it. If the title of Doctor is really to signify what the word means, a dissertation seems to be as indispensable as an examination. No one should be honored with this title who does not prove himself able to add a mite to the intellectual capital of the civilized world, and this proof no examination can furnish. Whether the printing and publication of the dissertation should be made an absolute condition appears to be quite a different question. Prof. Mommsen insists upon it, though he himself enumerates a number of weighty reasons against it: some of the best students are so poor that they cannot afford the expense of the publication; others are so unfortunate as to hit upon a theme which proves to be a barren or thoroughly-explored field; only an inconsiderable minority of these youths, fresh from their benches, can write anything deserving to be printed, though their treatises may show that some time they will be able to do it, etc., etc. All this Prof. Mommsen admits, but, nevertheless, he thinks "the secret Doctor" fully as bad and as damaging to the reputation of the German universities as the Doctor *in absentia*, because no public control is possible unless the dissertations are published. There is, undoubtedly, a good deal of truth in this, and it is likely that the printing of the dissertations will soon be made obligatory by all the universities. But, after all, the best and only efficient safeguard against abuses will always be the conscientiousness, the honor, and the pride of the faculties. If the great historian's colleagues at the universities which do not make the publication of the dissertations imperative, were such a depraved set as he makes them out to be, none of the measures proposed by him would prevent the worst "collusions." Finally, it seems doubtful whether he will succeed in his endeavors to cause all the universities to adopt uniform rules for promotion. His secret wish seems to be that all should simply conform to the usages of the principal Prussian universities. This, we apprehend, will never be done. It would, in fact, be absurd for (say) little Freiburg to exact the same fees from the peasant's son from the Black Forest as the gentlemen in Berlin can, and perhaps ought, to exact from their students. Already, too, the question has been asked whether this bold attempt at radical reform will not be the beginning of the end—*i.e.*, whether it will not soon be time to drop this relic of the Middle Ages entirely. Every Doctor can prove by his diploma that the *jura et privilegia* of the Doctorship have been conferred upon him, but the learned man would be very much embarrassed by the question what these rights and privileges are. The Doctor's title has, in the course of the centuries, lost nearly all its substance, and it can never again acquire much substance in Germany, since "state examinations" alone qualify for the state (public) service. It is not quite improbable that Mommsen's grandchildren will only know Doctors of medicine and the "Doctor *honoris causa*," bestowed upon men of unusual scholarship and m

—The musical critic of the *Perseveranza*, Signor Filippi, whose name is justly held in high esteem wherever known, having to pass through Munich on his way to Bayreuth, was fortunate enough to hear Wagner's American Inauguration March played at a monster concert. Unfriendly writers had stigmatized it as a failure on the strength of its having been indifferently received at a rather low public resort in Vienna. Our Italian, however, found it worthy in all respects of the composer, and infinitely more clear and comprehensible than the overture to the "Meistersinger" or to "Tristan and Isoult," or even than the Imperial Coronation March—

in which last comparison critics here are, we believe, in entire accord with Signor Filippi. It elicited the heartiest applause from the audience at the Munich Colosseum.

CHARLES SPRAGUE *

MR. CHARLES J. SPRAGUE has done a good work in giving to the world this elegant edition of his father's works. It was due to him and to American literature that the present generation of readers should be reminded of the excellent poet who gave pleasure to their fathers and grandfathers, and whose voice has been too nearly lost amid the throng

"Of louder minstrels in these latter days"

Mr. Sprague was almost if not quite the first writer of verse who had any title to the name of a poet in this country, when he first became known to the public. It was in the summer after Mr. Sprague's first prize address that Mr. Bryant received his earliest public recognition through the delivery of his beautiful poem of 'The Ages' before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge. Longfellow and Willis, Holmes and Lowell, were school-boys. Emerson was still an undergraduate at Harvard. The Muse had not yet won Whittier from the plough and his father's farm. Mr. Sprague was the harbinger of a happier age. The field of American poetry into which he entered was not without many laborers, but the harvest was small indeed, if not entirely chaff. The epic thunders of Joel Barlow had rolled away into the silence of oblivion. Dr. Dwight had recited in heroic measure the tale of 'The Conquest of Canaan' to ears that refused to hear, although Cowper wrote a civil notice of it for the London *Monthly Review*. Colonel Humphreys sought in vain to wreathe his sword with myrtle and his brow with laurel; they withered at the touch of the steel and the lead. He had to rest his lyric fame on his good service as the aide of Washington, and his pastoral renown on his introduction of merino sheep from the hills of Spain to the pastures of America when he returned from his mission to Madrid. 'McFingal' deserves more of memory than posterity has vouchsafed to it, if it were only for the quotations in all men's mouths which with one consent they give to Hudibras—to Butler, and not to Trumbull—and which are worthy of their imputed parentage. Philip Freneau, perhaps, had more of the true poetic touch than any of his age. At least, two poets not less famous than Scott and Campbell paid him the compliment of adopting some of his lines as their own.

Mr. Sprague—we almost dread to speak the word—was "a self-made man." So many men, so styled, have "made themselves" so abominably that it is clear that they are not even Nature's journeymen at the trade, but merely 'prentices, and very poor ones into the bargain, who have spoiled good stock, which might have been worked up into excellent ploughmen or artisans, by trying to make it into ministers, lawyers, and Congressmen. Mr. Sprague was none of these. He was a master of the craft, and he made himself into a thoroughly well-educated man within the limits to which he confined his mental cultivation. He had not even had what the newspapers ridiculously call "an academic education"—meaning a year or two at a country academy—a solecism for which we fear the excellent Major Poore of the *Congressional Register* is accountable, in his zeal to make it seem as if some of his Congressmen knew something. Mr. Sprague resembled Shakspere in the particular of his "little Latin and less Greek"; but he had drunk deeply of the "well of English undefiled," and few men were more familiarly acquainted with the great authors who had slacked their thirst at that living fountain. With the whole body of English literature, from Chaucer downwards, he was "familiar as his garter," and his taste for poetry and his models for the mechanism of his verse were drawn from the elder masters—elder, we mean, than those who have flourished in the nineteenth century. Consequently, his poetry is as pellucid as the "well undefiled" itself from which it was drawn. We must admit, though we know what a disparagement the admission must appear to famous poets and their admirers of our time—we must admit that everything Mr. Sprague wrote was level to the meanest capacity, and thoroughly intelligible by the common people. Cowper, indeed, tells a young friend trembling on the brink of Hippocrene and applying to him for advice, that "clearness is half the battle." But then Cowper is no authority, and no critic of a high order nowadays would allow him to be a poet at all. But Mr. Sprague was old-fashioned enough to think with Cowper, and to try and compel his muse to speak in the vernacular, so as to be understood without an interpreter. We do not defend him. All we assert for him is that he did what he undertook to do.

All the time Mr. Sprague was engaged in making himself, he was also engaged in active business, at first in trade and latterly, for nearly fifty years, in Boston banks—first as teller and afterwards as cashier. Literature was the recreation of his hours of leisure, and was never allowed to interrupt the hours given to the interests of others. He was eminently a "man of two lives," each as distinct from the other as if they were lived in different bodies; and those who knew him in the one capacity would hardly recognize him in the other. And so he might have lived and died unknown, had it not been for an occasion which gave him a chance to be heard. In those days the custom of prologues, or opening addresses, had not gone out of fashion in the theatrical world. In 1821, the Park Theatre—dear old temple, long since vanished, the sock and buskin having given way to boots and shoes—the managers of the Park Theatre offered a prize for the best prologue to be delivered on the opening night of the season. Mr. Sprague joined the throng of competitors, and the prize was adjudged to him by a committee of literary judges ignorant of the personality of the writers until the award was made up. The merit of this performance made its author widely known throughout the country, which was not then too large to consider such an occurrence an event of general interest. The next year Mr. Sprague carried off the prize for a like address at the opening of the Walnut-Street Theatre, in Philadelphia; and he won two or three other laurels of the same nature subsequently. These poems are not inferior to the average of those of the same order which exercised the wits of Johnson and Garrick and Goldsmith and other famous men of the last century. They have all the best characteristics of occasional poems of the sort. The verse is harmonious, vigorous, thoughtful, with a proper seasoning of the satirical. In these days of greater things and broader excitements, it is not easy to realize how strong was the interest felt fifty years ago in these literary contests, and how generous and general was the admiration of the victor.

In 1823, the managers of the Boston Theatre proposed a competition for the best ode to be delivered at a pageant they proposed holding in honor of Shakspere. Mr. Sprague was again successful, and his Shakspere Ode raised his reputation among his contemporaries to a very high point, and we think that it will commend itself to the approbation of our more critical time. The lyric fire, the graceful transitions, the lively fancy, the felicitous turns of thought and phrase, the flow of harmonious verse in varying measure, make up a poem of a high order, which should secure for itself a place in our anthology. It is excellent for recitation, and most men whose lives stretch back so far can yet roll forth resounding stanzas still ringing in their memories. The longest and most finished of Sprague's poems is the one entitled "Curiosity," delivered before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa at Cambridge in 1829. It is a graceful and vigorous production in heroic verse, fanciful yet full of thought, satirical yet tender, according as "curiosity" rises to the mysteries of science or sinks to pander to gossip and corrupt tastes. It is a poem that will always be read with pleasure by those whose mental taste has not been vitiated by the gross and sensational school of verse. Sprague is better known to the generations that have grown up since he ceased to sing by his lesser poems, which will always find their way to pure minds and gentle hearts, especially when they have been tried by suffering or wrung by bereavement. "The Winged Worshippers," "I see Thee still," "The Family Meeting," "Lines to M. S. C.," will never lose their hold upon the human heart as long as it is swayed by "the charities of father, son, and brother."

It would be, of course, absurd to claim for Sprague a place by the side of the great singers of the world or of the English language. The moderation of his own claims was shown by his ceasing to write when he was only forty years old, and while he had yet more than forty years to live. Poetry was not the business, but the solace, of his life, and he was contented with a modest share of the rewards of genius. That he had the gift of poetic genius we think few readers of his poems will deny. His is not machine-made verse. His thoughts come glowing from his heart and mind, and they find fit words in which to clothe themselves. And this is what we understand to be meant by the "Vision and the Faculty Divine." Though Sprague may not deserve to rank with the great poets of the English language, we think that he merits a high place among the minor poets of our literature.

* 'The Poetical and Prose Writings of Charles Sprague. New Edition. With Portrait and Biographical Sketch.' Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1876.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Sidgwick (A.), Greek Prose Composition	(Rivingtons)
Sprague (Prof. H. B.), Milton's Mask of Comus, swd	(J. W. Schermerhorn & Co.)
Trade-List Annual, 1876	(F. Leypoldt)
Vecqueray (J. W. J.), A German Accidence	(Rivingtons)
Westcott (T.), Centennial Portfolio	(Thomas Hunter)
Wilkinson (J. J. G.), Human Science and Divine Revelation	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Whitney (S. W.), Elements of English Grammar	(J. W. Schermerhorn & Co.)
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(*Continued from page* iii.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1876.

The Week.

THE most notable event of the week in politics has been the nomination of Mr. Charles Francis Adams for the Governorship of Massachusetts by the Democrats, which he is likely to accept. The platform declares for specie payments; castigates the Republicans; compliments the House of Representatives; rejoices over the return of peace and order wherever Democratic rule prevails, and again castigates the Republicans; quotes Governor Andrew in favor of a generous and conciliatory policy towards the South; castigates the Republicans for the Freedmen's Bank and other frauds; castigates them for the decline of our commerce and manufactures; declares in favor of simplicity, economy, and a general reduction of expenses. The platform is a respectable, wordy one, and, like all the platforms of the day, it is only by the castigation paragraphs one can tell which party issues it. By directing the denunciation against the opposite party any platform can now be made to serve for any party. The nomination fills the Republican papers in Massachusetts with very sad feelings. They are very sorry for Mr. Adams (whom they acknowledge to be a respectable man), and by some obscure process of reasoning see in his nomination a fresh proof of Democratic villany. The effect of the nomination in other parts of the country, where people care less about Mr. Adams, will undoubtedly be favorable to the Democrats. It will be difficult to persuade people that the nomination of a first-class man in a reform-year by any party can have any very nefarious results, and for the awful consequences to Mr. Adams people do not care a cent. That he will run considerably ahead of his ticket there is no question. Whether he can be elected in the Presidential year is of course doubtful.

The Republicans, as a matter of course, have carried Vermont, in the largest vote ever polled, by a majority of 23,527 on a total vote of 65,643. In 1874 the majority was 20,325 on a total vote of 46,839. In 1872, the last Presidential year, with which it is most useful to compare the present year, the Republican majority was 25,333 on a total vote of 58,559. There has been this year, compared with 1872, an increase in the total vote of 7,084, and of this the Republicans have received 2,629 and the Democrats 4,422, leaving out of count about twenty-three scattering votes cast this year. There has been an increase in the total vote of this year of 18,804 as compared with that of 1874, and of this the Republicans received 11,003, and the Democrats 7,778. It will thus be seen that the Republicans have obtained not quite as large a ratio of increase over the vote of 1874 as the Democrats, and a much smaller ratio of increase over the vote of 1872. The difference is at most but slight, but what there is of it is unfavorable to the Republicans, or at all events not very favorable. There is no sign in it of a "tidal wave" or a "great uprising." It does not indicate any excitement over the "bloody shirt" or the "new rebellion," or any passionate admiration of Republican policy. The majority is large enough, to be sure, but it does not reveal a margin throughout the country to be expended on Butler or Banks or Boutwell, or to encourage Chandler as an organizer. We are glad of this. The party needs, as the old Scotch minister said, to be "shaken over the mouth of hell" in order to avoid being finally "cast in." The Republican Congressmen are all returned.

In Maine, too, the vote has been the largest ever cast, and the Republicans have carried every county and elected all the Congressmen. As in the case of Vermont, the majority is smaller than that of 1872, but at the present writing we have no means of making any further comparison with the votes of previous years. Of more consequence, after all, is the spirit in which the victory was won, and Mr. Blaine has been frank enough to tell us what that was. At a public meeting held after the election, he declared that the people of the State had "indignantly refused to be transferred to the agents and allies of the Confederate power in the South"; and he bade his audience "mark" that "the sister States of Maine that fought by her side in the war for the Union will stand by her side in the position she has taken to-day." Of the gain for reform he had not one word to say, showing clearly what is uppermost in his mind, and that his view of the approaching contest is that which has been openly announced by his colleagues, Messrs. Edmunds and Boutwell, and his candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Wheeler. But on this we have commented elsewhere.

A charge against Mr. Hayes of having committed frauds, of greater or less degree, in making his local tax return, was got up a week or two ago by a Democratic paper in Ohio, but he has promptly disposed of it in the clearest manner. The largest item in it was the concealment of a considerable sum left him as executor for legacies. He strikes this off by showing that it was left him in land, which was taxed in the usual manner. We regret to say we still hear nothing from Mr. Tilden about *his* income tax. Mr. Hewitt is said to be promoting an official investigation of the income-tax returns of both the Presidential candidates, which may or may not be a good thing to do; but it is hard to see how it helps or can help Mr. Tilden. He can himself tell the public all it needs to know in a column of print, and thus put an end to a very wretched scandal. Moreover, even if it were discovered that Mr. Hayes had defrauded the revenue, it would not reconcile people to Mr. Tilden's having done it. It would simply deepen the shame already roused by the scandals of the year. If Mr. Tilden supposes that this charge will blow over, and that it is not making a deep impression on the public mind, he is greatly mistaken. In the meantime the New York *Times* is working away at his income with wonderful zeal, and has made it foot up for the year 1862 $103,000, which it says is, "to the best of its information and belief, very nearly correct." We wonder how many people see the comicality of this mode of estimating a man's income, and making it the foundation of a charge of fraud in exact figures. It has also looked into Mr. Tilden's stock operations, and says a gentleman "who bought and sold stocks for him" tells of enormous sums he made "on the Street," and says he was a "crafty and wary speculator," and "sneaked into his office as though a detective was at his heels," and that "his whole bearing was a mixture of impudence, meanness, and duplicity," such as he had never seen except in a pickpocket. Another "broker" tells of his committing an act of gross treachery against a brother operator, which he (the broker) carried out. Another broker again, who also did business for him, tells how he used during the war to "chuckle over Union defeats." The *Times* ought now to tell us what *it* thought of the brokers who brought it these stories about confidential transactions of one of their clients. We hope it had them promptly kicked out of its office after hearing all they knew, and warned them never again to show their faces among honorable men.

Mr. Dorsheimer is said to have revealed that Mr. Tilden is preparing a statement about his income-tax which will explain the apparent discrepancy between his two affidavits about his income in 1872, and that the Governor is "a slow man," and that it will appear in due time. We are very glad to hear this, and hope sincerely the result may be satisfactory. Every American is interested in having him clear himself, because it would be a national disgrace to have a man who has been put up as a candidate for the Presidency by one of the two great political parties defeated on a charge of this nature, or on any charge affecting his personal integrity. More-

over, the charge ought not to be necessary to defeat him. If there were no other reason for voting against Tilden than the fact that he had perjured himself and defrauded the revenue, politics would be in a sorry condition, and, indeed, not far removed in purity and seriousness from that of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A highly-respectable Democratic correspondent writes to us deploring and protesting against the newspaper examination of a man's private affairs, even though he be a candidate for high office, at a time when he was not in an official position, and says that if the Democrats had the same access to the official records the Republicans have, and the same command of the press, they would make the cheeks of many a prominent Republican politician grow pale as the white rose. We confess we think both parties ought to have access to the records; but whatever objection there may be to newspaper examination, we see no way of avoiding a searching examination of some kind into the character of candidates for a place of such great power and responsibility as the Presidency. A man's management of his private affairs undoubtedly does give some indication of the way he would manage public affairs, and of the kind of acts he would commit or connive at, and for this reason we see no way of avoiding prying into them. But we do think the examination ought not to be accompanied from the first day, and before he has opened his mouth, with vile abuse, such as should only be applied to convicted felons; and we think there ought to be considerable patience and forbearance exercised towards a man who is placed under the painful and embarrassing necessity of revealing to the whole human race the amount and sources of his income, and the way he spent it for a series of years.

There has been a riot in Charleston, which at one time threatened to assume serious proportions, owing to the unwillingness of the Republican negroes to let some Democratic negroes hold a meeting. It is well known that there is a good deal of intimidation of black Democrats among the negroes themselves, going to the extent, in some places, of expelling them from the church. This is not unnatural or very awful. To the negro, politics is not yet a matter of differing opinions, and will not be for some time, and in nine cases out of ten, of course, a man's voting the Democratic ticket has the air of his deserting his own race from selfish motives. The feeling will die out after a while; probably die out rapidly after Mr. Hayes has reformed the civil service down there. The riot is somewhat of a help to the Democrats, as going to show that the intimidation is not all on one side.

The Indian campaign appears to be over for the present, and indeed to have ended in a wild-goose chase, in which the troops have been worn out with hunger, disease, and fatigue. At the last accounts they were working their way to the Black Hills in a half-famished condition, having seen no enemy more formidable than a hunting party. The trails indicated that Sitting Bull's force had gradually dispersed, and the bulk of it is probably on its way back in small squads to the agencies to put up for the winter. We believe, however, there is a determination at Washington to put a stop to this winter maintenance of the summer warriors. One agent has been suspended for issuing cattle to suspected Indians contrary to orders, and the agency for the present placed in charge of the army. Ordinarily the Indian only comes under the jurisdiction of the army when he leaves his reservation. Outside of it the soldiers fight him at the request of the Department of the Interior, and then, when he comes inside, the Department fattens him up and arms him, so that he may be ready to fight again. The objection the friends of the peace policy have had to putting him in charge of the army seems to be, in the main, that the army would fight him all the time, fighting being the soldier's business. That there is a popular notion that soldiers like war and are constantly seeking occasion for it, is true, but it has little foundation in fact. By far the larger portion of the time of the army is taken up in the faithful performance of dry, dull, peaceful duties, and the thing that distinguishes the military servants of the Government from the civil servants in the main is not their bellicoseness, but their fidelity, patience, self-abnegation, and high sense of personal honor. In fact, the army possesses just the qualities needed in an Indian agent.

The Indian Commission has had a meeting with Red Cloud and some other chiefs, at the Red Cloud Agency, for the purpose of making a treaty by which the Indians are to give up all their reservation west of the 103d meridian, or, in other words, give up the Black Hills, and confine themselves to a corner of the Dakota Territory between the Nebraska line, Cannon Ball River, and the Missouri, and to give certain rights of way and permit the peaceable navigation of the Missouri River. In return for this they are to receive rations, as usual, but to be gradually settled on farms, the Government to provide dwelling-houses and mechanics for their villages, and to maintain them until they are able to maintain themselves. They are in the meantime to be subject to United States laws, and the Government is to undertake to preserve peace and order. The scheme is, on paper, an excellent one, and we have no doubt that the Indian Commission mean it to be carried out, if in their power; but we must remind them that the settlement and civilization in a remote region of a number of savage tribes, debauched by charity and perfidy, is a great undertaking, requiring the highest administrative qualities, and that it will need first-rate business men, with fair salaries, to carry it out effectively, and that it cannot be done by the broken-down, shiftless people who besiege Congressmen for Government offices, nor yet by pious, good men trained for the ministry but unable to get congregations, and, least of all, by scheming speculators and adventurers. It furnishes a capital opportunity for a specimen of civil-service reform, and we wish it could be delayed until Mr. Hayes gets into office, so that he might there give the country a taste of his quality.

The Beecher case has been before the courts again, through Brother Shearman's efforts to get the venue changed to Franklin County. That the venue had better be changed in the interests of justice there seems little doubt, but the attempt to have it changed to Franklin County, which is composed in great part of the Adirondack Wilderness, has that odd comicality about it which has characterized the case from the beginning. The suggestion of Franklin County seems to indicate on Brother Shearman's part a desire for a jury of hunters or lumbermen, probably in the belief that the reports of the case have not penetrated those northern forests as they have the rest of the civilized world. On the other hand, it may be set off against the presumed ignorance of this simple population that they are not charitable in dealing with such charges as are brought against Mr. Beecher, and have a deep sense of human frailty, and that their own matrimonial relations are less solid and fixed than those of more thickly-peopled districts. It would not be a bad real-estate, or hotel, or horse speculation to try the case on the shores of Long Lake about the middle of next June.

The report of Tweed's capture in Spain seems to be confirmed. He appears to have taken refuge in Cuba, where the American Consul got wind of him, and then, learning that negotiations for his surrender were on foot, to have set sail in a sailing vessel for Spain, and on arriving at Vigo found the Governor of the province and the police waiting for him. He is, it is said, to be sent back to Cuba, and there surrendered to the United States, Spain being willing to accommodate our Government, in the absence of an extradition treaty, in return for Mr. Seward's civility in the Arguelles case. The reappearance of the Boss on the scene in New York has created more or less excitement in what are called "political circles," from the fear or expectation that the "old man," weary of wandering and of being hunted, will "get mad," and do what he has often threatened to do—publish revelations of some sort which, true or false, may have a certain electioneering value. He has been long said to have a book which he carries with him, as unfortunate persons in the middle ages used to carry a ring given them by the monarch, or by a wizard, to be used in the last extremity for safety or deliver-

ance, the production of which would spread dismay through the State. Considering the way he has been treated, the wonder is he has not produced it sooner. The number of people he once befriended who have "gone back on him" must be very great.

The Congressional Commission on the Value of Gold and Silver Coin, appointed last session under a concurrent resolution, are to organize in this city this week. The Congressional members of the Commission are Senators Jones, Boutwell, and Bogy, and Messrs. Gibson, Bland, and Willard of the House. They are to add to their number three "experts." The objects of their enquiry are to be the recent changes in the relative value of gold and silver; their effects on trade, commerce, and industry; the question of a double or single standard; the policy of keeping legal-tender notes afloat concurrently with coin; and the best means of facilitating a return to specie payments. They are to report on the 15th of January next. The defects in the composition of the Commission are tolerably evident. Mr. Boutwell has very little financial or economical knowledge, and is singularly wanting in the judicial faculty, and, indeed, in the art of reasoning from facts. Mr. Bogy has been during his term in the Senate one of the most rabid and absurd of the paper inflationists, to whom it would be a waste of time to listen on any subject connected with money. Mr. Jones is able and knows a good deal, but is committed already body and soul to the great silver movement, and is afflicted with the Congressional disease which makes a man fancy that he has discovered something stupendous which the Old World has overlooked. Of Mr. Bland we need only say that he is the author of the great Silver Bill to which all the inflationists have taken in lieu of printed money. About Messrs. Willard and Gibson we are unable to speak positively. Only two of the members, Messrs. Boutwell and Gibson, are in favor of a single gold standard. The three "experts," it appears, will be business men or "financiers" from leading cities East and West. A really good Commission, to which the public and foreign nations would listen, might readily have been made up, but the Speaker was too much of a politician to know how to do it. The politician's idea of a Commission of this kind is one in which all "interests" are represented; so that in a medical enquiry he would give the pill-and-pie men a place, or on an astronomical enquiry give the astrologers a representation, and on a sanitary commission he would put one or two miracle-men and a clairvoyant.

The syndicate which subscribed for $40,000,000 of the new United States 4½ per cents, and have the privilege of taking the remaining $260,000,000 authorized, have neglected to publish the exact amount of subscriptions they received when they offered the bonds to the public here and in Europe, on the ground that it is a matter the public have no right to enquire about, and that they choose to keep their own business to themselves. They do say, however, that the subscriptions by the public amounted to about $40,000,000 here and in Europe, and that they are satisfied; and they have advanced the price at which the bonds can be obtained to 101 here and the equivalent price in London; they have also requested that another $10,000,000 5-20's shall be called in by the Treasury, which makes the total amount of 6 per cents. thus far called $30,000,000. Their operations had the effect of advancing the price of gold to 110⅜, from which there was a decline to 109¾. Foreign exchange was also weakened to some extent, for fear lest the payments for the 4½ per cents should cause a temporary scarcity of gold in the market. The other causes which depressed the rates for sterling were the absence of demand from importers and the prospect of an early and a very large supply of cotton bills. At the Stock Exchange there was a further heavy fall in the prices of coal securities, including both the bonds and the shares of the coal railroads. The New Jersey Central Company's affairs have been the subject of investigation, and it has been a question whether the company would be able to meet maturing engagements made either on its own account or that of companies with which it is identified. As a last resort to raise money, the New Jersey Central issued a mortgage for $5,000,000 covering all its property, which is already highly mortgaged. On the negotiation of these new bonds depends the fate of the company. The gold value of a Treasury legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between 90 cents ($0.9060) and 91½ cents ($0.9142). Silver in London has been very steady during the week, and the old silver dollar would at the close of the week have been worth 85½ cents gold.

So much of European attention is absorbed by the war in Turkey that other news seems hardly worth notice, and, indeed, the languor of great commercial depression has spread over the whole Continent. In Germany, a strong agitation has sprung up against the abolition of the duties on iron, which, it is said, will threaten the German manufacture with destruction, but it is no worse off than that of England, which is in the lowest state of stagnation. In France there is the quiet of peace and prosperity, everything doing well except the commercial navy. The new Councils-General have met, still with a Monarchist majority of the Presidents, but with a gain of seven seats for the Republicans. Two of the ministers have made speeches—MM. Marcère and Christophle—both pledging the Republic to the support of order and property, and announcing that the attention of the Government was turned to internal improvements. Gambetta has proved too conservative for a portion of his constituents, and petitions are circulating in the famous Belleville district asking him to resign; but he does not mind, and has gone to England to study the working of the income-tax, which he would like to introduce into France, but which there has such odious Socialistic associations that no minister has the courage to propose it. It is one of the means by which the Socialists have always proposed to cut down large fortunes and make rich men pay the expenses of the Government.

There is but little fresh news from Servia. The Servians seem to be still in possession of Alexinatz, and the Turks to be feeling their way around it, cautiously, without any decisive success, but with perfect certainty that they are near the close of the game. The armistice asked for by the mediators pending the negotiations has been refused, but the Turks are said to offer assurances that if Servia submits they will not be exorbitant in their demands, though the razing of the fortresses of Belgrade and Semendria is talked of, and the submission of Prince Milan to a fresh investiture as the vassal of the Porte. It is safe to say, however, that no humiliating conditions will be permitted, and that it is very doubtful, and every day grows more so, whether Turkey will be let off with the *status quo*, which was what, a few weeks ago, was thought good enough for Servia. The feeling in England rises higher every week as fresh accounts of the atrocities in Bulgaria come in, and the later ones are almost too horrible for reproduction. Mr. Gladstone has addressed a great meeting of his constituents at Blackheath, denouncing the Turks in the strongest language. On the other hand, Hobart Pasha, an Englishman, who has been for many years in the Turkish service, and has organized the fleet, writes to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, protesting against the tone of the press towards Turkey, alleging that all the Great Powers have massacred more or less in putting down insurrections, and that the atrocities in Bulgaria are exaggerated; that they were committed by irregulars, and that it was a terrible mistake to send irregulars on any such work; and that, finally, Europe must take care not to arouse Turkish fanaticism, that the Turks will die hard, and that worse horrors may come if they are pushed too much, and so on. This will now hardly frighten people, though there is a good deal in it. The war feeling is growing so strong in Russia that it is becoming doubtful if the Emperor can resist it, and Herr Wickede, the Prussian military writer, is arguing for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. The Montenegrins have had another success, driving one of Dervish Pasha's columns into an angle formed by the Seta and Moratsha, where they were slaughtered without mercy, eight hundred being reported killed and one thousand drowned in the river.

SOME REFLECTIONS FOR INDEPENDENT AND DOUBTING VOTERS.

THERE has been during the past few weeks, there is no question, a sensible decline in Mr. Tilden's prospects, partly owing to the impression made on the public mind by his income-tax return, and partly owing to the gross mismanagement of the Saratoga Convention in what was supposed to be the seat of his strength, and in the very State in which it was most necessary that he should be strong. There has been, too, contemporaneously with this—*pari passu*, one might almost say—a marked increase in the audacity of the bad element in the Republican party. Butler has been reintroduced to the party by the Governor of Massachusetts, in the character, in which he masqueraded so long, of "the conqueror of New Orleans," and has been received by the party Convention with great applause, and without one word of protest when placed by the delegates of his district on the State Committee. He has, moreover, made sure of the nomination for Congress. Mr. Boutwell, too, one of the oldest and worst offenders of the party, appeared at the Convention in the character of a "senior Senator" and chairman, and made a sanguinary speech in favor of a hostile policy to the South and of a high tariff; and Butler is now said to be in full alliance with the Collector at Boston, and in full control once more of "the machine," the Collector being all the while publicly in favor of "civil-service reform." Senator Edmunds has joined Mr. Wheeler in Vermont in preaching the doctrine that in this canvass "we are dealing with a new rebellion." In fact, as Tilden's chances decline, the bad men and bad notions of the party once more reappear and try to take possession of it. We do not say that there are no favorable indications to set-off against these. We noted some last week in Connecticut and New Jersey. The men who are trying to make "the reform within the party" are certainly not relaxing their efforts, nor is there any doubt of Mr. Hayes's sympathy with them.

But that these things have happened, and that if the Democratic strength should continue to decline they will happen with greater frequency—with such frequency as to give the canvass the air of a general absolution of the old hands and an indulgence for the future—is something greatly to be feared unless reformers are vigilant, honest, and outspoken. It is *now* that the public is most interested in political topics and most willing to be instructed about them. After the election they will be less so, and it will make a great difference both to the country and to Mr. Hayes whether he goes into the White House feeling himself to be the product of the legitimate and praiseworthy discontent of the voters with past party management, or a soldier put there by the old "Senatorial group" to frighten the South and keep the Democrats out of power while they divide the offices. *Now* is the time for those who have been standing for reform to speak out their minds, and to warn both Mr. Hayes and the stump-orators that what we are seeking is not simply the old party with a new President but the old party with new ideas and new managers. Mr. Hayes will have an exceedingly difficult task before him after his election. We feel sure that Messrs. Cameron, Chandler, Morton & Co. are not supporting him with the idea that his civil-service promises are seriously meant. When he really attempts to carry them out they will be first amused and then indignant, and in entering on the inevitable conflict with them he will be defeated unless he knows and they believe that he has the party at his back. His first attempt at civil-service reform, as he has sketched it out in his letter, will be, indeed, to them like a summons to retire into private life, and they will so treat it. They are not Statesmen, with a strong interest in political ideas, but Machinists, to whom politics without patronage would be as dull a pursuit as geology.

They must, therefore, be warned by every means within our reach. Messrs. Cameron and Chandler must not be left to suppose that the talk of reform is a mere pastime of amateurs, which has no real hold on the popular mind; and no mode of giving this warning is to be neglected. For instance, the nomination of Mr. Adams in Massachusetts by the Democrats affords the Republicans of that State a perfectly simple and harmless mode of rebuking and punishing the reactionary tendencies revealed by the reception of Butler in the party fold, the pompous production of Boutwell as a figure-head, and the proposed revival of Banks (who is greatly saddened by the condition of the South) as a candidate in good and regular standing. No one who has been clamoring for reform during the past four years can logically avoid voting for Mr. Adams. He will make as good a governor as Mr. Rice, and will represent principles and ideas which Mr. Rice, in his glorification of Butler, seems to have forgotten or abandoned. But this is a comparatively trifling consideration. The main one is this—that "reform" consists in putting the best men in office. The more of these men there are in office the more reform there will be. The abuses of the day, when analyzed, consist mainly in the fact that the men in office are inefficient or dishonest. Corruption or incapacity is not a viewless abstraction. It consists in the presence of corrupt or incapable men in places in which they ought not to be. It is this and nothing else which causes bad legislation or bad administration. In other words, government is *men*.

The Republicans recognize this by their praise of Hayes and Wheeler; they recognize it also by their abuse of Tilden and Hendricks. In fact, nobody denies it. Now, the only way in which, under the present system of party nominations, the minority, who in both parties are eager for a better state of things, can make themselves felt is by resolutely supporting, in the absence of dividing lines of policy on great public questions, candidates of the highest character and ability, no matter by whom nominated. This is the only means yet discovered by which party managers can be scared into caution and decency. They are ready to bear with any amount of criticism and even abuse during a canvass if you will only vote their ticket on election-day. Nay, they will pretend to agree with you, and even to weep with you over the corruption of the times. Once you have cast your ballot for them, you find your preaching has lost all interest, and that for the year or two after the election you have empty benches to receive it.

The objections urged against Mr. Adams are various. It is said that he has been nominated by a bad party; but the reason the party is bad is that it nominates bad men. In so far as it abandons this practice it is a good party. When it nominates a man who was loyal and rendered the country most distinguished service during the war; has been a free-soiler from the beginning; is sound on the currency question; is of spotless and acknowledged integrity; and has never filled any office unworthily, and is the most prominent citizen of his State, it is *pro tanto* a good party. A party of archangels could do no better. Nobody believes Mr. Adams would be the instrument of any evil scheme or policy. A party which selects him gives a sufficient pledge that in selecting its designs are pure. It is said that the election of Mr. Adams would aid in the election of Mr. Tilden, who is not a good man, and might be the instrument of an evil scheme or policy. But this cannot be, because he will be voted for on the same day as Mr. Tilden, and the result will not be known until Mr. Tilden has either lost or won. It is said, too, that the Democratic party in nominating him is guilty of hypocrisy, because they really do not like such men as he; but this is a strong reason for taking them at their word. They are here doing the very thing they are bad for not doing. If Satan were to approach us, and offer us a copy of the Bible on condition that we read a chapter every day, we should close with him at once. It would be no affair of ours that he did not like it, or that he probably had some unworthy object in proposing it. In voting for candidates in these times, in short, in cases in which the parties are divided by no great lines of policy, and both are bellowing lustily for reform, the only recourse for a reformer who wishes to produce an impression and make managers heed what he says, is to vote for the best men—those who are most likely to repress the prevailing evil. It is on this ground that we recommend Republicans to vote for Hayes in the Presidential election. On similar ground, and as a protest

against the revival of politicians like Butler at such a crisis, and against the kind of politics which Butler represents all over the country, and as an encouragement to conventions of both parties to break out into nominations of the highest class in defiance of "the machine," we trust Mr. Adams will receive a heavy Republican vote in Massachusetts.

WHY WE CANNOT PAY GOVERNMENT DEBTS IN SILVER.

THE number of silver resumptionists in the press seems to increase steadily, and curiously enough the most prominent advocates of this mode of reaching specie payments are papers which have hitherto been prominent as "independent." Their theory is, that prior to 1873 there was a happy period when gold and silver were both, as they had been from the foundation of the Government, in use as a standard of value, to the great comfort of the people and the great furtherance of commercial transactions; but that in that year Mr. Samuel Hooper and Senator Sherman were employed by certain English capitalists, and by the Government bondholders who foresaw the decline in silver, to procure the demonetization of this metal, and accomplished their guilty design by hurrying an act through Congress with little or no debate and without attracting much attention from the public, which was thus being robbed of its favorite coin.

The fact is, that there was no secrecy about the matter at all; that it was heralded in all sorts of ways, and that it made at the time little or no difference to anybody, and for that reason attracted no public attention. It was only a subsidiary coin when it was demonetized, and had been so for twenty years, and was not in circulation. What of it was coined was coined mainly for exportation. Of course this does not make it any the less provoking to those who now want to pay their debts in it, that they are no longer able to do so. Moreover, to the paper inflationists, who have been laughed out of the field, it is excessively annoying that just as silver assumed the character which to them makes it seem just as good as paper, and enables them to appear as hard-money men, it should no longer be available as "good-enough money for the bondholders." The legislation of 1873 was, we admit, to all politicians of a dishonest turn, provoking legislation. But we have discussed the moral aspect of the matter sufficiently. What we wish now to point out to those Republicans who are agitating for the repeal of the act of 1873, and the use of silver as a legal tender in the payment of Government liabilities, is, that they are pursuing precisely the course which they are condemning the Democrats for pursuing with regard to the Resumption Act of 1875. The Democrats have been much and justly condemned for seeking a repudiation of what is, everybody must concede, a solemn pledge of the public faith. The act of 1875, fixing the day on which the Government should resume, is a national promise to pay on a certain day, of the same nature and same obligation as the promise already made to pay at some time or other, or as the subsequent promise to pay in coin. It is true that no preparation, or, at least, no adequate preparation, has been made to execute the promise, but this does not affect its validity, much less does it furnish any excuse for rescinding it. If a man says he will pay a debt on a certain day, and through negligence or indolence takes no steps to get ready for the day, it makes a good deal of difference whether he pleads guilty to negligence and indolence and promises to pay as soon after the day named as possible, or comes to his creditor and impudently withdraws his promise, and says he will pay when it is convenient. It makes not only a moral difference, but a commercial difference. In the first case, his creditor would be disposed to trust him again; in the second, he would set him down as a great rascal. The act of 1875, in short, binds the nation as much as any act that has ever been passed. The fact—if fact it be—that it was imprudently passed, or that a portion of the party disapproved of it, or that there has been no proper effort made to carry it out, in no degree lessens its validity. If it is of no force and may be repealed, the act promising payment in coin, or payment at any time, may be repealed. Why not? If Congress cannot bind the nation in one case, it cannot bind it in another.

Now, let us apply this to the act of 1873 demonetizing silver. We will concede that up to that time we had a double standard, and that the Government had the right to pay its creditors either in gold or silver at its option. In that year, however, and by that act, Congress, with all the necessary formalities, made its option and announced it. It gave notice to the national creditors that it would pay in gold, and not in silver, and we are bound to presume that it did so for a good and sufficient reason. This action was not imposed on it by anybody. It was not intimidated into it, or cajoled into it by its creditors. The idea was not suggested by its creditors. The notion that it was conceived and carried out by Senator Sherman and Mr. Samuel Hooper, as the agents of foreigners, is on its face, perhaps, a little too ridiculous for discussion. But, assuming it to be true, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Sherman were none the less prominent members of the American Legislature, and even if they were knaves, the American people, and nobody else, is responsible for them. Moreover, Congress passed the act in the usual way, and it will not do for Americans to announce that Congress is composed of rogues and ninnies who cannot be trusted to manage the national affairs. If it were allowable for us to fall back on this hypothesis when it was inconvenient to stand by our obligations, it would of course put an end to our position as a civilized power. Nobody could treat with us or lend to us when there was nobody competent to act for us. But of course it is unnecessary to argue this point. Nobody seriously maintains that Congress cannot and does not bind the nation in all pledges and promises to third parties. The Government, therefore, has deliberately chosen the metal in which it will pay its debts, and its choice is a pledge not to pay in silver, which would be binding if silver had not fallen, and the breach of which, now that silver *has* fallen, would give a serious blow to the public credit. Even if silver were again made a legal-tender in transactions between private persons, it could not be made a legal-tender in payment of the Government debts. All the reasons with which the Democrats are now peppered about the Resumption Act forbid it. Take any burning defence of that Act in any Republican paper and substitute for the words "Resumption Act" Silver Act of February 12, 1873, and you have an argument of at least equal force against resumption in silver.

We have little doubt that the silver movement will die out, as the paper movement is dying out. The financial education of the public during the last two years has been very rapid. Nearly all the leading Republican inflationists have abandoned their errors, and are now advocating specie payments with the air of men who only knew about paper-money theories from having seen them described in financial histories. No one would imagine from Mr. Morton's speeches now that he had a short time ago denounced the love of metal money as a craze of the "bookmen." Even Mr. Logan has given up paper and become enamored of silver. He recently read a "paper" on silver to a large audience in Chicago, and there announced that the road to resumption lay across "the silver bridge." Now, no inflationist can be as dangerous as a silver man as he was as a paper man. Silver, in the first place, though it may be poor money, is still a commodity, and has value, and cannot be produced in indefinite quantities, as paper can; and there are natural limits to silver inflation and to the depreciation of silver, and the total repudiation of silver money would be impossible. In the next place, the silver resumptionists are all, or almost all, paper inflationists, who have been found out and have been driven from their first position. They can never talk about silver with the same confidence with which they talked about paper. Logan on his "silver bridge" is no longer the profound thinker and student which he appeared to be when he was up in his paper balloon. He will never again produce the results of a fortnight's reading with the assurance with which he produced the results of his examination, during that period, of the currency question. So that, on the whole, the outlook grows more and more favorable.

NEWSPAPER COURTS.

WE have received from a lawyer whom we know to be trustworthy, and who says he has had some personal connection with the case, a brief note going to show that Mr. Tilden really did stand in a fiduciary relation to the new company which purchased the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad, though not in the character of a member of the Purchasing Committee, which is a new view. We do not publish his letter, because his *ex-parte* statement would either settle nothing, or would draw another *ex-parte* statement from Mr. Tilden's friends, and we should then be placed in the somewhat embarrassing position of having either to let the controversy continue indefinitely, or to decide it in advance of the United States Court, in which a suit between the same parties and on the same matter is now pending, and thus treat with disrespect a tribunal of at least co-ordinate jurisdiction. We are fully aware of the anxiety of a portion of our readers to have us exercise the functions of a court of equity. Last summer a gentleman wrote to inform us that a party of his friends at a watering-place had decided, after some discussion, that it must be corrupt motives which prevented our acting as a Commissioner of Bankruptcy in Duncan & Sherman's case, and giving the affairs of the firm a thorough overhauling, and letting the public know whether the members were entitled to an honorable discharge. We declined to exercise any such function then, and for similar reasons we now decline to hear and determine the case of the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad Company *agt.* Samuel Tilden and others. These reasons are: First, that, even if we felt equal to the duties which a portion of the public desires, in this flattering way, to thrust upon us, no provision has been made for the payment of our salary. Both the Democratic and Republican Congresses have neglected to make any appropriation for what we should consider proper compensation for filling the office of a judge in equity. In the second place, we have not been armed with proper power for the summoning of witnesses and the punishment of contempts, and cases of contempt and insubordination in our court, we fear, would be very numerous. In fact, we have no power to make anybody appear and answer, either about Tilden's "frauds" or anything else. We know that a large body of persons are of opinion that during a Presidential canvass "the frauds" of a candidate do not need to be enquired into by a court of law, and that he can readily be found guilty by reading some newspaper containing "a history" of them. We see, indeed, that a good many Republican newspapers and many stump-orators have already decided the Terre Haute case, which we have examined sufficiently to see that it is a mixed one of law and facts; that is, after all the facts have been ascertained by the hearing of witnesses and examination of documents on both sides, the question in what legal relation to the company these facts placed Tilden would still have to be determined by the application of the usual rules. We read their articles and speeches on the Terre Haute matter with more or less care, and, we confess, with some mirth, and we are driven to the conclusion that if Tilden's duty towards the company can be settled in this way, with the positiveness and certainty which some of our Republican friends display, the judicial appropriations of the United States are largely wasted. The railroad transactions of Tilden are about as complicated as any that ever came before a court of law. To pass upon them needs all the learning and acumen that ninety-nine lawsuits in a hundred need. They are now before a court of law. But if they can be settled with damning certainty by the writer of an editorial article, or by a campaign speaker, it is plain as possible that our judicial establishment may be largely reduced, and without any damage whatever to the public interests—nay, with considerable saving. Fifty dollars would, under the new system, cover the cost of carrying any case of disputed rights, or conflicting interests, to final judgment. Any fraudulent trustee, or knavish "wrecker," or counterfeiter, could, indeed, be brought to justice for the cost of one week's pay to an industrious newspaper reporter, and of one editorial article commenting on his narrative and bringing the guilt "home" to the criminal. When one thinks of this it makes the labors of all the law reformers and codifiers in the world seem petty and contemptible. It makes Bentham himself seem an extravagant and wasteful old pettifogger.

But the legal jurisdiction of the newspaper, simple and cheap as its exercise is, is complicated and costly compared to that of the stump, speaker. A newspaper needs some capital, and a considerable circulation and large weekly revenues, and a body of conductors of more or less education and intelligence to enable it to exercise the powers of a court of chancery. The stump-speaker needs nothing of the kind. With a carpet-bag no legal lore, and it may be small capacity even for moral distinctions, and without other statement of the case than the "charge" as printed by a newspaper, the name of the defendant, and the political party to which he belongs and the office to which he aspires, he will pronounce judgment in the course of half an hour, finding all the allegations fully proved, the fraud glaring, and the perpetrator totally unworthy of confidence in any walk of life. In fact, for the despatch of business no highly-paid circuit judge of the old school can compare to him for a moment. In the present canvass his judicial functions have been unusually onerous. He has reheard Blaine's, Schenck's, Robeson's, and Belknap's cases, besides trying Tilden's, and in the first four has overruled the decisions of the committees, showing that, after eighty-odd days of investigation and the expenditure of ever so much money, they discovered absolutely nothing worth mention; while in the last he has unearthed an amount of villany such as it rarely falls to the lot of a court of law to comment upon or punish.

It would be a disgrace to a great country and a great wrong to a heavily-burdened people to allow a judicial force of this kind to remain long unorganized and unprovided for by legislation. After seeing what it can do in a political canvass the people will want the benefit of it in the decisions of ordinary controversies. They will never be content to allow this cheap and speedy justice to be reserved for the settlement of litigation in which Presidential candidates are mixed up. They will demand access to these new courts for the humblest and most obscure. Reporters will be asked to report all sorts of quarrels, and editors to settle them out of hand in their columns, and in the busy season, when space is scarce, lively stump-speakers will be employed to dispose of "short causes," such as simple debts, actions for libel, assault, and breach of promise of marriage, and the like. The very heavy cases will go over to the Sunday edition of the leading morning papers.

To speak seriously, nothing but the kind of mania which seems inseparable from campaigns prevents both the newspaper and the stump-speaker from seeing their incompetency to pronounce with positive certainty, and even heat and fury, on complicated transactions, and the impropriety of roaring over them when they are actually before the courts. Nothing else, too, leads to the absurd demands which are made on editors for the exercise of judicial functions. A title to property, or a man's legal position towards another, is a thing always difficult for bystanders to pass upon. It is easy enough to pronounce strongly with regard to a proved violation of notorious law or sound usage. When a man steals a watch, runs off with trust funds, sells his vote, takes a bribe from a suitor, lends his name to a speculative company, or commits any other patent and well-settled piece of dishonesty, it is easy enough and fair enough to speak strongly about it. But the mere fact that a suit is brought against a man does not prove his guilt, or entitle anybody but the judge to be positive about it. In these cases of Mr. Tilden's our opinion is that it is well for us all to wait for the judgment of the courts of law before pronouncing our own with any heat. Of course everybody is entitled to his opinion; probably most people who have looked into the Terre Haute case have an opinion about it, but then opinions are of various degrees of force and value. There are opinions to be kept to one's self, opinions to be stated modestly, and opinions to be promulgated as loudly as we can. So also there is knowledge on which it is fair to suspect a man, knowledge on which to avoid intercourse with him, and knowledge on which to drag him off to jail and shout "thief"; but the distinction between them ought to be kept carefully in mind.

A striking illustration of the imprudence into which these newspaper courts are sometimes led has been furnished by *Harper's Weekly* last week. It takes hold of the Terre Haute case, which is before the United States Court, and says: "The Purchasing Committee divided the securities among themselves, although they had been already fully paid for their services." Whether they "were fully paid for their services" is one of the issues raised by the pleadings, and which the Federal Court will decide on hearing the evidence. *Harper's Weekly*, not having heard the case, does not know what the "services" were, or whether they were "fully paid" for or not. The *Weekly* further says that the *Nation* ("Mr. Tilden's apologist") "does not see that, if there be any surplus in the settlement of an estate after paying all the legacies, such surplus does not in any event belong to the administrators, but must go to the heirs-at-law." The *Nation* is not silly and sees this perfectly, but it sees also that the illustration is inappropriate and somewhat absurd. There are no "legatees," or "administrators," or "heirs-at-law," or anything analogous to them. If there are "legatees," there must be a "testator," though the *Weekly* does not mention him. It says further that "the parties concerned have brought a

suit against Mr. Tilden." Here again it is assuming the very thing which has to be decided by the Federal court. That court will say whether it is "the parties concerned" who have brought the suit. Whether they have or not, *Harper's Weekly* does not know. It is the new company which has brought the suit—a fact which makes the illustration about the "heirs-at-law" still more mixed. If this illustration has any aptness, the plaintiff in the case, as the person who gave the securities to the Committee, answers to the testator, and is suing his own executors as "heirs-at-law"—an imbroglio unknown hitherto in courts of justice. Finally, the *Weekly* asserts that "the *Nation* denounces the exposure of the business as a scandalous abuse of the powers of the press." The *Nation* has not done so, and the assertion is unfair and very surprising. What the *Nation* has said is, that "the use of the case by Republican journals, *in its present unsettled state, to prove Mr. Tilden a railroad 'robber' or 'shark,'* is a scandalous abuse of the powers of the press"; a proposition to which we still adhere, and in which every man with ordinary knowledge of affairs will heartily concur. We, on our side, think the conduct of the *Weekly*, in dragging the matter into the political arena, *pendente lite*, in this ill-informed way for partisan purposes, is, to use its own language, "a fresh symptom" (and a very bad one) "of the present demoralization," and affirm that even a newspaper judge ought to be ashamed to go into a real court of law, and, on the strength of misunderstood scraps collected from the pleadings in an untried case, begin to load one of the litigants with public abuse.

We will even go farther than this, since the period is one of great frankness, and affirm that *Harper's Weekly*, with its eulogies, and excuses, and tender silences, has, during the last seven years, been one of the potent agencies in bringing about "the present demoralization," and that its recent vigilance and criticism, valuable as they are, come too late to make full amends for its earlier blindness and good-nature. It has largely helped to introduce and maintain the double standard of morality in politics which is now, and promises to be for some time, one of the great dangers of the country. When there are two legal tenders a man always pays his debts in the cheaper, and when there are two ways of being virtuous he is very apt to choose the easier, and those who have chosen to be righteous at home by abusing the South have found the *Weekly* a strong help. It is due to this double standard that we have within the past year —a reform year, too—come within a hair's breadth of having Mr. Blaine nominated as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and have seen Butler restored to the bosom of the party in the most Republican State in the Union. There will not be any considerable or deep-seated reformation among Northern politicians as long as rascals can purify themselves by denouncing remote sins which they have no opportunity of committing, and valorously resisting temptations by which they are never assailed. The South debauched the North before the war in one way. It is now to be feared that it may debauch it in another and more subtle way by furnishing a false bottom for Northern morality.

CAMPAIGN EPIGRAMS.

A COINCIDENCE.

Banks made a speech and sate; the band full soon,
As if by instinct, struck up Bonnie Doon;
O strong enchantment of those Scottish lays!
That make us still associate Banks and brays.

DEFRAUDING NATURE.

Skilled to pull wires, he baffles Nature's scope,
Who sure intended him to stretch a rope!

THE WIDOW'S MITE.

When currency's debased, all coins will pass.
Ask you for proof? The Widow's might is brass.

A SUPPRESSED POET.

PARIS, August 25, 1876.

WE have many schools of painting; every year, besides the exhibition of the pictures admitted by the jury, there is an exhibition of pictures refused, and among the rejected pictures some always find admirers. It can hardly be said that we have now a "classic" school of pictures; still, in face of the orthodox painters, if I may call them by that name, Courbet was the first to imagine what he called the "realistic" school. The artist who pulled down the Vendôme Column as being inartistic as well as Bonapartist, professes that reality, ugly reality, is the only object of the painter; that what we call beauty, grace, ideality, are empty words. His models are the ugliest men and women who come under his observation—country beadles, undertakers, stone-breakers, etc. Nature, fortunately, is always nature, and Courbet can paint as well as anybody the solitary forests, with their deer, their mosses, their ravines.

One hears but little now of the realists; we have now another school, which is sometimes called the school of Batignolles, sometimes the "impressionalist" school; most of the young impressionalists live on the heights of Batignolles. Their theory is this: the artist need not represent anything complete, perfect, and detailed. How is it in life? We receive a succession of impressions; let art simply revive these impressions, and let its work be as rapid as possible. For instance, it has just rained, the street is covered with a small sheet of water; still, the sun shines; a woman goes by timidly with uplifted feet; her reflection is seen in the water as it would be in a lake. This is an *impression;* it may become a picture. The painter will paint very rapidly in a sort of shadowy way the street running with water, a woman, and her reflected image. As there is no limit to the number of our impressions, so there is no end to the descriptive efforts of the impressionalists. They are realists, as Courbet was, but realists of a single object; they concentrate themselves on one point of space, on one minute, or rather second, of time.

There is a curious analogy between all arts, a secret solidarity which ties them together. As we have lost our great painters, and have a multitude of good painters, so we have lost our great poets, and have a whole pleiad of minor poets. Lamartine and Musset are no more. Victor Hugo is still alive, but

"Quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli."

His poems are now like the dreams of a diseased mind; they are too chaotic, they make one think of Wagner's "Götterdämmerung"—an ocean of sound without rhythm, melody, or harmony. Our minor poets have taken for their headquarters the shop of Lemerre in the Passage Choiseul. They have nothing in common with the great poets of the Restoration; they go much further back—to the Renaissance. They are like the stars of a new "Pleiad," but the pleiad is still looking for its Ronsard. They have an almost wonderful talent for finding words, curious rhythms, images; they are very sterile and poor in all the rest—in the composition of characters, in the dramatic effects; words, words, no ideas. They represent nothing permanent or sublime; they are the "impressionalists" of poetry. When you read them you cannot help admiring their descriptive powers, the acumen of their vision, the vividness of their language, the curious gymnastics of their phraseology, the richness of their epithets; but when the volume is read, the impressions are gone—nothing remains in your mind. You don't feel better or stronger or calmer; you feel as you do when, sitting in a chair in the Champs Elysées, you have seen for two hours thousands of vehicles go before you, some slow, some rapid, some full of brilliant toilets, others sordid—all gleaming with the rays of the most brilliant sunshine. In fact, you have a headache.

The names of the members of the new "Pleiad" have no universal, even no European fame. I could even assert that they are not much known in France out of a limited circle. They seem to be all made after the same pattern; they are artisans in words. The oldest now are Théodore de Banville, one of the last disciples of Théophile Gautier; among the youngest are Coppée, Sully Prudhomme, Madame Ackermann, Catulle Mendès, the son-in-law of Gautier. They all care much about the material part of their publications; they want *papier de Hollande*, old-fashioned types, a sort of elegance copied from the works of Marot, Du Bellay, Desportes, Baïf, Passerat, etc. I have before me the work of a poet who did not, or could not, enter the shop of Lemerre; he strikes a line of his own, and what a line! His début has had some éclat, as the police immediately seized all the copies of his book, called 'Le Chanson des Gueux.' I could not, in France, safely make extracts from them. Jean Richepin, such is the name of this unknown poet, has attempted in verse what Victor Hugo did in prose in his 'Misérables.' He is the poet of the outcasts; he goes much further than Hugo, who wishes to show that in the most wretched men—in convicts, in criminals—there remains something of our divine origin. Richepin, in defiance of society, makes no excuse for the vices of misery; he glorifies them. He is a rebel, a *communard;* and it is on account of the *communard* part of his work that his poems have been suppressed. Who is he? how old is he? I confess my utter ignorance on this point. He has divided his apotheosis of the "gueux" into three parts: the rural *gueux*, the *gueux* of Paris, and *nous autres gueux*, meaning himself and a few of his friends, the names of whom he celebrates with as much

assurance as if he was sure to carry them with him to glory. The rural *gueux* are the vagrants who have no home, and who roam in the fields and the villages, out of the way of the police. In the very first poem he shows a tramp knocking at the door of a house ; he is hungry, is sleepy, is cold ; the door does not open ; he finally threatens to set fire to the house :

"Ouvrez la porte
Aux petiots qu'ont un briquet.
Les petiots grincent des dents.
Ohè ! les durs d'oreille,
Nous verrons là-dedans.
Bonnes gens,
Si le feu vous réveille ! "

He sings the *va-nu-pieds*, the barefooted beggar, the old cripple, the Bohemian, the madman, the poacher. Here and there there is a piece full of real poetry, such as "La Plainte du Bois." A burning log complains and sighs at being burned ; the poet consoles the old log, torn from the forest and the tree :

"Et le feu furieux te dévore la fibre.
Ah ! tu vis maintenant, tu vis, te voilà libre !
Plus haut que les parfums printaniers de tes fleurs,
Plus haut que les chansons de tes oiseaux siffleurs,
Plus haut que tes soupirs, plus haut que mes paroles,
Dans la nue et l'espace infini tu t'envoles ;
Et toi qui regrettais le grand ciel et l'air pur,
O vieux bois, tu deviens un morceau de l'azur."

There is much real poetry in a piece called "Tristesse des Bêtes," describing the feelings of the beasts of the fields when the dark night comes.

The curious idylls of the rural poor are the best part of the book ; it seems as if the fresh air of the country partly robbed them of their horror. Here is the old vagrant going to sleep in a lane :

"Et quand il dort, le noir vagabond, le maroufle,
Aux rouliers éculés, aux haillons dégoûtants,
Comme une mère émue et qui retient son souffle,
La nature se tait pour qu'il dorme longtemps."

After the rural *gueux* come the *gueux* of Paris. This part of the work may be the most original ; it is also the most cynical and sometimes revolting. There are some pretty songs on the vendors of violets, of "mouron pour les p'tits oiseaux," which everybody who has been in Paris must have heard ; but joined to these, what horrible or sad passages ! Jean Richepin sings of the old-clothes vendors, the organ-grinders, the vagrant dog who has lost his master, the beggars, the Christmas-eve of the poor, not in a human, Christian, *Dickensian* spirit, if I may use this word ; no—his poetry is the product of rage, of envy—it is the insurrection of all the animal instincts against civilization. The sympathies of the poet are with the thief, the *voyou* or street Arab, who lives by stealth, the prostitute, the bastard, the drunkard.

The third part, entitled "Nous autres gueux," describes the miseries and joys of the young men of the Quartier Latin, who have nothing but contempt for the bourgeoisie, who have more imagination than money, more appetite than activity. Drunkenness here plays an extraordinary part ; it seems to be the hasheesh of the cultivated "gueux," full of dreams, of fantastic thoughts, of vagaries. One song, addressed to an unknown great man, is called "The Purple Nose," and is really eloquent. Another—"Dead Drunk"—is revolting. When the poet is at table with his friends he says :

"Nous, nous ne voulons pas mettre un crêpe au ciel bleu,
Ni penser qu'il y a des lendemains aux fêtes.
Quels lendemains d'ailleurs ? La mort n'en est pas un.
Ce n'est pas un coucher qui promette une aurore."

Richepin does not believe in the soul : life is a long orgie ; let it be as gay as possible. He once compares life to the great pot of Paul Niquet, the people's restaurateur, into which people could plunge a fork for two sous, and draw out what they could find :

"De Platon je tiens un mot
Qu'avec Platon je répète :
Bast ! zut ! ὅ τι ἂν τύχω.
A l'hasard de la fourchette,
Bast ! zut ! ὅ τι ἂν τύχω !
J'vas fourrer mes doigts dans l'pot,
Que la vie est bien cela !
On pêche, on tire, et voilà
Misère ou bombance."

He goes on in this vein : all is luck. Philosophers are dressed in black and their clothes are made of the same stuff, but their systems are but words, words, words !

"Nous sommes des animaux,
Voilà mon système."

The poet is not always gay : his laugh is hysterical : he sighs, "Mon verre est vidé." All is gone—the dreams of glory, of love, of friendship : "Mon verre est vidé." He once describes his friends reeling half-drunk along the Seine in the night:

"Et sur les quais, et dans les rues
Après minuit, avant le jour,
Lorsque les foules disparues
Dorment leur somme épais et lourd,
Leur marbre blanc dans la nuit sombre
Dira leur gloire et votre erreur
Quand ils se dresseront dans l'ombre
Avec un geste d empereur "

The marble is still in the quarry of which will be made the statues of our drunken friends of Richepin. He knows it ; and there is terrible sadness in the last piece, called "La fin des gueux." An old vagrant tells his story :

"Voilà ma vie, o camarade,
Elle ne vaut pas un radis.
Ça commence par une aubade,
Ça finit en *De profundis*."

The last two verses form a perfect résumé of this work, which deserves some attention from its own merits and also as a symptom of the state of mind of a certain portion of our youth, which has been perverted by the long corruption of the Empire and the bad education of the French University.

Correspondence.

THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION IN NEW YORK CITY.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : There is a good deal of flippant and ignorant writing and talking about the Republican organizations in this city. Ever since the creation of the Republican party it has been found absolutely necessary—as it was with the Whig party—to have an enrolment or register of those claiming to be Republicans. In a great city like New York there can necessarily be no personal, individual knowledge as to who is and who is not a Republican. If, at an election for delegates to a State convention, every one claiming to be a Republican were allowed to vote, the result might be to place the selection of Republican representatives in Democratic hands, for all that would be necessary would be for any one to claim to be a Republican and his vote must be received. The necessity of an enrolment is so obvious that attention would not have been called to this point were it not that it seems in some quarters to have been overlooked. In 1871, Hon. Jackson S. Schultz and Hon. William Orton were appointed by the Republican State Committee to prepare a new enrolment of the Republicans in the city of New York, and to prescribe a constitution for their government. Their action was approved by the State Central Committee and subsequently by the State Convention. Since that time such constitution has been, by the express authority of the State Convention, recognized as binding upon the Republicans of the city. After accepting the enrolment made by Messrs. Schultz and Orton, it provides that every Republican voter shall have the right on his own application, or that of any one for him, to be admitted a member of the Republican Association in the Assembly District in which he resides, on declaring himself to be such, and declaring further that he intends to support the organization and the nominations made by the Republican party—a pledge, by the way, from which any one may at any time relieve himself by resigning from the association. Careful provision is made for the protection of the right of every Republican by giving an appeal from the local organization to the city Central Committee, and thence to the State Committee and Convention in case of refusal to admit any one entitled thereto, or in case of any abuse. While it is quite possible that there have been individual cases of abuse in the party local organizations—nay, I believe there have been such—it is confidently asserted that there has never been one which, on proper appeal in the manner provided by the constitution, has not been promptly corrected.

Various complaints are made as to these associations. *First :* It is said they are "close corporations," composed of only a small fraction of the Republicans of the city. A few figures will answer this. There are about 45,000 Republican voters in the city. At the last gubernatorial election we cast 43,393 votes. Of the Republican voters 14,208 are members of the several Republican associations. I do not believe that in any portion of the State a larger proportion of those who vote the Republican ticket at the polls take part in the organization of the party.

Second : It is said persons desirous to join the associations are excluded. I answer that, since September 1, 1875, 4,045 of the present 14,208 members have been admitted, while only 159 of those proposed have been refused admission, and of those so refused over two-thirds were not even voters—mostly not naturalized—while the few remainder were not Republicans.

No one has within a year taken an appeal on the ground that he was excluded from membership. After the nomination of Hayes and Wheeler special meetings were held to enable all who desired to become members to do so, and 1,334 persons have been so elected, while, I think, no one who claimed to be a Republican and intending to vote for Hayes and Wheeler has been refused.

Third: It is said the associations are controlled by office-holders. It is not denied that many office-holders are members of the associations, and that many of them are also officers of the associations, for it is not believed by the Republicans of the city of New York that a man loses any of his rights as a citizen and a member of the party by accepting an office. But a few figures will show how absurd is the assertion that office-holders control the associations. Among the 14,208 members of the associations there are 956 persons holding office under the national, State, or municipal governments. The complaint made therefore implies that 956 men control 13,000 others, who are in no way dependent upon them. If they do so, it must be because the course they pursue and the arguments they use commend themselves to the great mass of the Republicans of the city. Lest it should be claimed that though there are over fourteen thousand Republicans enrolled the 900 office-holders do all the voting, I mention that at the annual primary election in January last, when there was no contest in any District except one, over 5,000 persons voted; while at the elections at which delegates to the recent Saratoga Convention were chosen nearly 6,000 persons voted; the precise number is 5,777. Taking the vote as announced by themselves at the so-called elections held by the Independent Republican organizations, only about 1,000 votes are claimed to have been cast. I believe that in fact many fewer were cast, and that if the State Committee shall examine into the matter, as I hope they will, it will appear that not five hundred votes were cast by Republican voters.

Your obedient servant, GEORGE BLISS.

"E. A.," THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION, AND HUMOR AND IMAGINATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should make no rejoinder to your comment on my criticism of your method of political discussion were it not that you obscure the issue by making a mistake as to a fact.

E. A. did not go to Cincinnati in 1872 "in a state of great disgust with the condition of the Government," if by that phrase is intended disgust with its *personnel*. His object, and that of most of the original promoters of that Convention, was to compass a change in the measures which they believe to be the chief causes of corruption, and to bring about civil-service reform by such change of measures.

In regard to the personal allusions to E. A. in your comments, E. A. is forced to admit that he has not that peculiar sense of humor which is required for the enjoyment of the satire which he has sometimes had cause to suspect the *Nation* indulges in, nor has he that "comprehension of the rhetorical functions of humor and imagination" that would enable him to tone down and modify the language of the *Nation* to the precise point of severity that the writers intend. E. A.

BOSTON, Sept. 3, 1876.

HAMPTON AND CHAMBERLAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have generally been pleased to read the *Nation* because, besides its good sense in discussing matters generally, it treats Southern questions with at least common sense. Will you permit me to point out to you how, in your last issue, you have judged a whole people without taking the trouble to inform yourself of the cause of the conduct of that people? You condemn the people of South Carolina for not adopting Chamberlain, and declare that in the nomination of Hampton the people show themselves *constitutionally inclined to mischief*.

Ten years of suffering under a rule which you yourself have stigmatized as a disgrace to civilization have killed out all party or factious feelings in this State, and all that the people want is a good government, regardless of the source from which it comes. On the 4th of July it is certain that most of the white people looked forward with complacency to the re-election of Governor Chamberlain, and were prepared to give him their votes. His action in the case of the judicial election had conquered all opposition. But his letter to the President in relation to the Hamburg affair was an insult to every man in South Carolina; to the whites, because they are represented as disaffected, turbulent, cruel, and always on the look-out for an opportunity of wreaking their spite against the negro, and through him upon the Government that protects him; to the blacks, because they are represented as cowardly, habitually crouching before their former masters, and therefore incapable of bearing themselves as citizens of a free State.

For once in his life Governor Chamberlain overshot his mark. His reports were made whilst the matter was still the subject of a judicial investigation. He was anxious to play a card for the Republican party, and, in his haste, he has lost the whites and perhaps the State to that party. Had it not been for that letter the Democrats, anxious only for good government at home, would have acquiesced in the election of Hayes. If the vote of the State shall be given to Tilden, it will have been Chamberlain's work.

What are we to do? We have borne patiently for ten years. Are we to bear everything with equal patience, even to the slander on our good name? Had you known us better you would say that the Democrats of South Carolina give no better proof of being constitutionally inclined to good order than when they reject a clear calumniation, and rally around one of whom the worst that can be said is that he is an honest and a true man. Respectfully, F. A. P.

CHARLESTON, S. C., August 23, 1876.

Notes.

MR. F. GUTEKUNST, Philadelphia, who lately published an admirable photograph of Charlotte Cushman, has surpassed this performance in a *portrait glacé* of Longfellow, which seems to us a perfect specimen of his art. We are confident that no such likeness of the poet has ever been procurable by his admirers.——Scribner, Armstrong & Co. are the publishers of the works ('The Chaldean Account of Genesis' and 'Assyrian Explorations and Discoveries') of the late George Smith, whose sudden and untimely death has just been announced.——A 'Life of Samuel J. Tilden,' with a brief sketch of his soft-money yoke-fellow, will be issued by D. Appleton & Co.——Six translations in book-form have been published of Bret Harte's (or, as he is called in Germany, even in official catalogues, Bretharte's) 'Gabriel Conroy.' One of the first to appear was the Universal-Bibliothek edition, at the reasonable price of 18 cents, and the last, just issued, costs $2 50, gold.——The French Academy on August 3 awarded the Montyon prizes—the third, of fifteen hundred francs, to M. P. J. Stahl for his 'Patins d'Argent,' a version of Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge's 'Hans Brinker; or, the Silver Skates.'——M. Charles Garnier has in preparation for immediate publication in parts (Paris: Ducher & Cie.; New York: F. W. Christern) an historical, descriptive, and critical account, in two volumes octavo, of the 'Nouvel Opéra' of Paris, to be accompanied by two folio volumes, containing one hundred plates, seventeen of them in colors.——A work of interest to students of early institutions, not so much because it is the most recent on the subject as because it offers a key to a long unsolved puzzle, is K. J. Clement's 'Forschungen über das Recht der Salischen Franken vor und in der Königzeit,' just published in Berlin. Prof. Clement died before the work was ready for the press, and the final editorial labors were performed by H. Zöpfe, who remarks that this is the first attempt ever made to furnish a complete translation of the text of the Salic law. The text as well as the translation is given, and the volume is considerably larger than most treatises on the subject.——Part 15 of Spruner's Historical Atlas (New York: B. Westermann & Co.) contains two maps of the Orient (Patriarchate of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem in the second half of the eleventh century; and Eastern Roman Kingdom, 1096–1204), together with one of France, 900–1180, and another of the same country from 1815 to 1871. The last-named sheet embraces also a number of beautifully executed side-maps, representing Paris and its environs, the seat of the Franco-Prussian war from the battle of Sedan to the Peace of Frankfort, Algiers since 1830, the French acquisitions in Farther India, 1862–67, and a general view of the French colonies in the middle of the nineteenth century.

—Several noticeable pamphlets from Cincinnati lie upon our table. Robert Clarke & Co. send us their valuable catalogue of Americana, which embraces nearly 4,500 titles. Classification has been attempted in the case of books relating to the Rebellion and slavery, of Confederate publications (including sheet music), and of geological reports of States, and other scientific publications. The index is conveniently geographical. Among the specially rare or high-priced works enumerated are Acuna's 'Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas' (1641), a finely bound copy of Schoolcraft, Capt. John Smith's 'Generall Historie of Virginia' (1624), 'Paesi Novamente Ritrovati' (1519), and a large-paper copy of Irving's

'Washington.' From the same publishers we have Mr. Clarke's essay on the prehistoric remains found on the site of Cincinnati (upper city), with particular reference to the genuineness of a tablet discovered in 1841 in the centre of one of the mounds which formerly occupied this bench or terrace of the Ohio River. Mr. Clarke makes it clear that the relic is not the imposition which it has only lately been declared to be. In the course of his description of the circular earthworks associated with the mounds, he remarks that they agree very well with Mr. Lewis H. Morgan's theory of a *pueblo* as set forth in the *North American Review* for July, with the exception that, for want of a proper clay, the buildings must have been of wood and not of adobe. Mr. Thomas Vickers, librarian of the Public Library of Cincinnati, sends us his special report to the Board of Managers in regard to the modes of reckoning circulation adopted by himself and his predecessor, Mr. Poole. It is unfortunate that an institution of this kind should be obliged to engage in controversies with the press in regard to its internal administration, and we can only hope that this report will effectually bury the scandal which gave it birth. That personal attacks on the librarian are a positive injury to the patrons of any library might be inferred, but it is eminently true in the case of Mr. Vickers, whose activity in his duties is quite out of the common. He has just issued a full catalogue (pp. 106) of German fiction in the Cincinnati Library, on which the only criticism we can make is that it is printed in German and not in Roman characters (why, by the way, should German-Americans not take the lead in this reform?), while he has a similar catalogue of English fiction in press, and one of French fiction ready for the press, and promises a whole series of special catalogues on political economy, medicine, history, natural science, art, Americana, etc., etc. We submit that in this important work Mr. Vickers ought to be left undisturbed by his political and theological enemies.

—We deeply regret to record the death this week of one to whom the *Nation* has been largely indebted for whatever of accuracy and typographical excellence has distinguished it. Mr. John Ross was from the very commencement the printer of the *Nation*, and for more than eleven years manifested towards it a personal interest which money could not have purchased, and displayed in its service an uncommon degree of intelligence, judgment, and knowledge. His scrutiny of its contents was always more than technical, and the most careful writer had often to thank him for pointing out lapses, errors, or inconsistencies. Perhaps not a dozen issues of the whole series of the *Nation* failed to pass under his revision before they finally went to press, and to secure the punctual appearance of the paper he made no account of late hours or fatigue. Mr. Ross was a native of Scotland, but had been many years in this country, and died prematurely at the age of forty-three. His character for fidelity, integrity, and kind-heartedness ensures him lasting remembrance wherever he was known as employer or employee.

—The munificent hospital foundation of the late Johns Hopkins bids fair to be as fruitful for science after its kind as his university in its way. Following the spirit of the founder's instructions, and as an outgrowth of their volume of 'Hospital Plans' published some months ago, the Trustees have secured the advisory services of Dr. J. S. Billings, whose letter of July 15 is printed as No. 1 of 'Reports and Papers' relating to construction and organization. If, as we may presume, they follow this advice, they will make haste slowly, but with the utmost satisfaction to themselves and to all who care to see a better than mushroom growth of buildings and officials. Dr. Billings thinks that while $350,000 may build a hospital of 400 beds adequate to shelter the sick, it will require $1,200,000, independently of the ground, to establish an institution capable of discharging the functions expected of it; and he cleverly leads up to this position by explaining in outline how he conceives the hospital and the medical school should work together, as their generous and sagacious originator directed. There can be little doubt that Dr. Billings has grasped the true conception of a hospital that shall at once minister to the sick within its walls and be a spring of healing to humanity at large. Ordinarily, hospital patients are treated with sentimental delicacy or with utilitarian brusqueness. Our writer, protecting them from the coarse cubs who too often are students only in name, would use them for instruction by limiting access to the wards to those alone who have attained a stage whence, as resident officers, they can serve as well as profitably study them. And if, fortunately, the high standard that he foreshadows is maintained, there will be little risk of an annoying crowd of these acolytes. He depicts a medical school that would directly train original investigators and especially instruct in preventive medicine, and which among its incidental requirements would lay stress on the diseases of women and children, who form the majority of the general practitioner's patients, and upon the questions belonging to insanity if a proper connection can be made with some asylum. Such teachers would necessarily be original investigators and careful students; and, not to waste such valuable instructors, he would employ a judicious system of examinations to limit the matriculants, and to eliminate at every step those whom ignorance or indolence trammels. This involves at least a four years' course, starting from a fair level of general preparation, and a graded system of classes, and would tolerably ensure that those who had passed these safeguards were qualified to the extent that their diploma certified. If the Hopkins legacy results in such a school as prefigured, one independent of its students, and, with the aid of the well-equipped hospital, devoted simply to medical instruction, the value to society of those gifts will be beyond pecuniary expression. But, after all, as Dr. Billings well puts it concerning the hospital, the ultimate success of both institutions "is not a matter solely of arrangement and plan of buildings, it depends upon not more than half-a-dozen men and one or two women," and never upon "good-enough" men, but upon those who will grow upon the pabulum that the school and the hospital shall provide. We certainly hope that the Trustees will continue to be guided in their selection by the wisdom they have displayed in these preliminary affairs.

—We make the following extracts from a letter, dated London, August 1, and addressed to us by a well-known American scientist, which we regret that we cannot print in full. He is describing the remarkable Loan Collection of Scientific Apparatus at South Kensington, the first ever attempted:

"It was to be expected, perhaps, that such a collection as this would be richer in instruments of historic value than in those fully up to the level of modern research, and this, if for no other reason, because the best instruments in all branches of science are costly and often unique, and when completed they are usually at work and cannot be spared. The want in this direction might have been largely supplied by a collection of photographs, and, although this has been done to some extent, yet it is exactly here that the weak point of the collection lies. It is curious to see how the historic side of the exhibition predominates in those sciences which are of comparatively great age. Applied mechanics and astronomy with geodesy, for example, are rich in historical collections, and not proportionately strong in such as illustrate modern progress. Physiological optics, spectroscopy and microscopic geology, as far as I can judge, are, on the contrary, extremely well represented. In the latter branches of research the present generation holds in its remembrance not only the most recent advances, but also the very infancy of the science, and a tolerably complete view is easily given. In the more ancient sciences, the popular interest which attaches to such objects as Galileo's telescope, Otto de Guericke's air-pump, and Torricelli's original barometer tube, comes in as a disturbing element, and tends to give to the special collections in these branches a less truly representative character.

"These older instruments, placed beside the newer ones, give a certain dramatic interest, however, that is of great advantage; for in no other way could the immense strides of science be so well emphasized. The locomotive of Stephenson, the *Rocket*, which made an epoch in the history of transportation, has an antiquated air beside the photographs of the engines which carry railway trains fifty miles in fifty-four minutes. The quadrant of Tycho Brahe, with its coarse division on brass and its pin-hole sights, stands opposite to the photograph of the unfinished meridian circle for Strassburg Observatory, and the small reflector with which Herschel discovered Uranus in 1781 is close to the model of the new 27-inch refractor now making for Vienna, both illustrating the most important advances. Telegraphy and photography are most striking in their contrasts. No. 937 is 'a daguerreotype full length portrait, taken in Paris in 1840, by special appointment, on the roof of a house, at 6 A.M., the exposure being twenty minutes in a June sun,' and No. 938 is an instantaneous photograph of the surf beating in upon the shore, where the single instant of exposure has sufficed to catch every bubble at rest. The first steam fire-engine, made under two patents of 1721 and 1725, is here, lent by the Commissioners of Patents, and a part of Papin's steam-cylinder (1707), together with drawings and models of the very latest forms of marine engines and boilers.

"One of the most generally interesting portions of the Exhibition is its collection of models of ships and steamers, which is probably unrivalled both in extent and in the beauty of the workmanship, and this collection, together with that permanently belonging to the South Kensington Museum, ought to furnish almost an education in this specialty.

"It may not be out of place to give a few statistics, which can be derived from the admirable official catalogue by a simple counting. In a 'List of Contributors' there is given the name (and, what is specially to be commended, also the address) of each exhibitor, and a reference to the number of the various pages where his exhibit may be found in the catalogue. From an examination of this, it appears that the number of contributors from the various countries is nearly as below:

United Kingdom	550	Italy	51
Austro-Hungary	45	Norway	6
Belgium	17	Russia	66
France	102	Spain	9
Germany	308	Switzerland	27
Holland	36	United States	0

"This table is instructive in many ways: the preponderance of British exhibits is to be expected on account of the general knowledge of the exhibition in England, and on account of the ease with which exhibits could be displayed under the personal supervision of the owners. All Continental nations, however, stand in about the same relation to the exhibition in these respects, and the numbers serve to represent approximately the sum-total of their scientific activity in past times and at the present time. The position of America in the exhibition is somewhat humiliating and entirely unnecessarily so, as the material at hand is, without doubt, sufficiently great, and as the display made by the Government alone at Philadelphia shows how easily a proper and a very honorable exhibit might have been made. Among all the meteorological maps of the world there is only one atlas of our own Signal Office, and that is courteously exhibited by an Englishman; among the beautiful maps of the various government surveys of Europe, one looks in vain for the corresponding and equally perfect maps of our Coast Survey and Engineer Department; in the collection of instruments for observing the transit of Venus, there are several copies of the American apparatus, but they are exhibited by other nations; in fact, none of the many delicate mechanical and other devices for which American science is noted, and of which so many beautiful examples exist among us, are to be seen. The cause of this it is idle now to explore, but I have referred to it because it is intended to establish on the basis of this collection a permanent Science Museum, and it is to be earnestly hoped that makers and owners of scientific apparatus and appliances and of delicate machinery in the United States will take the pains to forward photographs of these to the Loan Collection of the South Kensington Museum, where they can be sure their contributions will be properly displayed."

—There has recently been published a very interesting monograph by M. Achille Taphanel on 'Le Théâtre de Saint-Cyr' (New York: Christern). Saint-Cyr was the school founded by Mme. de Maintenon for the education of the daughters of the poorer nobility, and especially of those whose fathers had been officers in the king's army. None were admitted who were not poor, and who could not prove to the satisfaction of the royal genealogist three generations or one hundred years of nobility, at least, on the father's side. The pupils were from seven to twelve years of age when they entered, and at twenty they left, receiving a dower of 3,000 livres, which served either as payment for admission to a convent or (rarely) as a marriage portion. From its foundation in 1689 to its suppression under the Revolution in 1792 Saint-Cyr prospered; it was even imitated in Poland, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; but what added the most to its renown was its theatre. For like most schools of that day, and like some—notably Westminster Public School in England—at the present day, the performance of plays was part of the course of instruction. The great and particular glory of Saint-Cyr is that two of Racine's best tragedies were written especially for it. Mme. de Maintenon, deeming the sentiments and emotions of "Cinna," "Andromaque," "Iphigénie," and "Alexandre," which were there performed, unfit for her pupils, as unfitting them for the life chosen for them, forbade the reproduction of these plays and requested Racine to see if he could not prepare a piece on some moral subject with ideas and language less inflammatory. The result of this request was "Esther," which was performed before the king and court with great success—the greater, perhaps, that all the world could see behind the mask and behold in the villain *Haman* Louvois, and in *Esther* Mme. de Maintenon herself, a delicate compliment of the poet's which resulted in a request for another play. The performance of "Athalie," Racine's second piece for Saint-Cyr, was long delayed, but when it at last took place the success was second only to that of "Esther." Both plays remained in the repertory of the school until its dissolution. M. Taphanel has carefully collated the many references to Saint-Cyr and its theatre in the writings of Dangeau, Mme. de Sévigné, Mme. de Caylus, De Luynes, and Horace Walpole (who is made to write, p. 182, "Strawsberry"); he has also made use of the *Mercure Galant* and of many recently discovered MSS.; he has embellished the volume with a neat plan of the theatre and with an original etching by M. Waltner of Mme. de Maintenon from a miniature *à la gouache*, executed for the king, who habitually wore it. This portrait has never before been engraved.

—The essays on 'Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries,' edited by Mr J. W. Probyn, and published under the direction of the Cobden Club (reviewed by us in No. 345), have just been reissued in a cheaper form (New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin). The exhaustion of the two earlier editions shows a strong interest in the subject, and it is a matter of congratulation that these valuable papers are now made more accessible. All the essays are by persons who are specially and minutely acquainted with their respective subjects, and every one of them may be regarded as an authority. The two most important countries are treated in comparatively small compass—England by Mr. Wren Hoskyns, and France by Mr. Cliffe Leslie; but then the English essay is here supplemented by Mr. Brodrick's valuable essay on Primogeniture, which originally appeared in the second volume of Cobden Club Essays. M. Laveleye's paper upon the Netherlands is also short, but compact and fully adequate; in his paper and Mr. Leslie's the student will find probably the best and most conclusive arguments and illustrations in favor of *la petite culture*. It is a striking fact that, while these writers eulogize the landed institutions of their respective countries, Messrs. Hoskyns and Brodrick have mainly confined themselves to severe criticism upon those of England. Mr. Longfield, however, in his long essay upon Ireland, is less radical, and the student will find here the arguments against peasant proprietorship strongly stated. Next to this, the longest essay is that of Mr. Campbell upon India; it is very instructive in view of the strong interest now felt in the institutions of this country. The article upon Russia, by Dr. Fancher, contains a very succinct account of the emancipation acts, rendered more intelligible by an historical introduction. Dr. Fancher, it may be remarked, is not a believer in the future of the *Mir*, or village-community system of Russia. This historical aspect, by the way, is characteristic of nearly all the articles—most so in that of Mr. Morier on Prussia, who precedes his account of the Stein-Hardenberg legislation by an elaborate account of the early systems of community in Germany. In the paper upon Ireland a somewhat fuller historical treatment might be desired; it may well be supplemented by two or three pages from Mr. Hoskyns's essay, p. 110, and especially by Mr. Seebohm's article in the *Fortnightly Review* a few years ago. The most abundant recent information will be found in Mr. Brodrick's paper, which contains (p. 381) a summary of the results of the late land survey, and brings the history of discussion and legislation down to the present year; all the papers, however, have been revised.

HAMMOND ON SPIRITUALISM.*

ON this most dismal of subjects Dr. Hammond has given us a book that is both sensible and entertaining. His survey of so-called "spiritualistic" phenomena is extensive, and with a large and important part of them his intimate acquaintance with abnormal states of the nervous system has enabled him to deal very successfully. The results of a physician's experience are, moreover, very happily supplemented by historical research. One of the excellent points about Dr. Hammond's book is its frequent comparison of contemporary delusions with those of earlier times. He makes such wholesome use of the annals of witchcraft and the biographies of mediæval saints, mystics, and charlatans, as fairly entitles his book to a prominent place on the Index Expurgatorius. The marvels countenanced from time to time by the Roman Church fare no better in his hands than the wonderful deeds of the Homes and the Davenports, and of these it is left doubtful whether the most marvellous part is the audacity of the performers or the gullibility of the spectators.

According to Dr. Hammond, spiritualism is for the most part barefaced imposture, the remainder being innocent delusion. By many persons who adopt this view on the whole, yet are unable to realize how great is the capacity of the human mind for being deceived, a reservation is made in behalf of divers phenomena which are alleged to take place in conformity to some undiscovered "natural law," or to require for their explanation some species of "force" other than those with which scientific men are familiar. Dr. Hammond is not inclined to admit any such reservation as this, which, even if it were allowed, would be of small use to the spiritualists. Even if an event were admitted to be inexplicable save by an appeal to some "force" other than those that have hitherto been studied, we should still have no sort of reason for assuming any connection between this unknown "force" and the "spirits" of deceased persons. Such an assumption could find no warrant whatever, save in a general *à-priori* hypothesis, handed down to us from barbarous times, which has been uniformly discredited wherever there has been an opportunity for testing it. Even to describe such a "force" as "psychic" is to beg the whole question; for until we have subjected it to a long course of experimentation, like that which has built up our scientific knowledge of heat and light, we can have no means of knowing whether it is "psychic" or not. It is, however, very unphilosophical at the outset to appeal to any new or unknown force until we have thoroughly exhausted all means of explanation furnishable by forces that have already been defined; and by the advocates of spiritualism no such preliminary enquiry has ever been made or even attempted. When, therefore, Mr. Crookes finds himself unable to explain the way in which Mr. Home causes the index of a spring-balance to descend without exerting any apparent pressure on the lever, it is a very violent stretch of inference to call in an imaginary "psychic force" by way of simplifying the matter. This is appealing from the known to the unknown, and it is in no such

* 'Spiritualism and Allied Causes and Conditions of Nervous Derangement. By W. A. Hammond, M.D.' New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876. 12mo, pp. xii–366.

way that discoveries are made in those physical sciences which Mr. Crookes has so carefully studied. Dr. Hammond may well say that "there are so many ways in which known forces manifest themselves, and so little is known of the laws which govern them, that Mr. Crookes might, for the present, with safety and propriety, have held his opinion in abeyance." As Mr. Crookes's experiment is the only one cited in which the spiritualists seem to have been able to work in broad daylight, and to dispense with the grosser forms of jugglery, a brief description of it may prove instructive.

In order to test Mr. Home's pretensions to a power of altering the weights of bodies by "spiritual agency," Mr. Crookes constructed a simple and ingenious apparatus "consisting of a mahogany board thirty-six inches long by nine and a half inches wide and one inch thick. At one end a strip of mahogany was screwed on, forming a foot, the length of which equalled the width of the board. This end of the board rested on [the edge of] a table, while the other end was supported by a spring-balance" pendent from a tripod stand. Obviously, now, when Mr. Home placed the tips of his fingers lightly on the end of the board which was resting on the foot or fulcrum, the pointer of the balance ought to have remained perfectly stationary; even a heavy pressure directly over the fulcrum could not alter the position of the lever. But, as a matter of fact, the pointer descended, showing that the weight or downward pull at the end of the lever supported by the balance had been increased by from three to six pounds. In order still further to guard against the possibility of Mr. Home's exerting any muscular action on the board, Mr. Crookes placed a glass vessel full of water over the centre of the fulcrum, "and by means of an iron stand, quite detached from all the rest of the apparatus, a vessel of copper was held so that it dipped into the water without touching the sides of the glass vessel, the bottom of the copper vessel being perforated with holes, in consequence of which it was partially filled with water. . . . When Mr. Home placed his hands inside the copper vessel, any force passing through his hands had to traverse the water, hence no muscular action of his could have any effect upon the spring-balance. With the apparatus thus arranged, the lever oscillated as in his previous experiment, the average strain registered being three or four pounds."

Such were the phenomena to explain which Mr. Crookes invoked the assistance of an unknown something which it pleased his fancy to call "psychic force," while his companion, Dr. Huggins, more wisely declined to express any opinion. In connection with these phenomena, Dr. Hammond calls attention to an experiment of Prof. Tyndall's, in which an egg is placed in an egg-cup and a long lath balanced upon the egg: if a dry stick of sealing-wax, which has been well rubbed with a piece of woollen cloth, be held over one end of the lath, the latter, no matter how heavy, will rise to meet it. In dry weather many persons can make the finger serve the same purpose as the sealing-wax, by first shuffling their feet for a few moments over the carpet. Taking these things into consideration, Dr. Hammond arranged an apparatus like that of Mr. Crookes, and, applying the stick of sealing-wax just over the fulcrum, where Mr. Home's finger-tips had rested, the pointer of the balance at once descended. The same result was immediately afterwards obtained when, after shuffling over a thick rug, Dr. Hammond rested his finger on the same place. So far, therefore, the strain on the balance would seem to be due neither to ghosts of departed men nor to "psychic force," but to some peculiar manifestation of that commonplace agent, friction electricity. How far Dr. Hammond's experiments may be conclusive, it is not in our power to say. What it concerns us to notice is that his method of going to work, by searching for some analogous case within the region of experience, is the method of science and of common sense, whereas Mr. Crookes's method, of deserting the region of experience in quest of some "psychic force," is the method which characterizes alike the barbaric myth-maker and the ill-trained thinker in a civilized community. So long as scientific men are capable of doing such unscientific things, it is not to be wondered at that primitive superstitions still survive.

Some of Mr. Home's other tricks are suggestive in another way. The feat of making a small table so heavy that the credulous bystander cannot stir it from the floor shows what curious results may be obtained from highly impressionable people by riveting their attention. Dr. Hammond has himself performed this trick with entire success. Taking a small Japanese table, weighing less than two pounds, he informed a young man that he was going to make it too heavy to be raised from the floor. For a quarter of an hour he held the tips of his fingers on it, until the young man's attention became riveted, when he removed his hands and challenged the young man to lift the table. It proved immovable, and "I saw," says our author, "that so far from endeavoring to lift it, as he supposed he was doing, he was in reality pressing it with all his might towards the floor." But as soon as Dr. Hammond had waved his hand over the table and declared that it might now be lifted, the young man lifted it with ease. Scientifically viewed, such phenomena are very interesting; they seem closely akin to the phenomena of hypnotism in men and animals, so strikingly illustrated in the experiments of Kircher and Czermak. Hens and pigeons can easily be put into a cataleptic state by holding a cork or a bit of chalk before their eyes so as to attract their attention; and in a similar way a frog's attention may be so absorbed that his belly may be cut open without his seeming to notice it. Mr. Braid has similarly hypnotized men; and Dr. Hammond produced complete anæsthesia in a lady by causing her to look for a few moments at a cork fastened upon her forehead while her back was cauterized with a red-hot iron.

As for Mr. Home's tricks of putting live coals into his waistcoat pocket and on other people's bald heads with impunity, such things have so long been commonplaces with second-rate conjurors that it is astonishing to find intelligent men like Mr. Wallace quoting them as instances of ghostly agency. Nothing could be easier for a clever juggler like Mr. Home than to exchange real coals for false ones, or to protect his own pockets and the heads of his dupes with asbestos cloth, without attracting notice. Such a proceeding would require far less skill than that of professional magicians, like Hermann or Houdin, in comparison with whose wonderful achievements the best performances of spiritualists are not worthy to be named.

Still keeping to Mr. Home, his famous trick of "levitation," or appearing to float through the air out of one third-story window into another, seems partly to illustrate the effects of intense expectation in producing hallucination, partly to show us for the thousandth time how little unsifted human testimony is worth; for on one occasion, while two "respectable witnesses" were sure that they saw the great "medium" come sailing feet foremost through the window, their less gullible companion was equally positive that the levitating gentleman was sitting quietly in his arm-chair all the while! Nothing is more common than for us to be told what people of undoubted veracity have seen. For our own part, if we were to answer frankly in such cases, we should take our cue from a celebrated naturalist whose friend was recounting to him a miraculous shower of frogs from the sky. "It is fortunate," said he, "that you have seen it, for now I can believe it. If I had seen it myself, I should not have believed it!" The commonest acts of perception are so liable to be warped by hypothesis (a fact which conjurors like Houdin consummately understand) that it is quite useless to conjecture what our witnesses may really have seen, unless we know much more than they are likely to tell us of the physical and mental conditions under which their seeing was done. At a meeting of spiritualists in Boston, Mr. Robert Dale Owen once saw what he took to be an "apparition in shining raiment," being quite clear in his mind that no deception or illusion was possible under the circumstances. But Dr. Hammond, making a diagram of the rooms from data contained in Mr Owen's account, shows that, with the greatest ease, a "woman in white" might have been brought into the room and illuminated by means of a dark lantern without awakening suspicion. The case of Angélique Cottin, the famous "electric girl," is equally instructive. After tipping tables, repelling books, brushes, and other small objects, and disturbing magnetic needles before numerous "intelligent audiences," her alleged powers were carefully investigated by a committee of the Academy of Sciences, consisting of Arago, Becquerel, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and others. Tables, books, brushes, and magnetic needles, all kept most provokingly quiet, and the "electric girl" subsided into oblivion. So, numbers of people who watched the "Welsh fasting-girl" were quite sure that she subsisted without food; but, when really competent watchers were introduced, the poor creature died of starvation, destroyed by her own obstinacy and the criminal acquiescence of her parents.

We have touched upon but few of the topics treated in Dr. Hammond's book. Into his elaborate discussion of the painful and often disgusting phenomena of hysteria, ecstasy, and stigmatization we have not space to follow him. His subject is one which leads the enquirer into some of the darkest and most loathsome corners of the human mind; but the enquiry has, nevertheless, its uses.

Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale: Mémoires et Documents originaux, recueillis et publiés par Pierre Margry. (Printed under the patronage of Congress. 1876.)—Congress has not always been happy in its literary efforts. Indeed, for the credit of the country, some of its publications in this sort might well have been spared us. For a maximum of cost and a minimum of valuable result, we know nothing, for example, in the publications of any government that can compare with the monstrous production, in six heavy

folios, issued under the editorship of Mr. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. To make the work complete, a seventh folio should have been added to correct the blunders of the other six; while everything valuable in all this vast wilderness of letterpress might easily have been condensed into a single volume. It is a huge agglomeration of raw material, without arrangement, much of it old, and by far the greater part useless. We speak feelingly, after a painful exploration of the whole and the wasting of many days in protracted efforts to separate the wheat from the chaff. Its errors are infinite in number and diversity. Of the quotations from foreign languages with which it abounds, scarcely one is grammatically correct. For the rest, one is forced to wonder how, with the exceptional opportunities of personal observation enjoyed by the editor, and the undeniable enthusiasm with which he approached his subject, he succeeded in presenting so little that is new and so little that can be accepted without large qualification.

The work now before us is of a totally different quality. For once, Congress has achieved a maximum of result at a minimum of cost. Through a very moderate appropriation of money, it has deserved the thanks of every student of early American history. Only the first volume of the 'Découvertes et Etablissements des Français' has as yet appeared. Four more, we are told, are to follow. Taking the first as a sample of the whole, it will be one of the most valuable contributions of documentary material on our early history that has been made for many years. Very wisely, as we think, the papers are printed in the original French, and the student is spared the doubts and uncertainties that must always attend the use even of the best translations.

M. Margry has already done a great deal of valuable work of a kind which seldom or never receives the recognition it deserves. The 'Paris Documents' of the admirable New York collection, formed under the direction of Mr. Brodhead and printed under the excellent editorship of Dr. O'Callaghan, were, to a great extent, selected and arranged by M. Margry. The same is the case with the second and third series of 'Correspondance Officielle,' collected under the auspices of the Canadian Government. M. Margry also made for the late Hon. Lewis Cass a collection of papers of great interest for the early history of the region of the Lakes. A volume of 'Documents inédits,' published by himself, a work on the early voyages of the Normans, and a variety of papers on early discoveries, published in the *Moniteur* and elsewhere, have already placed him on the list of those who have made noteworthy contributions to American history. For more than thirty years he has been an assiduous and enthusiastic collector of original documents bearing on the exploration and settlement of this continent. His official position in the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, where he is now the virtual chief, has given him the most favorable opportunities for pursuing his investigations, which have extended beyond the bounds of his own department into every public repository of France and many private collections. The result is an accumulation of papers singularly rich in historic interest. At the instance of Mr. Francis Parkman, Colonel Charles Whittlesey of Cleveland, and other gentlemen, East and West, interested in the subject, Congress made an appropriation for printing such of them as relate to the first explorations of the West.

The first volume, now before us, has no preface, and but few notes, which is to be regretted. The contents are of various degrees of interest, and are arranged with skill and judgment, so as to give in chronological sequence a view of the progress of French discovery from the earliest times to the year 1684, or the conclusion of the first great enterprise of La Salle. Nearly all have been used by Mr. Parkman in his 'Discovery of the Great West'; but, besides what he has gathered from them, they contain a vast amount of matter alien to the purpose of his work, and they possess that inherent value which always belongs to the original document. The first paper relates to the Recollet friars, their early achievements in the West, and the influence that arrested them. Then comes a series of documents and extracts from documents on the first efforts of the Jesuits and those associated with them. Next follows the epoch of Government intervention, when the Intendant Talon became the patron of discovery. The journal of the remarkable exploration of the Great Lakes in 1669–70, by the two priests Galinée and Dollier, is printed in full, and is one of the most interesting papers in the volume. The expedition of Count Frontenac to Lake Ontario in 1673 is recounted in the language of the original record, because this, with other proceedings of that vigorous but somewhat eccentric personage, had an essential bearing on the Western enterprises which immediately followed. This document is the only one of any length in the volume that has ever been in print before. A number of papers on the discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette, come next in order, and then begins the most interesting and important portion of the volume—that relating to La Salle's descent of the Mississippi, and his attempts at conquest and settlement in Mexico and Texas. We look in vain, however, for any new evidence in support of the allegation maintained by M. Margry, and disputed by Mr. Parkman, that La Salle reached the Mississippi in advance of Joliet and Marquette. That vexed question is left exactly where it was. This latter half of the volume is chiefly made up of three papers, all of peculiar interest. The first is a long narrative written down from the lips of La Salle himself when on a visit to Paris in 1678. Its nature may be gathered from the analysis of a portion of it given by Mr. Parkman. The next is a narrative of Henri de Tonty, the companion and friend of La Salle, and is wholly distinct from anything hitherto published under his name. The third is the official report of the explorations of La Salle from the year 1679 to the year 1681. Of this paper, which covers more than a hundred pages, it is not too much to say that in point of interest and value it is nowhere surpassed in the chronicle of American discovery. It is an authentic record of adventure and daring as memorable in themselves as in the results that sprang from them, fresh from the pens of the actors and breathing their spirit in every line.

The second volume of the series will be devoted to the mysterious schemes of La Salle for conquering a part of Mexico and to his fatal attempt to plant a colony in Texas.

The Life and Times of Louisa, Queen of Prussia. With an Introductory Sketch of Prussian History. By Elizabeth Harriot Hudson. Second edition. Two vols. 1876. (London: W. Isbister & Co.)—Miss Hudson's book is well worth reading—even by those for whom the life of a queen who has been dead for nearly seventy years may have no special interest—for the picture it gives of the sources of what may now be called the only loyalty left in the world: the loyalty of Prussians to their royal family. The work itself—which, like all works depicting the domestic life of royal households, has had a considerable sale, and has now reached a second edition—has most of the faults of biographies. It contains not only a sketch of the state of Europe during nearly every year of Queen Louisa's life, but some account of the leading men of the time, however remote their connection with the Hohenzollern family; and the result is that the biography proper is simply a very fine thread running through a web of very heterogeneous and extraneous matter. Moreover, the narrative is loaded with minute descriptions of court fêtes, which seem to have been taken bodily from the official newspapers, and the reproduction of which at this distance of time has but little interest, except for those who have an antiquarian curiosity about costume or etiquette. The last fault we shall find is that Miss Hudson writes in a vein of sentimentality which, though thoroughly pure, respectable, and even pious, would be only tolerable to persons of education in our day in the rehearsal of a single anecdote or episode. When carried through two volumes, it gives her hero and heroine a little of the air of actors in a melodrama who are constantly making heavier calls on the sensibilities of the audience than even the most ardent admirers of domestic virtue can stand. The arrangement of the French vaudeville, by which, when the pathos of a situation is becoming a little too intense, the strain is taken off the sympathy of the spectators by a burst of comic song on the part of the chief sufferers in the play, contains a recognition of the reactionary tendency in human nature which biographers of Miss Hudson's school would do well to bear in mind. The too protracted and unmixed presentation of even royal goodness and piety and affection and simplicity begets in every reader who has much sense of humor a longing for a glimpse of a frivolous or even wicked court, in which the king is a reprobate and the queen and the maids-of-honor are wholly given up to frivolity and intrigue. One of Miss Hudson's volumes would have contained the story of Queen Louisa's life even if told in the fullest detail, and it would have made a much stronger impression if disengaged from all the superfluous historical matter, and presented as simply the biography of a fair and gentle lady who filled a very high social position in very sad and trying times, but who was connected with politics wholly through her family affections, and who, nevertheless, died with the love and gratitude of a whole people.

Prussian history is but short, and Queen Louisa is its only saint. The country is, as we have said, probably the only one in which the old-fashioned loyalty of the Western world now survives. In France it is utterly dead; in Italy it never existed; the Czar is in reality an Oriental despot like the Sultan, only half temporal; and in England, though there is much loyalty to the reigning house, it is parliamentary loyalty—that is, loyalty hedged around with many conditions and restrictions; loyalty which never forgets that England existed before the reigning house, and has made the reigning house what it is, and will probably survive it. But Prussia owes its very

existence to its kings. A large part of its population are the descendants of colonies planted and fostered by the royal hand. The present royal family is, therefore, associated with the national joys and sorrows, trials and triumphs, as no other royal family is. The king and the army have not only built up the state, but in many trying times have been the state itself.

Queen Louisa, the daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, married the Crown-Prince of Prussia, afterwards Frederic William III., in 1793, in her eighteenth year. Her husband ascended the throne four years later, and was soon called on to encounter the troubles arising out of the French Revolution. For this task he was ill fitted. He was, though earnest and well-meaning, not a strong or able man, and was thoroughly under the influence of that delusive reliance on the prestige and traditions of Frederic the Great which finally led to the appalling disasters of Jena and Auerstädt. The Queen was no more clear-sighted than he, and from her youth and inexperience could hardly have been expected to be. She was no politician, but she was beautiful, romantic, high-spirited, full of devotion to her husband and her country, and writhed under the humiliation put upon Prussia after the battle of Austerlitz by the harsh language of the conqueror and by the Treaty of Paris negotiated by Haugwitz, and threw in her influence with the War party. When war was resolved on, she accompanied the King almost to the field of Jena, and only left when the cannon were already sounding. Her wanderings with her husband and children after that tremendous overthrow, the patience and fortitude with which she bore her subsequent privations and anxieties, her interviews with Napoleon, in which she conquered her antipathy to him and brought all the charms of her manner and conversation to bear in a vain attempt to wring concessions from him in aid of her unhappy country, and her early and much lamented death in 1810, before the resurrection had come, after a short married life of seventeen years, and while she was still in the flower of her age, form one of the most graceful and tender episodes in national history. She was the mother of the present king, and her image is enshrined in all Prussian hearts among the most impressive and stirring memories of the awful days of the French invasion. That she should not have lived to see Waterloo, and that a nature so sweet, so sympathetic, and so full of that passionate enjoyment of domestic life which gives so much charm to those circles of German society in which the footing of the women is one of assured equality, should have been pursued even from palace to palace by tremendous disasters and anxieties, is one of the conspicuous illustrations of the irony of fate.

In taking leave of Miss Hudson's work, we can recommend such of our readers as are familiar with German to procure the sketch of the Queen lately published in Virchow and Von Holtzendorff's 'Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge' ('Luise, Königin von Preussen,' by August Kluckhohn; New York: L. W. Schmidt). Originally part of a discourse commemorating her son's seventy-eighth birthday, it naturally partakes of the nature of an *éloge*, but it has been rewritten with a view to filling in the biographical details, and perhaps in the same compass there is nothing better on the subject. In an appendix the principal German sources of information are enumerated, as they are freely used in the text. But what specially heightens the value of this little brochure is the charming likeness of Louisa which serves as a frontispiece, an Albert-type reproduction from a hitherto unpublished portrait in pastelle. The nobility, elevation, and long-suffering of the princess find here their adequate expression in lineaments of a rare and tender beauty.

The Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary. (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.)—We reviewed in No. 573 a book by Dr. Anderson, which, under the title of 'Mandalay to Momien,' narrated the experiences and fate of two expeditions that passed from Burmah into China for the purpose of exploring a route for trade. As part of the latter expedition, a talented young official of the British Consular Service, Mr. Margary, familiar with the language and etiquette of the Chinese, was sent entirely across China, from Shanghai to the western border of Yunnan, "in order to make it plain to the Western Chinese Mandarins that the foreign visitors were of the same nation as the English who lived and traded in the treaty ports." The journal and letters written on this venturesome trip make up the bulk of the very entertaining volume now before us. Starting from Shanghai on one of the "American river-palaces," a few days were sufficient to take Mr. Margary five hundred miles up the Yang-tse to Hankow. Here he procured a native boat large enough to accommodate his party, consisting of himself, his writer, and three servants, and in it he voyaged up the Yang-tse and Yuan rivers about four hundred miles. Here he took to the land, and travelled in a sedan-chair for eighty days through a country the greater part of which had never before been visited by a European. No wonder that on his arrival at Bhamô there was "astonishment and admiration among the Burmese to see a veritable Englishman speaking Chinese fluently and versed in the use of chopsticks and all other points of etiquette." Starting eastward again with Col. Browne's expedition in February, 1875, he was murdered almost immediately after crossing the Chinese frontier, in a town where, a few weeks before, he had been received with kindness so overwhelming as almost to make him suspicious. "And so ended the life and career of one of a class of sons of whom England has most reason to be proud in these days. . . . Unlike in their characters, their powers, the tasks that they were set to do, but alike in this, that they did it, one and all, with their might, and paid for it with their lives; . . . whose record goes far to redeem the sloth and selfishness of a generation weighted heavily with wealth and luxury."

Mr. Margary was but twenty-eight years old when he received his orders to undertake this novel journey, but he brought to his task an untiring energy, keen powers of observation, a comprehensive knowledge of the Chinese language and character—acquired in six years of residence and attentive study—and, above all, a marvellous tact, which served him in good stead throughout his journey. His diary and letters, as here given, "capture" us at once by their abundant flow of animal spirits, which nothing could subdue, not even "pleurisy, pneumonia, rheumatism, indigestion, very bad neuralgia, toothache, and a lot more"—thermometer at ninety degrees, and no European within one thousand miles! Writing home just before he starts, he says: "You must picture me trudging on through strange cities, stared at by pig-tailed mobs; at times sitting in Eastern etiquette with native governors and viceroys; and lastly, you may look on the map, and fancy you see a solitary European standing above the last pass on the borders of China, and anxiously gazing through his binoculars for the advent of Indian helmets from the West." But under this almost boyish exuberance there was a full appreciation of the work he had to do. He carefully noted the character of the country through which he passed, and his notes form no mean addition to the physical geography of China; but it is in dealing with the officials and the mobs that his special talents come out, and he displays a fertility in expedients which proves how great was his loss to the British service. With one mob he selects a few of the older men, offers them cigarettes, and begins a pleasant conversation; with another, he descends from his chair and harangues them on their want of politeness; again, he finds harsher measures necessary, and "breaks the nose of one impudent fellow," while his servant kicks over another; but in every case—with a single exception—he puts the crowd in a good humor, and converts their semi-hostile feelings towards the "foreign devil" into simple, good-natured curiosity. The one exception was at Chen-yuen, where the crowd was too much for him, and he was obliged to sleep under the protection of the mandarin and to leave town before daylight in the morning. It was the exception, however, for him to have any trouble at all; he was provided with official passports from Peking, and for a large part of the journey he travelled *en prince*, escorted by two mandarins and preceded by couriers. The tact he invariably displayed in his intercourse with officials may well be studied by all those who are brought into contact with the Celestials; no Englishman ever before wrote from China that he found "the people everywhere charming and the mandarins extremely civil," and no English man ever before travelled from one end of China to the other: possibly there may be some connection between these two facts.

The murder of Mr. Margary produced intense excitement in England, as might have been expected; and a Commission was at once sent out under Mr. Grosvenor to penetrate Yunnan and fully investigate the circumstances of this murder and the simultaneous attack and defeat of Colonel Browne's expedition. A telegram in the daily papers, a few months since, reported Mr. Grosvenor's arrival at Rangoon on his return, but we have not yet seen his report. Meanwhile, this book is very fittingly terminated by a supplementary chapter from the pen of Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Minister at Peking for many years just previous to these events. He discusses freely the results of the two expeditions and of Margary's journey, and also gives a forcible summary of the British policy in the East. While admitting that there is grave doubt as to the expediency of these expeditions, either as to the time of sending them or the instructions under which they were conducted, and even admitting a doubt as to whether the Peking Government was fully advised of their object, still he has no hesitation in stating what course should be pursued now that these steps have been taken. The motto, "Vestigia nulla retrorsum," summarizes the whole history of the Eastern policy, and under it England must maintain her prestige by insisting on opening "the trade-route of the future" at any cost. But in carrying out this plan, British officials will do well to

consider carefully "the genuine liking and sympathy, combined with firmness," which Mr. Margary everywhere exhibited towards the Chinese, and which contributed so largely to the success of his journey.

As to Roger Williams, and his "Banishment" from the Massachusetts Plantation; with a few further words concerning the Baptists, the Quakers, and Religious Liberty. A Monograph, by Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D. (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1876; pp. 146.)—The occasion of Dr. Dexter's monograph is a petition presented last winter to the Massachusetts General Court to revoke the sentence of banishment pronounced against Roger Williams in 1635. Such revocation would have been in itself as absurdly illogical an act as the famous "Expunging Resolution" in Gen. Jackson's time. A *law* of a general nature may properly be repealed, even if it has been a dead letter for centuries; but a *privilegium*, or act directed against an individual specifically named, is of the nature of an *event*, which no amount of repealing can make not to have occurred; and to repeal it two hundred years after the death of the person in question would be simply to recall to the memory with emphasis the fact that that generation judged of him in this manner. Dr. Dexter's aim is, however, not to point out the absurdity of repeal, but to justify the original act of "banishment"; and in this his success may be pronounced complete. His argument consists in two heads: first, that the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay" did not at this time compose a state with a settled government, nor even a colony, but "a plantation with a strong religious idea behind it, on its way to be a colony and a state," "a private corporation chartered by the Government for purposes of fishing, real-estate improvement, and general commerce" (p. 12). As a private company, it had the undoubted right to exclude from its privileges any person, even a member, who interfered seriously with its objects; and Roger Williams was not even a member, having never been admitted as a "freeman." Into the interesting question of the genesis of the state from the private corporation—a process familiar in the development of the mediæval trading-guilds into municipal governments and in the growth of the East India Company into an empire—the discussion does not enter further than is necessary to establish the second head of the argument.

This is, that the grounds of Roger Williams's banishment were mainly political, and hardly at all differences in religious opinion; and especially that the doctrine of toleration had very little to do with it. The points of difference were, to be sure, primarily religious, but it was not in their religious aspect, but in their political bearing, that offence arose. It was on religious considerations that Mr. Williams denied the validity of the Royal Patent by which the Company held its lands (under which, indeed, with gross inconsistency, he himself held lands), and resisted the "Residents' Oath" on the ground "that it is not lawfull to call a wicked Person to sweare or pray" (p. 68); but it was because the utterance of these doctrines was directly subversive of the public authority, and that, too, at a time of great peril to the existence of the colony, that he was ejected from its limits. These two are shown to have been the real causes of his banishment. It is true, as Dr. Dexter admits, that Mr. Williams did maintain a certain doctrine of toleration, and that he afterwards incorporated this principle in a fuller and more advanced shape into the fundamental institutions of his own colony. But this was hardly in any degree the cause of his banishment, nor was it at first a prominent doctrine in his own mind. So far from it, indeed, that he was an extreme Separatist—that is, was unwilling to associate himself politically with those otherwise-minded than himself. One of the minor points in which he came in collision with the authorities was his denial of Christian fellowship to the churches of the mother country, even to the extent that "it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England." And it is shown very cogently (p. 39) that he himself, in the case of a tract of land in Marblehead, claimed by his town of Salem, undertook to use ecclesiastical machinery to coerce the General Court into conceding the claim.

It must not be thought that the spirit of this treatise is hostile to Roger Williams, whose noble qualities are admitted, and who receives due credit for his subsequent maintenance of the principle of toleration in his colony of Providence. It is rather a defence of the course pursued by the colony of Massachusetts towards a young man of fine and brilliant qualities, yet with his brain full of maggots, who was deliberately withstanding the authority of the community in which he resided, but of which he was not a member. It is shown that his case was not an exceptional one, but that nineteen persons before him had been so removed; it is shown further (p. 92) that when he came to have a colony of his own the exigencies of order and good government forced him to adopt very nearly the same policy towards troublesome sectaries that had been pursued towards himself.

The author asserts that by a new comparison of dates he has established for the first time the precise date of the sentence of expulsion, as Friday, October 9–19, 1635. His book is in all respects a creditable piece of work, except in the omission of an index. There is a full and valuable chronological table, and an extra sheet contains the summary of fifteen points, to which his labors have been especially directed, and "upon which he would be especially grateful for the severest critical judgment of his reviewers." We can only say that he appears fully to have established them as they are stated. Nevertheless, he perhaps underrates the degree in which the principle of toleration had a right to be recognized at that time. The party in the minority, or the party of change, is, by the force of circumstances, always the champion of this principle. Thus Protestantism was obliged to advocate the right of private judgment; and its extreme type, Calvinism, itself most intolerant by nature, became the especial champion of liberty in this seventeenth century. Thus Roger Williams, the "Arch-Separatist," became the herald of religious liberty, and even Maryland, colonized by Roman Catholics, was the seat of freedom of conscience. The sagacious founders of Massachusetts may be pardoned if, in their progress from the trading to the political community, they did not recognize the claims of toleration quite so early as they might; still, no amount of reasoning can make this anything but a mistake, which we may excuse but cannot always justify. And Roger Williams, even if headstrong and inconsistent, fairly deserves the honor which has fallen to him of outgrowing his faults of youth, and identifying his name distinctly with the cause of religious liberty.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Adams (C. F.), Memoirs of John Quincy Adams. Vol. XI.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Alden (Rev. J.), Science of Government	(Sheldon & Co.)
Ammen (S. Z.), Latin Grammar for Beginners	(Henry Holt & Co.)
Bateman (W. O.), Political and Constitutional Law	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Bennett (D. M.), Sages, Infidels, and Thinkers	(D. M. Bennett)
Bernstein (J.), Five Senses of Man	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Collin (A.), Universal Metric System	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Dale (T. N., jr.), Study of the Rhætic Strata of the Val di Ledro, swd.	(B. Westermann & Co.)
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(*Continued from page* iii.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1876.

The Week.

MR. ADAMS has accepted the Democratic nomination in Massachusetts in a letter in which he speaks of the Convention simply as "a convention of voters," says he has never sought an office and never declined one, and if elected is willing to be useful wherever he can, and does not believe the present party in power likely either to reform the existing corruption and disorder in the Administration, or restore peace and prosperity at the South. He does not mention or allude to the Democratic party, or commit himself to any doctrine or policy, and as he now stands is perhaps as independent a candidate as ever was put up. The wailing over the nomination among the Republicans still continues. The professional politicians, of course, look on the selection of a first-class outsider by their opponents as downright cheating. They feel, therefore, very much as Bill Nye felt when, on sitting down to play a quiet, Christian game with Ah Sin, he found that "the heathen Chinee" had twenty-four packs in his sleeve. Of course, the answer to their talk is that Mr. Adams represents the Democrats just as well as Mr. Hayes represents the corrupt or Blaine wing of the Republicans, and that there is no more reason for his rejecting a nomination because bad men are going to vote for him than there is for Mr. Hayes declining to run because people like Messrs. Chandler and Cameron are conducting his canvass. Nor is Mr. Adams any more damaged by John Kelly's endorsement than Mr. Hayes is by Ben Butler's. Kelly is much more respectable than Butler, both in public and private life. No one can damage a man of established character by his endorsement any more than by his insults. As unpledged and uncommitted as he is now, Mr. Adams can say as the caliph said when he was reproached for going for a pitcher of water instead of calling his servant: "I arose, and I was Omar; I went, and I was Omar; I came back, and I am Omar still."

Some Republicans of the better sort are deeply grieved by what they consider "the fall" of Mr. Adams. They used to be proud of him, they say; but oh! how changed. What a different Hector he is from the one who came back from England and Geneva! They look at him, and turn away and weep; and look at him again, and again weep. They feel as if they could *not* bear it. It is idle to use cold reason with people who are in great affliction, and with these we accordingly shall not argue. The best thing we can do for them is to try to divert their attention, and we accordingly advise them to turn their eyes away from this sad spectacle. If Adams be lost, he is lost, and there is an end of it. Let them occupy themselves in looking at the Republican party. They will there see a candidate who is pledged to civil-service reform of the most radical kind receiving enthusiastic support from a host of eminent men who think civil-service reform the greatest humbug of the age, and have themselves always delighted in civil-service abuse. In fact, they may be said to be busily engaged in preparing their own funeral pyre, which is a sublime and touching sight. If you look into Plutarch you will find nothing like it in ancient times; and Mr. G. F. Hoar and Mr. Caleb Cushing will tell you that nothing approaching to it occurred in our earlier history. So let us gaze on this and take comfort.

General Butler has, as was expected, and as he had himself arranged, received the Republican nomination in the Seventh Massachusetts District, and at this writing it is doubtful what the better sort of Republicans will do. If the Democrats give them a man they can vote for, they will probably vote for him, and Mr. Tarbox would not be such a man. If not, it is questionable whether there would be any use in making another nomination. The Republican papers in Massachusetts have at last begun to take the alarm, and are now denouncing Butler in their forcible-feeble way. What is more to the purpose, the New York *Times* has done it most effectively, and, better still, has warned all concerned that this canvass is a reform canvass, and not simply "a bloody-shirt" movement, as so many gentlemen would like to make it, and that persons who are not of a reforming turn will do well not to make themselves too prominent in it. Nothing needs to be said so firmly, and nothing to be said oftener than this; and the *Times*, in saying it, has strengthened the claims on the gratitude of the best portion of the party which it established by its firm and creditable opposition to Mr. Blaine's nomination.

It ought to be borne in mind that Butler's prominence is the natural result of the anti-Southern turn given to the canvass. When the Republican chiefs began preaching a continuance of the civil war, and calling for legislators to "jaw back" in Congress with Ben Hill and his kind, Butler came to the front as naturally as a weed grows on a dung-hill. And we must protest against the notion that this anti-Southern spirit has been revived by the conduct of the Democratic House of Representatives. On the contrary, it is the result of a long-planned and artful scheme of some of the Republican politicians. Mr. Blaine set about it in thorough earnest when Congress met—that is, he gave himself up the entire session and from the first week to "drawing" the Southern members of the House, and he was very successful. We have sat in the gallery and watched him doing it, and it was as devilish work as one could wish to see. These Southern members were poor and irritable, and fresh from ruined homes, and unused to controlling their tongues or their temper, and he had no difficulty in engaging them in games of recrimination, in which they were sure to say things which would be likely to "fire the Northern heart." In fact, the process closely resembled that by which the old fire-eaters prepared the South for secession, and that it is now proving fairly successful thus far in its effects on Northern opinion we do not deny. But that it was in the last degree wicked and selfish is also true, and we fervently hope that those Republicans who have faith in the great principles on which not only the Republican party but the Government was first founded, before the military temper was infused into it, and who believe in the sovereign virtue, as political remedies, of kindness, and conciliation, and charity, will see to it that this wretched scheme does not yield *all* the fruits its authors expect from it.

The second New York Democratic Convention has met at Saratoga, and appears to have been a very gloomy body. Mr. Lucius Robinson was nominated by acclamation without any delay, and there was an adjournment without any unnecessary speech-making. John Kelly magnanimously took his name off the list of Presidential electors to make way for that of Mr. Horatio Seymour. Mr. Robinson is a man of excellent character, who was a Republican office-holder during the war, but has since joined the Democrats in disgust. He is said to be a lineal descendant of the Rev. John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrims at Leyden, which is a much better ancestry for political purposes than Martin Luther. But Mr. Robinson's nomination is not hearty. It is not willingly that the party gives these high places to recent converts, and he has not the slap-on-the-back and punch-in-the-ribs ways which delight "the boys." In fact, there is much depression in the Democratic ranks in this State. Tilden's prestige as a manager has been seriously damaged by the fiasco at Saratoga, and then the non-appearance of his income-tax explanation is disheartening, and the nomination of a "daily-bath man" and an old Republican in Massachusetts is, after all, a

thing to be made the best of, not rejoiced over. The only recent bad sign in the Republican canvass is the increasing prominence assumed by Mr. Blaine, which, the managers may rely on it, will not go down with the loose vote, in spite of the Maine election. The news about the condition of the Germans in Ohio is not good, and it had better be looked to. They are a suspicious race of politicians, and, from what we hear, Mr. Schurz is unable to hold them, even with his admissions about the Administration; so that they had better not be pressed too hard with unsavory morsels. They know nothing about the American fidelity to "great leaders."

Mr. Tilden's explanation about his income-tax has not yet appeared, though there are still rumors that it is in preparation, that when it appears it will be very pathetic, and will show enormous losses in helping his unsuccessful brothers. Unless it shows a partnership with his brothers, it will be no legal answer to the charge of perjury; but if it shows actual loss to the required amount, it will be to some a moral answer to the charge of "withholding money from the Government in the hour of its peril." His canvass is apparently going on with the usual elaboration. He has a large room, or two rooms, at Albany, filled with able and ready writers, either addressing letters to local "workers" or preparing articles for the press, though we fancy the letters are more effective than the articles. The Terre Haute "fraud" is now seldom spoken of by his enemies, their eyes having apparently been opened to its defects as a charge. We, however, occasionally receive judgments from gentlemen in different parts of the country who have "held court" on it, finding it fully proved, and ordering the old rascal to make restitution to his victims. We file these judgments as they are received; however, there ought in all these cases to be a stay of execution for sixty days, or until the United States Court hears the evidence. *Harper's Weekly* has made the matter a little more mysterious by pushing on with its illustration about the executors and heirs-at-law. It first compared Tilden to an executor who had, after paying the legacies, pocketed the residuum, and was being sued by the "heir-at-law" (next of kin); but, as we pointed out, the "heir-at-law" is in this case the testator, so that the testator is suing his own executor as next of kin for the remainder of his own estate. The *Weekly* now says that Tilden's answer is "virtually that as administrator he could only recognize the dead, and not the heirs-at-law," which carries the whole business beyond our ken, and suggests the propriety of putting it into the hands of a good "medium."

Professor W. G. Sumner has published a letter, giving his reasons for voting for Tilden, which contains, in the main, as sound a body of political doctrine as we have lately seen. He objects to the mode of selecting Mr. Hayes as somewhat farcical—an accident arising out of the dissatisfaction of Simon Cameron with the failure of the Pennsylvania delegation to vote as a unit. He objects to Mr. Hayes himself as a man who is, for the purposes of such an election, obscure—*i.e.*, has not worked his way to it through a conspicuous career, which would enable people to judge of his fitness without the aid of private testimonials; and he treats with well-merited scorn the current rant of many of the Republican papers about the badness of Democrats as such. But he overlooks the great peculiarity of the situation, which is that a strange combination of circumstances has left the country for several years without a respectable Opposition. In other words, the defection of the South, and the withdrawal of its ablest men during the war, have left the Democratic party in the condition of a Rump and given it the characteristics of a Rump. It is not possible under these circumstances to follow the old and sound political rule, which makes expulsion from office of the party in power the proper remedy for bad administration. This rule is based on the hypothesis that there is a respectable Opposition ready to take its place. He overlooks one other thing, that there is in every party a strong and constant tendency towards the standards and ideals of the bulk of its members, and this fact of itself makes dangerous a party which has, no matter through what causes, included in its ranks the great body of the ignorant population of the country. This may be said of the Republican party in view of its late negro additions; but the negroes are not yet a political force. They have no traditions and vote in leading-strings.

There has been some talk during the week of a disagreement between Mr. Schurz and the Republican National Committee, arising out of some fierce denunciations of him which have appeared in the Washington *Republican* for his freedom in talking of the shortcomings of the present Administration, and for his alleged utterance of unfavorable predictions regarding the result of the election in Ohio. He has, however, denied positively that any such differences have arisen, and that he ever uttered any such predictions, and Mr. Chandler confirms the denial. There is, nevertheless, a strong suspicion afloat that some unpleasantness has arisen, or the Washington organ would never have spoken out in this violent way, and the probabilities are that in inner "Administration circles" there is dissatisfaction with Mr. Schurz's habit of putting criticism into his speeches, but that the Committee does not feel that it would be wise to take up the court quarrel. As to the criticism, we do not see how Mr. Schurz is to avoid it if he is to preserve his self-respect and his influence. It will not do for him, or for any of the Liberal Republicans, to pretend now that the Republican party has been, during the last five years, a blameless and wise body, and that the present opposition to it is conceived in iniquity. This sort of gymnastics may be pardoned in people like Banks; but men who look forward to a political future must take care of their reputation for honesty. Banks is greatly troubled by the condition of the South, and feels the absolute necessity of a stern policy towards that misguided region; he is surprised, too, at the wickedness of the Democrats, and is waiting for a Republican nomination.

Governor Chamberlain has been renominated in South Carolina, and the Democrats, who exhibited a considerable amount of discord before their own convention, are united in opposition to him. The Charleston *News and Courier*, which had been up to that time a warm supporter of Chamberlain, has abandoned him and wheeled into line, and appears to think there is some chance of the State going Democratic on two campaign issues—"the proved inability of the Republican administration to preserve the peace and enforce the laws in South Carolina, and the inability of the Republican party, because of the character of its leaders and members, to give the people a government under which the rights of all classes shall have equal protection, a government founded on intelligence and virtue, which will secure to the State, in every form, reform, retrenchment, and relief." The *News and Courier* says that the rest of the State ticket is as bad as can be, the candidate for Secretary of State being "denounced as a corruptionist," and the candidate for the Attorney-Generalship, R. B. Elliott, being "open to every objection that lay against Whipper as a judge." The Convention is described as the "worst gathering of knaves and ignoramuses that Columbia has seen," which shows that it must have been pretty bad, and the newspapers do not even pretend to discuss the platform adopted. The present attitude of the parties in South Carolina is much to be regretted, for the crisis is very near at hand in which it must be decided whether the whites are finally to govern it or the blacks, and it would have been better if the inevitable end could have been reached under a moderate man like Chamberlain; but this desirable termination of the South Carolina imbroglio has been frustrated partly by the scandalous corruption of the dominant party and partly by the spirit of revenge which this has bred in the other.

The Republicans of the Fourth Congressional District in Illinois have set a very good example in their mode of nominating Mr. Wm. Lathrop for Congress. Mr. Lathrop is, we believe, an excellent candidate, which is so far good, but, better still, he has been nomi-

nated on resolutions, which we believe he himself drafted, that specifically pledge him to "a faithful observance of the fifth resolution of the national platform and the doctrine of Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance," and "to the use of all the power and influence he may possess as a representative" to the carrying out of this doctrine. The resolutions, moreover, denounce the bestowal and promise of offices for party services as "only second to the crime of selling offices for a stipulated price." To make assurance doubly sure, the above-named plank of the national platform and the passage of Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance relating to civil-service reform are appended in full. This is the way to go to work. To enable the President to reform the civil service, representatives and senators must be pledged to help him or let him alone.

The past summer has been a very fortunate one for American sports on sea and land. The failure of the *Countess of Dufferin* in her attempt to get back the honors won years ago by the *America*, the unexpected success of the American crews in competing with the English on the Schuylkill, and the victory in rifle-shooting at Creedmoor were more than could have been expected, and taken together seem to show that the athletic and sporting *furore* of the last twenty years has really had already a sufficiently pronounced effect upon the much-abused American constitution to make Mr. Huxley's late declaration that there was no material difference between trans- and cis-Atlantic "types" seem reasonable. The race between the *Countess of Dufferin* and the *Madeleine* can hardly be said to have proved anything with regard to the superiority of American to foreign yachting. This, we take it, is caused in a measure by the superiority of our waters, the half landlocked character of our coast making the sea exceptionally smooth, and therefore enabling builders to devote themselves entirely to speed, without much regard to safety. On the other hand, the Canadian vessel this year had the advantage of being built for American waters, just as the *America* twenty years ago had the disadvantage of being sailed in foreign waters. The rowing at Philadelphia was a much better proof of the progress of sports in this country, and the extraordinary success of Yale in rowing almost evenly with the London Rowing Club — the best in the world—is not to be explained on any other theory than that, with equal training, we have as good material as the English. It seems to be another proof, also, of the wisdom of Yale in going to England for this training, which could have been got nowhere else. The race in which the Beaverwycks beat the London Club, and in which the latter made a claim of foul, was really not nearly such a good test as the other. There does not seem to have been any ground for the allowance of a foul; but the time of the race was not remarkable, and has been beaten over and over again. The system of rowing in "heats," which seems at first sight a good substitute for the plan which has broken down at Saratoga, does not appear to have worked well. Crews are matched against each other unexpectedly, and there is not the feeling at the end of the races that the best crew has won. We understand that there was a suspicion among the American crews that in the "drawings," far from there being any national sharp-practice, all the doubts were decided in favor of the foreign crews, though we do not know of any evidence to support the charge. But these races, and the fate of the Saratoga rowing association, show that rowing regattas on a gigantic scale, though well enough to attract a crowd, are fundamental mistakes from the rowing-man's point of view. The shooting at Creedmoor seems, as usual, to have been well managed, and no fault has been found with anybody concerned. Newspapers which opposed the election of Judge Gildersleeve a year or so ago, on the ground that his skill in rifle-shooting was not, as maintained by his friends, a proper qualification for high judicial office, are now compelled to admit that he is a credit to the bench.

General trade this autumn fully equals expectations, and there is a growing belief that at last a permanent recovery from the depression of the past three years has begun. During the week the volume of business has been larger than for years, and, what is most important, business is done at a profit. In Wall Street little heed is apparently given to the favorable change in the mercantile situation, and speculators who have been enriched by the large decline in coal stocks are still seeking to win by a decline in all corporate securities. Without doubt the developments in some of the coal companies are such as to impair confidence in corporate management, and to this extent there is reason why all securities should suffer. The New Jersey Central Railroad has issued a statement showing the necessity it is under of raising money to meet current obligations. This it proposed to do by the sale of $5,000,000 bonds; as we write, it is not known that the bonds have been taken. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company has issued a circular to its stockholders in which it declares its ability to meet all obligations on its bonds, and that its condition is sound. The latest figures given in support of this are of date December 31, 1875. The Pennsylvania Coal Company, which has the largest surplus of any of the coal companies, has sold 100,000 tons of its product at auction, an exceptional course for it to take; the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad has advertised another sale of 100,000 tons. Coal securities declined during the week, while other railroad securities, notwithstanding the tendency of speculation to lower prices, have advanced. The gold market has been dull, and the United States legal-tender note for one dollar has had a gold value varying from $0.9080 to $0.9111. Silver has been very steady in London.

Mr. Baring, the English Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, has made his report on the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, and it fully confirms Mr. Schuyler's. He puts down the number of persons massacred at 12,000, and the number of villages burnt at 52, while he does not believe more than 200 Mussulmans in all were killed. The most fearful part of the tragedy occurred at Batak, which Mr. Schuyler had already described. There the people of the village surrendered their arms under a solemn promise of safety from Achmet Aga, the Turkish commander, and were butchered like sheep, young and old, male and female, to the number of 5,000, and their bodies left unburied. Achmet Aga and several other leaders of the same stamp have been decorated by the Government. An insurrection in aid of the Servians appears undoubtedly to have been planned by the Bulgarians, and the programme of the leaders which has been found provided for the destruction of railroads, the seizure of Government stores, and the burning of certain villages, the drafting of all Bulgarians, and the killing of resisting Mussulmans. It was, in short, one of the ordinary revolutionary plans; meeting it with wholesale massacre was, as Mr. Baring says, "the most heinous crime that has stained the history of the present century." The excitement in England still continues, and has been aggravated by the appearance of a characteristic pamphlet from Mr. Gladstone, denouncing both the Ministry and the Turks in the most unmeasured terms.

At the seat of war the situation, if possible, grows more serious. The demands with which Turkey accompanies the offer of a month's armistice are, to three of the Powers, simply exorbitant, but to the Russians they are exasperating, and help to feed the flame of popular excitement which is threatening to sweep the Government into war. Already the Russian volunteers have crowded into Servia in such numbers that they appear to have got the control of the army, and Tchernaieff has actually taken on himself the responsibility of proclaiming Prince Milan King of Servia, apparently a sort of defiant reply to the Turkish demand that he should make a fresh acknowledgment of his vassalage by accepting reinvestiture at the hands of the Sultan. The weather, too, has turned against the invaders by flooding the valleys and breaking up the roads, and quick decision of some kind seems absolutely necessary for the Turks. But the probabilities are that they have virtually lost Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.

THE PART OF RELIGION IN THE TURKISH PROBLEM.

THE military energy displayed by the Turks in the contest with Servia has not unnaturally astonished those who had seen the insurrection in Herzegovina carried on by small, irregular bands for over a year, and is undoubtedly about to have a very important influence on the political situation in the negotiations now pending. Servia would hardly have been urged on as much as she was by Russia if it had been supposed she would receive a thrashing. The feebleness of the operations in Herzegovina made it look as if the Sultan's time had come, and as if a little weight added to the insurrection would finish the European Empire. It was unquestionably in this belief that the Servians took the field, and that the Powers looked on so complacently. Not, probably, that they would permit a break-up of the Empire; but they expected enough Christian success to furnish a solid basis of fact for the Andrássy and the Berlin notes, and take away from them the reproach of being the result of foreign pressure. As matters have gone, they would have been rather awkwardly situated if the Turks had carried on the war in a civilized way, for the Porte would have furnished, by its success, an argument which the great military Powers would find it hard to resist, for being allowed to conduct its internal affairs in its own way. But the atrocities in Bulgaria supply a reason for interference such as no victories of the Servians could ever have supplied, for they have destroyed in England the jealousy of Russia which has been now for fifty years the great obstacle to any settlement of the Eastern problem. There has, perhaps, been nothing stranger of late in European politics than Sir Stafford Northcote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, defending the Ministry before a large audience against the charge of being influenced by this jealousy. It indicated a revolution in popular sentiment which may be the beginning of very important and far-reaching changes in Continental politics. People in England are now beginning to ask themselves in a startled way how they ever came to respect the Turks, or have any sympathy with them, or bolster them up, and why, too, the Turks were not found out sooner; and a strong feeling of shame is running through the nation at the reflection that possibly the recent ordering up of the fleet to Besika Bay by Mr. Disraeli may have helped to prolong or aggravate the atrocities practised in Bulgaria.

The answer to the question why the Turks needed to massacre 12,000 persons, including women and children, and burn sixty villages, in order to give Europe an insight into their real character, cannot be given in a few words, and there is hardly a more curious question in modern history. They massacred in the Greek insurrection, just as they have done now, on a great scale. They put over 25,000 persons to the sword in Scio in 1822, and they must have killed fully as many in cold blood in the Morea. They have also indulged in slight massacres since then, in the midst of peace, in various parts of the Asiatic Empire. All over the Empire massacre is well recognized by both Turks and Christians as the great Turkish remedy for political troubles. There is, probably, no political or social doctrine more firmly held by the bulk of the Mussulman population than that Christians hold their lives and property on sufferance, and on condition of quiet and submission. It has run through the jurisprudence of the Empire from the earliest days of Turkish dominion, and enters into the political and social training of all good Mussulmans. The Christian's existence, his property, all he has and all he is, are evidences of the clemency, not of the justice, of the true believers. When Christians revolt, or threaten to revolt, wholesale slaughter seems a natural remedy. The killing of Christians is to them not murder, and robbing them is not robbery, if the condition of submissiveness has been or seems likely to be violated.

There is nothing singular, of course, in the fact that the Turks held this theory when they entered Europe. It was a not unnatural theory for a conquering Asiatic horde to hold. What is marvellous about it is that, after dwelling for four centuries as a minority in the midst of a Christian population, often in the same villages, always in the same towns, and engaged in dealings of all sorts with them, the Turkish heart should have not become softened, or the Turk's sense of human equality and of neighborly dependence quickened. Moreover, he has during the last two centuries witnessed the decline of his own state in political power and importance through the advance of the Christian states in civilization, and during the last fifty years has observed great progress on the part of the Christian population in wealth and industry and enterprise, and yet, outside the official class at Constantinople, which constantly feels the pricking of foreign bayonets, he shows no sign of emulation or any desire to imitate. In fact, according to the best evidence, the wondrous spectacle of Western progress, in so far as the Turk sees it, excites no feeling in his breast but one of dull hatred and repulsion. Nor is this the result of race. The Magyars are precisely the same breed of men as the Ottomans, and they have become by long residence in Europe so thoroughly Europeanized that, though one of the purest races in the world, their features have lost the Tartar cast, and they have become some of the best politicians in the West. The Bosnian Musslumans, who are all of Sclavonic origin, turn away from the civilization of Christendom with just as much contempt as their Oriental brethren in Anatolia. The same phenomenon shows itself among the Mussulmans in British India. While the Hindoos are flinging themselves pretty freely into the stream of progress prepared for the natives by the British Government, in the shape of offices and education, the Mussulmans still hold proudly aloof, sullen, suspicious, and restless, with a pride and a faith which are alike unconquerable. In short, it is the religion which has worked the mischief and which has created what seems to be an almost impassable moral, social, and intellectual barrier between the Mussulman world, containing a population of 160,000,000, and all the active, moving portion of the race. Everywhere, except in Africa, where it seems to be making great progress among the negroes, and to lift them very distinctly one step upwards, it acts as a sort of paralysis, deadening the faculties, and producing in curious combination an ascetic impression of the uselessness and futility of this life with a keen susceptibility to sensual enjoyment. That is to say, a good Mussulman believes as profoundly in the evanescence of earthly things as a Christian monk, but feels no necessity of preparing for any other state; so that no pleasure comes amiss to him, and unnecessary self-denial is to him a hardly comprehensible virtue.

When we read in our day of the Turk's doings in Greece and Bulgaria, great as our horror may be, it gives us little idea of the tremor which went through Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the news came that he was on his way to Vienna, or was harrying the coasts of the Mediterranean, and when there was no certainty whatever that the best fleet or army the Christian world could raise could withstand him. But the men of that day on their side could never have anticipated the difficulty in which the Christian Powers now find themselves. It is as easy for the Christian states to break up the Turkish Empire in Europe as to quell a riot, and yet everybody feels that they would then be face to face with a far greater problem than the military problem—the difficulty of disposing of the Mussulman population, of finding some way in which they can live in a civilized state on terms of equality before the law, and in the practice of the peaceful arts. And yet they are not a degraded, or inferior, or stupid race. Indeed, the Turks in Europe are not a distinct race at all. They are, for the most part, sober, robust, temperate men, of fine physique, with many points of political and moral superiority to their Christian neighbors, able and brave in war, capable of great lines of policy and of considerable achievements in the arts, and with no proved or necessary unfitness for the best modern culture. The spell that lies on them, and makes them the puzzle of modern statesmen and the loathing of modern philanthropists; which makes them, in the eyes of millions, beasts, whom it is holy and joyous to slay, as one slays the tiger or the wolf, is simply their religious faith, and no amount of historical research

could give us half so clear an impression of the mental condition of a considerable portion of Christendom in the sixteenth century as he now gives us by the ferocious intensity of his belief. When he is reduced to a condition of impotent peaceableness and toleration, we shall have lost the last modern reminder of the state of feeling in which England burnt heretics, and Frenchmen and Germans cut each other's throats.

THE WORK STILL BEFORE REFORMERS.

NOTHING is more noticeable in the conduct of the political campaign than the almost exclusive attention bestowed by Republican orators upon the Southern question. The party managers have chosen this as the issue on which to fight their battle. They have done this not only in Western States like Indiana, where the currency question might be considered dangerous ground, but in Vermont and Maine, where the strong hard-money sentiment, together with the repeal of the resumption clause by a Democratic House, seemed to offer a tempting opportunity for a new line of attack. But in these States, and throughout the country generally, the Republican spokesmen for the most part have touched very lightly on the currency, have given a barely civil recognition to Administrative reform, and have thrown their main force on the condition and necessities of the South. Their treatment of the subject is extremely simple. It is in reality one of the most complicated and perplexing questions with which American statesmanship has ever been summoned to deal. But the Republican campaign orators recognize but a single fact, real or assumed—the hostility among the Southern whites toward the freedmen in their political capacity; they propose but a single remedy—the election of a Republican President and Congress to serve as guardians of the freedmen's rights. When we remember how the inherent difficulties of the Southern situation have been aggravated by rascally officials under the form of a Republican administration at Washington; when we remember the Freedmen's Savings-Bank and its Republican trustees; when we look at Casey, Packard, Spencer, and their compeers; when, in a word, it is considered that the Republicans have controlled the general Government since the close of the war, and that it is under their own administration that the South has come to its present condition, the effrontery with which the party leaders, confessing no errors and offering no new ideas, demand a new lease of power simply on the ground that they alone are fit to take care of the South, is simply amazing. This is exactly what they are doing; and so thoroughly have they stamped this character on the canvass that Mr. Wheeler, whose especial recommendation to thoughtful men was his sensible and moderate tone toward the South, has been driven into line, and in Vermont raised the cry of danger from the ex-Confederates as lustily as anybody. Mr. Boutwell in Massachusetts, and Mr. Blaine in his own State, make this the burden of their song; General Butler is urged for re-election to Congress on the ground that he can bother the rebels; it is the same story everywhere.

If any one thinks that in taking this course the Republican managers are making a blunder, even as politicians, and mistaking the temper of the voters whose support they seek, the election returns from Vermont and Maine should undeceive him. Messrs. Blaine, Morton, Boutwell, and company are wise in their generation. They are appealing adroitly, and we judge successfully, to a sentiment whose prodigious strength in the mass of the Northern people has been underrated by the advocates of political reform. It is the characteristic mistake of reformers to forget how very slowly a new idea penetrates the community at large. Of the voting population of the North, an immense proportion are still dominated by the sentiments that the civil war engendered. That four-years' struggle, reaching every household in the land, coming close home to the dearest interests and the deepest feelings of the entire population, gave an impress to the popular habit of thought and action which a decade has by no means effaced. Men who live by ideas, and constantly readjust their minds by the perception of new facts, are apt to forget how few, how simple, and how deeply-rooted are the sentiments that govern the mass of mankind. Such a sentiment, in the political communities of the Northern States—and especially in the rural communities, which hold the preponderance of power—is the feeling generated by the War of the Rebellion; a feeling which includes distrust of the Southern whites and their Northern allies, and jealous sensitiveness in behalf of the negroes. So general and profound is this sentiment that by appealing to it the Republican managers can even yet divert attention from all their past sins and from the palpable barrenness of their programme for the future. They were driven to make some concessions to the reformers in their platform and candidates, but in conducting the campaign their principal tribute to reform consists in reckless denunciations of Mr. Tilden; and they fight their main battle on the old issue of North against South.

We by no means forget that the South on its part is also to some extent acting on ideas inherited from the past. But their past does not alarm us so much as it does some of our friends, because, first, the two vicious principles of secession and slavery—*fons et origo malorum*—have been killed past resurrection by the logic of facts; and, further, the heavy hand of the Federal Government, which alone could put down the Rebellion and slavery, serves now mainly to aggravate the slowly-healing wounds. It is one thing to amputate a diseased leg, and another to go on indefinitely whittling at the stump.

But our immediate purpose in this article is to point out the general fact, illustrated by the successful appeal of the party orators to the old war spirit, that in a democracy like ours new ideas are slow of establishment, and old ideas once firmly rooted are extremely tenacious. The old commonplace about the levity and fickleness of republics was the very reverse of truth. Our national history is full of examples to the contrary. The slavery question, though involving on both sides the most inflammable elements of feeling, and though stimulated by a series of exciting incidents—Nullification, riots, Texas annexation and the Mexican war, the Fugitive Slave Law, border warfare—was yet forty years in fairly arraying the nation into two hostile parties. But when once engaged in civil war, only the complete exhaustion of one party or the other could end the struggle. It is needless to multiply instances.

Those who believe with us that the radical reform of our civil-service system is the most pressing necessity of the nation, ought to face these facts and to prepare themselves for a long campaign. It is altogether hopeless to look to any national convention or Presidential election for an immediate settlement of the question. We must patiently educate the mass of the people to the point of demanding and enforcing the reform. It must be observed, too, that this civil-service question especially requires a full education of the people, because the reform can only be secured by direct popular pressure. A President cannot, and Congress will not abolish the spoils system except as the people absolutely insist on it. This is the one matter in which Congressmen, as a body, have a personal interest wholly apart from and opposed to the public interest. On any other question—the currency, for example—the average Congressman has no other personal interest than to adapt himself to the strongest current of opinion in the people or the party. But it is by his control over the Federal offices in his district that he expects to get and keep his own seat in Congress. To propose that Congressmen shall have no control over these offices is by no means, as Governor Hayes in his letter of acceptance seems to consider it, to offer them a favor that they will eagerly welcome; it is to propose a "self-denying ordinance," which they will receive about as most of us would receive an invitation to sell all that we have and give to the poor. To elect a President bent on civil-service reform is no light matter in itself, but it is a trifle compared to the election of a Congress which will let him take the first step towards radical reform. And in the contest that must at once arise between a reforming President and an ordinary Congress, the latter has immensely the advantage of position.

The Senate can block the game instantly, and in a strictly constitutional way, by simply refusing to confirm any appointees made in disregard of Congressmen's claims. Let it be remembered that each Senator has, on the average, three years of service before him, and that even at the end of that time he will not have to face a popular constituency; that the secrecy of executive sessions makes it difficult to fix responsibility on individual senators; that it will generally be easy to raise a cloud of dust over the merits of any particular appointment, and that the dominant party in the House can for its part embarrass almost hopelessly a President who offends it. We see but one thing that could give the victory to a reforming President in such a struggle, and that is a demonstration of public sentiment so unanimous, so active, and so determined that even the Senate would be overborne by its moral weight. We are bound to say that as yet we see no signs that any such popular uprising would respond to the act of the President who should set himself in earnest to reform the civil service.

It is clear, we think, that men who desire reform have only begun their duty when they have supported the Presidential candidate whom they judge fittest to undertake it. There presses upon them the immediate farther duty of securing the nomination of trustworthy men for Congress, or, at the least, of effectively rebuking such shamelessly unfit nominations as that which the "regular Republican" Convention of the Seventh District in Massachusetts has made. But, over and above all that relates to the impending election, there must be a patient, persistent education of the entire people in the fundamental principles of genuine reform.

THE TEACHING OF PHILOSOPHY IN OUR COLLEGES.

WE print in another column an interesting letter on this subject from a correspondent, with whom, it is needless to say, we fully agree. The evil he deplores has been, and still is, a real one. The philosophical teaching, as a rule, in our higher seminaries is in the hands of the president, who is usually a minister of the Gospel, and, as he more often owes his position to general excellence of character and administrative faculty than to any speculative gifts or propensities, it usually follows that "safeness" becomes the main characteristic of his tuition; that his classes are edified rather than awakened, and leave college with the generous youthful impulse, to reflect on the world and our position in it, rather dampened and discouraged than stimulated by the lifeless discussions and flabby formulas they have had to commit to memory. In Germany, as if by a sort of compensation for the long political enslavement of the country, philosophic speculation has gone on as a rule without any reference to its ecclesiastical consequences. In England and this country, on the contrary, whilst speculation on political and practical matters has been free as air, metaphysical thought has always been haunted by the consciousness of the religious orthodoxy of the country, and either assiduously sought to harmonize itself therewith, or, if sceptical in character, it has been trammelled and paralyzed and made petty by the invidious presence of this polemic bias. The form of philosophic problems and discussions, in short, is too apt to be *set* for us by the existence of the Church. England is just beginning to emerge from this condition; but until we are fully emancipated from the traditional college régime, no really able movement of philosophic thought can be hoped for among us.

Let it not be supposed that we are prejudging the question whether the final results of speculation will be friendly or hostile to the formulas of Christian thought. All we contend for is that we, like the Greeks and the Germans, should now attack things as if there were no official answer preoccupying the field. At present we are bribed beforehand by our reverence or dislike for the official answer; and the free-thinking tendency which the *Popular Science Monthly*, for example, represents, is condemned to an even more dismal shallowness than the spiritualistic systems of our text-books of "Mental Science." We work with one eye on our problem, and with the other on the consequences to our enemy or to our lawgiver, as our case may be; the result in both cases alike is mediocrity.

If the best use of our colleges is to give young men a wider openness of mind and a more flexible way of thinking than special technical training can generate, then we hold that philosophy (taken in the broad sense in which our correspondent uses the word) is the most important of all college studies. However sceptical one may be of the attainment of universal truths (and, to make our position more emphatic, we are willing here to concede the extreme Positivistic position), one can never deny that philosophic study means the habit of always seeing an alternative, of not taking the usual for granted, of making conventionalities fluid again, of imagining foreign states of mind. In a word, it means the possession of mental perspective. Touchstone's question, "Hast any philosophy in thee, shepherd?" will never cease to be one of the tests of a well-born nature. It says, Is there space and air in your mind, or must your companions gasp for breath whenever they talk with you? And if our colleges are to make men, and not machines, they should look, above all things, to this aspect of their influence. Here indeed lies the real interest of the question which is sure sooner or later to convulse the universities—the question whether Greek shall remain obligatory or not. As philologic training, Greek is but a language among others. Its value to the universal college student literally consists in its being a "humanity"—in its bringing him into contact with a different human life from that which he sees, but one whose eminent worth he must nevertheless acutely feel. Its function is what we have called philosophical as distinguished from technical. Teach all sciences in a liberal and philosophic manner, and Greek ceases to be indispensable. Teach Greek in a dry, grammatic fashion, and it becomes no better than Gothic. So that the decision of the Greek question depends on the decision of the philosophic question. "G. S. H." speaks of the "application of philosophic systems to history, politics, and law." We hope he does not mean that these should be taught separately from the ordinary historical, political, and legal courses. That would be building a house and getting a man from the city to come down and put on the "architecture" afterwards. All branches must be taught from the first in a philosophic manner, must be saturated with the liberal spirit, for any good to be effected.

As for philosophy, technically so called, or the reflection of man on his relations with the universe, its educational essence lies in the quickening of the spirit to its *problems*. What doctrines students take from their teachers are of little consequence provided they catch from them the living, philosophic attitude of mind, the independent, personal look at all the data of life, and the eagerness to harmonize them. Youth is certainly the time when the impulse to metaphysical reflection is in its flower—certain authors say it disappears after thirty. The "supposed unpopularity" of these studies alluded to by our correspondent is, we are convinced, a mistake, in spite of the dead teaching. We have been assured by the librarian of one of the largest of our college libraries that the metaphysical alcove there is twice as much visited as any other, and we are quite sure that this is the result of a perfectly normal law.

It is probable that the unfortunate condition of things which "G. S. H." and we alike regret is already on the eve of changing. Physical science is becoming so speculative and audacious in its constructions, and at the same time so authoritative, that all doctrines find themselves, willy-nilly, compelled to settle their accounts and make new treaties with it. Every newspaper and magazine overflows with symptoms of the new fermentation. *What, then, is man?* is once more a keen and urgent problem; the very atmosphere is pregnant with new-formed essays at its solution. The sleepiest doctor-of-divinity-like repose must soon be awakened at its teaching-desk, and, getting disquieted at the novel agitation around its throne, end by abdicating in favor of teachers of more alert temperament. "The marvellous new developments in England and Germany," whatever their intrinsic worth may be, have at least enough momentum of prestige in the popular eye to effect this. It is more than doubtful whether Fechner's "psychophysic law" (that sensation is proportional to the logarithm of its stimulus) is of any great *psychological* importance, and we strongly suspect that Helmholtz's "unconscious inferences" are not the last word of wisdom in the study of perception; but because these things are very difficult and very "scientific," people who do not understand them will remain persuaded that they are of portentous moment, and will mistrust all teachers who have not swallowed and assimilated them. There is indeed something touching in the helpless way in which Fechner's law is beginning to be hawked about, as it were, in popular philosophic literature, by writers who do not know in the least what to do with it, but who evidently feel persuaded that somehow or other it must be of tremendous import. But be these discoveries important or not important, the fact that they involve a change in the method and *personnel* of philosophic study is unshaken. To criticise these "new developments" at all, one must have gone through a thorough physiological training. And accordingly, we find Leipzig, now the foremost university in Germany, calling the eminent physiologist Wundt to fill its principal philosophic chair; and a metaphysician like Dr. McCosh writing, in a chapter on the future of his favorite study: "The metaphysician must enter the physiological field. He must, if he can, conduct researches; he must at least master the ascertained facts.

He must not give up the study of the nervous system and brain to those who cannot comprehend anything beyond . . . their senses."

In short, philosophy, like Molière, claims her own where she finds it. She finds much of it to-day in physics and natural history, and must and will educate herself accordingly. Young men who aspire to professorships and who will bear this in mind will, we are sure, before many years find a number of vacant places calling for their peculiar capacity. Meanwhile, when we find announced that the students in Harvard College next year may study any or all of the following works under the guidance of different professors—Locke's 'Essay,' Kant's 'Kritik,' Schopenhauer and Hartmann, Hodgson's 'Theory of Practice,' and Spencer's 'Psychology'—we need not complain of *universal* academic stagnation, even to-day.

THE FUTURE OF THE TORY ADMINISTRATION.

TROUVILLE, September 1, 1876.

I LEFT London on the night on which Mr. Disraeli was proclaimed an earl. It is almost an old story now, but people are still enquiring as to his reasons for retiring from the House of Commons at this particular time, and speculating on the effects of it, and students of his novels are busying themselves in ferreting out passages which tend to throw light upon the proceeding. And yet there ought to have been nothing unexpected about it. Since the early days when 'The Young Duke' was in preparation Mr. Disraeli had it in his mind to push his way upwards, if he possibly could, to the highest post in the British Empire, and, having done so, to wrap himself in the solemn dignity of a peerage. It was the coping-stone placed on an eventful life before the final exodus to Westminster Abbey. "One thing is clear," he says in 'The Young Duke'—"one thing is clear: that a man may speak well in the House of Commons, and fail very completely in the House of Lords. There are two distinct styles requisite. *I intend in the course of my career, if I have time, to give a specimen of both.* In the Lower House 'Don Juan' may, perhaps, be our model; in the Upper House 'Paradise Lost.'" Given the requisite time and the resolution, the moment for carrying it out was a mere matter of choice. The party to which Mr. Disraeli has attached himself since he threw aside the radical rôle of his early youth, is at the present moment at the very summit of prosperity. In the House of Commons its strength and discipline are but slightly if at all impaired. It can do whatever its leaders wish. The opposite party is numerically no stronger than it was three sessions ago, notwithstanding that near a hundred changes have taken place in the constitution of the House of Commons, while in point of discipline and coherence it has gone from bad to worse. It is powerless to present an effectual opposition to any movement of the Government. It can carry on a guerilla warfare under several independent chiefs, who profess a wavering allegiance to the nominal leader of the party. But a strong Government, with a solid voting power behind it, is impervious to such attacks. Individual members of the Administration may be made to wince from time to time, but the united body is not affected. In the House of Lords the Tory party now, as it always has been, is omnipotent. In the country there is no manifestation of any real dissatisfaction with the Ministry and its policy. Efforts have been made by Liberal press-men and Radical agitators to turn the tide of public opinion upon several occasions during the past twelve months, and to bring the whole force of its current into new channels directed against the policy or the action of the Ministry, and now and again these efforts have had a fair show of success. But something new has always turned up to stem the waters of dissatisfaction as they appeared to be gathering strength, and to dissipate them here and there over the face of the land, or even to turn them against the engineers who were directing them. The noise and bustle over the Slave circulars came to naught despite the energetic efforts made at the commencement of the session by all the regular agitators and platform-men throughout the country. The turmoil over the Royal-Titles Act was more threatening, owing to the folly of the Prime Minister, but the genuinely strong feeling which was aroused by that measure and the Prime Minister's conduct of it was mainly confined to London, and not to the whole of London, but chiefly to the Club-men, the Press-men, and 'Society.' The feeling in these circles was intense, and it was fast gaining force when Mr. Lowe made his unfortunate speech at Retford, in which he asserted that the Queen had on two occasions previously attempted to persuade her Prime Ministers to make her an Empress. This speech and the public apology which Mr. Lowe felt himself compelled to make dispersed in one moment the cloud of mist which was fast enveloping Mr. Disraeli and his ministry. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares, and all the transactions therewith connected, formed a good ground of indictment against the Administration. But the indictment was badly drawn and preferred, and it was cast by the House of Commons almost without a hearing. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe went off into captious criticisms upon the details of the machinery by which the transaction was conducted, instead of making an onslaught upon the transaction itself, and they failed to secure an audience.

And now we are in the midst of a new agitation. The Government is arraigned at the bar of public opinion because the Turkish soldiery and irregulars have carried on a brutal war with circumstances of mediæval atrocity. I do not know whether this new stalking-horse will prove to have more vitality in him than his predecessors. I cannot think he will. No one can feel greater abhorrence of the cruelties which are being perpetrated in Bulgaria than I do, but I fail to appreciate the logic which throws the responsibility of Turkish cruelties upon the British Government. The Turkish mode of carrying on war proves that Mr. Freeman does not exaggerate when he says that five hundred years' existence as a conquering tribe on the skirts of civilized Europe does not eradicate the savage element out of the Turkish hosts, and the exposure of their mode of warfare will probably do more to hasten the solution of the Eastern question than generations of diplomacy. But the solution of the Eastern question is one thing, and the discredit of the British Government from a party point of view is another thing; and while the first may be brought about by harrowing sketches of the Bulgarian atrocities, it does not seem to me to come within the sphere of fair party warfare to employ the same agency for the other, and I cannot think that such a policy will succeed. Abroad the position of England is stronger than it was during the five years of Mr. Gladstone's administration. The pacific policy which he supported, though probably a good policy in itself, did not succeed abroad. England undoubtedly declined in Continental estimation. It may be that the grounds on which foreign governments and peoples have raised their opinion of England's strength, and willingness, if need be, to employ her strength, may not be so substantial as they seem. But the change in estimation, whether it be groundless or substantial, is due to the action of the present Ministry and to the fact that the Tory party is in power. We may awaken one day to find that we were better as we were, but for the moment the credit, such as it is, of raising England in the estimation of foreign nations counts to the gain of the Tories. In the House of Commons, therefore, in the House of Lords, at home and abroad, the party which Mr. Disraeli established is, at the present juncture, in a commanding position. It has not been so powerful since 1832. And now, when it is at the very crest of the wave, its creator and its leader has determined to leave it to take care of itself. This is the time he has selected to retire, as the Earl of Beaconsfield, into the comparative obscurity of the House of Lords. No one can blame him. In evil days he stood by his party. He led it for nigh forty years through the wilderness of opposition, enjoying only an occasional oasis of power by the way. And now that he has carried it into the Promised Land, and established it there in apparent security, he takes his reward in an earl's coronet. He has lived his life. He is now an old man in impaired health, and he seeks repose in the quiet haven of the House of Lords.

But what effect will his retirement have upon his party? There are many, even of those who sat behind him in the House of Commons, who think that they will do better without him. I have frequently heard some of his supporters assert that they did not regard him but Lord Derby as their leader, and these men probably consider his loss a gain to them. I do not think that they will find it will be so. Mr. Disraeli made mistakes, many of them grotesque, many of them irritating, but he was a man of genius; and through his genius he could keep the House in hand even in its most unruly moments, and, without seeming to do so, he kept up discipline in his party, both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. There are two sections of the Tory party: the old territorial section, which works hand in hand with the Church; and the moderate section, which inclines towards the Whig section of the Liberals—the Right and the Right Centre. Mr. Disraeli belonged to neither of these sections, but he had a happy knack of making them pull together. On his imaginative side he was with the Right, and on his rational side he was with the Right Centre, and partly by dexterity, partly by fear—for the most obstreperous Tory feared the cutting force of Mr. Disraeli's words—he made the two sections act as if they were one. He has left no one behind him who can act this part. Lord Granville could do it, but he is a member of the Upper House, and there is no one in the Lower. Already discontent is showing itself in the Tory circles. Sir Stafford Northcote has been appointed leader in the House of Commons, to the chagrin and disappointment of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who looked for the reversion of the office. He is still loyal, but he has shown a disposition to resent in sulky silence

the selection of his rival. Mr. Hardy represents the Church and territorial section, and Sir Stafford Northcote the moderate section of the party. Mr. Hardy has many sympathizers with him in his resentment, and these sympathizers have nothing to gain by Sir Stafford Northcote's dexterity, and nothing to fear from his epigrams. He is a dull man, without brilliancy or humor, and free even from a suspicion of genius. He will find it no easy task to keep his own party in hand, and an unruly House will laugh him to scorn. We shall see something like a revolt next session, unless I am much mistaken, or, at least, a siding-off on the part of the old Tory section under Mr. Hardy from the moderate section under the new leader. And that will be the opportunity for the Opposition. Lord Hartington will be more than a match for Sir Stafford Northcote as a debater, and from his character and prestige he has a much firmer hold upon the House. What he chiefly wants is confidence in himself, and that will come when he feels the power he exercises in the House, and when he is no longer confronted by the tried experience and genius of Mr. Disraeli. Before this time next year, if one may venture to predict, we shall see a marked decline in the position and influence of the Ministry and a corresponding rise in the position and influence of the Opposition. We may see a *rapprochement* between the moderate sections on each side of the House leading in the direction of a coalition; and a coalition might work well enough as a makeshift for a year or two until new questions agitated the country. But whether we have a coalition Ministry or not, Mr. Disraeli's elevation to the peerage may be regarded by his Administration and their supporters as the first milestone on their downward road.

Correspondence.

COLLEGE INSTRUCTION IN PHILOSOPHY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have often wished that the *Nation* would devote some space to the condition of philosophy in American colleges. Within the last few years I have visited the class-rooms of many of our best institutions, and believe that there are few if any branches which are so inadequately taught as those generally roughly classed as philosophy. Deductive logic, or the syllogism, is the most thoroughly dwelt upon, while induction, æsthetic and psychological and ethical studies, and especially the history of the leading systems of philosophy, ancient and modern, and the marvellous new developments in England and Germany, are almost entirely ignored. The persistent use of Hamilton, Butler's 'Analogy,' and a score of treatises on "moral science" which deduce all the ground of obligation from theological considerations, as text-books is largely responsible for the supposed unpopularity of the studies.

The application of scientific methods in psychology by Spencer, Lewes, Lotze, Wundt, and others; the admirable text-books now accessible in the general history of philosophy; the application of philosophical systems to history, politics, law, and education, which have contributed to make these subjects centres of such fresh and eager interest under some of the great living German teachers, indicate how entirely our methods of instruction need to be remodelled. I think the success which has attended the recent lecture courses at Cambridge on modern systems of philosophy and on æsthetic studies of literature and the fine arts, shows plainly how much might be accomplished in this direction by the proper method of instruction. This whole field of study is generally given into the hands of one of the older and "safer" members of the faculty, under the erroneous belief that it should be the aim of the professors of this department to indoctrinate rather than to instruct—to tell *what* to think, than to teach *how* to think. When we realize what educational impulses may be awakened in these departments, the loss of time and effort is sadly apparent.

G. S. H.

A CORRECTION AND LAMENTATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of the 14th inst. you say (p. 160) that "Butler has been reintroduced to the [Republican] party by the Governor of Massachusetts, in the character in which he masqueraded so long of 'the conqueror of New Orleans.'" The reference is plainly to a speech of W. W. Rice of Worcester, made there on the eve of the Republican State Convention. W. W. Rice is a lawyer and experienced politician, and was last year prominent in the movement to make Charles Francis Adams the Republican nominee for Governor. He will probably succeed Geo. F. Hoar in the next Congress, but is in every way a different man from Alexander H. Rice of Boston, a business man, thoroughly clean and honorable, with no sympathy for Butler or his works, and who has, as our Governor this year, filled that place so creditably to himself and so satisfactorily to the people that he will certainly receive some votes that would be sure for Mr. Adams at any other time, my own among the number. Let me add that in years like the present, when a Presidential or other important election is before us, and the names of good and honorable men like Hayes and Rice are at the head of our ticket, all the partisans greedy of office seize the opportunity to urge the necessity of "closing up our ranks" and "presenting a united front," lay stress upon their own fidelity to the party, and capture all the nominations for lesser places they can, expecting to share the party success and be carried into place by the full party strength. It does not surprise us, however much we regret it and are ashamed to see it, that at such a time party managers, anxious for the success of their ticket, should look leniently upon General Butler and his kind, and not only hesitate to say anything to "hurt the party," but sometimes become apologists, or perhaps defenders. Why not? They have persuaded themselves that if Tilden is elected President the bloody destruction of the Republic is assured; but if all Congress be composed of tricksters and blackguards, thieves and Butlers, the evil would be but temporary and easily borne. They expect a tree to decay first at the topmost shoot. One thing is certain, this commonwealth will be worse represented in the next Congress than in this, and chiefly, if not solely, because of the numbers who, at a Presidential election, always vote a "straight ticket." What can be done about it?—Yours very truly,

J. C. L.

Boston, Sept. 15, 1876.

[We do not know of anything that "can be done about it" except to try to persuade people to preserve their memory and judgment and morality during the Presidential canvass as during other periods. The power of the managers in throwing voters into a panicky condition during the campaign, and impressing them with the idea that this is their last opportunity of saving the commonwealth, and that the crisis is so serious that every man's duty is to stop questioning and rescue his wife and children and furniture, of course makes the way of thieves and profligates easy. The more the canvass becomes a business affair, conducted on business principles with business forecast, the fewer rascals will profit by it. So long as it is made a kind of "fight in a fair," in which men throw overboard the ordinary prudence, reserves, and experience of ordinary life, and surrender themselves to blind affections, tender memories, and old hates and passions, "Reform" will always be a name merely. Butler's success is due to the wide prevalence of the state of mind which makes "the bloody-shirt" cry successful, and makes people believe that the outrages at the South, which they say have been going on steadily for ten years, will instantly cease if Hayes is elected.—Ed. Nation.]

"THE WIDOW'S" FRIEND.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I think a paper which professes to be as respectable as yours does ought to be ashamed to publish such a vulgar slur on women as is contained in the last "campaign epigram" on p. 163 of the present volume

B Pickman Mann.

Cambridge, Mass., Sept 18, 1876.

MR. TILDEN'S "PERJURY."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I cannot understand the difficulty you have in dealing with the charge of "perjury" which the New York *Times* and other similar sheets so glibly make against Mr. Tilden. I understand the facts to be, 1st, that he was employed in 1858 to perform certain professional services on behalf of a certain railroad; that the services *thus* and *then* stipulated for were rendered during 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, and 1862, and that in 1862, shortly after the passing of the Income-Tax Act, he received as his fee for these services $20,000; 2d, that he returned to the United States Assessor a statement of his income and earnings for the year 1862, in which he declared his income for that year to have been a little less than $8,000; 3d, that he made no subsequent return of his income, but acquiesced in the penalty imposed by the act for the failure to do so. Upon these facts (I believe I have stated them fully and fairly) it is assumed with confidence, and proclaimed with exultation by the Radical sheets referred to, that Mr. Tilden *must* have

lied either in limiting his income earned and received in 1862 to $8,000 (I use even numbers), or in stating, as it seems that he did in an answer to a bill in chancery recently filed, that he received $20,000 as fees from one client in that year; and to my unbounded surprise you profess to see in these facts, without more, a case made out demanding an explanation or defence from Mr. Tilden, in default of which he must stand condemned.

It seems to me that no such inference arises. Of course I am not speaking by authority; I only comment on the matters which are alleged to demonstrate that Mr. Tilden has committed perjury, and, unless I am strangely mistaken, they do nothing of the kind. More than this: they do not even *tend* to show that such a conclusion is probable. It is perfectly consistent with the facts stated that the fee was mainly, perhaps entirely, *earned* in 1858. When a lawyer is retained, his fee, at least *in part*, becomes presently due; sometimes, and not unfrequently, *the whole* of it becomes due immediately upon the accomplishment of a stated end or the performance of a stipulated part of the service. It is also not uncommon that the *actual receipt* of this fee is delayed, "it may be for years, and it may be for ever." If this fee was to become payable immediately on the happening of any event occurring before 1862, or if it was *payable* in 1862 on account of services rendered prior to that year, it could in neither case be considered as part of the income *earned* by Mr. Tilden in 1862. Even if paid in 1862 on account of services running uniformly through '58, '59, '60, '61, and half of '62, it is easy to see that for only about one-eighth or one-ninth of the sum would Mr. Tilden have been accountable as income earned in the year 1862; and there is nothing in the facts stated which raises the faintest presumption that this proportion of $20,000 (amounting to $2,500 or $2,222 22) was not actually thus accounted for in the return which he appears to have then made.

I had been absent from home for two months, during which time I had seen and smiled at the charge made by the New York *Times*, but a *defence* of Mr. Tilden, attempted by the Chicago *Times*, appeared to me a more serious and more damaging matter. In that journal two answers were made to the charge. One was, substantially, that the income tax was odious, unjust, and un-American, its assessment and collection being connected with highly inquisitorial proceedings, and that every one was absolved from the ordinary obligations of morality when dealing with such a tax; the other was, that it was more than probable if the income returns of Mr. Hayes and Mr. Morgan could be scrutinized that they would show similar suppressions of the truth! It was the old reply: "You're another." From such defenders may Heaven defend all honest men! On returning home, however, I find that you seem to be of the opinion that the charge rests on something requiring explanation, at least. In all fairness, is this the case? Is it not rather true that from the matters alleged no possible implication of impropriety arises?

The lofty, independent, and candid course during this canvass of your paper (of which I have been a constant reader for more than seven years) not only contrasts refreshingly with that of the great bulk of your contemporaries, but sets them an example to which, though they may affect to deride it now, they will sooner or later be compelled to conform. ***

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 9, 1876.

[This explanation will not cover the additions to his income which Mr. Tilden received from other sources, and which have been shown to be considerable; and we may add that we think enough has now been said on this subject by other people than Mr. Tilden. We have been placed in a position of some difficulty, both with regard to this and other questions arising in this campaign, by the great diversity of opinion among our correspondents. For example, we received last week a letter from the head of one of the oldest and most respectable mercantile houses in New York, entirely approving of Mr. Tilden's decision to make no return of his income during the later years of the tax, and suffer the penalty; or, at all events, treating it as a blameless or colorless act. By the same mail we received from Mr. Albert Small, of Maryland, also an honorable man, a letter in which he compared it to murder committed by a person who has made up his mind to gratify his hate and bear the prescribed punishment. We feel that if we differed with either of these respectable readers we should lose the good opinion of the other, so we have resolved on a middle course. That is, considering the badness of Tilden's war record, the importance of this election, and the dangers of a Democratic restoration, we are willing to liken his refusal to make a return, to highway robbery in daylight. We confess we cannot see our way to comparing it to murder without flight or concealment, conscious though we be of his defects as a candidate. We ought to add that this offer will only remain open until the first Monday of November. On the following day we shall return, on this as on all other matters, to the old scale of morality.—Ed. Nation.]

"TRANSCENDENTALISM."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As I read your review of Mr. Frothingham's History of New England "Transcendentalism," I was inclined to ask whether those of us who accept the principles of that system are quite as great fools as we are there represented to be. You (or your reviewer in your name) tell us, in a decisive way, that our belief in some intuitive insights is only the effete superstition of the African sorcerer, revived in a new form. Your reason for saying this is, that both the African sorcerer and the Transcendentalist believe some spiritual facts to be true which neither of us can prove. Transcendentalists assert that there is something infallible in instinct; something divine in conscience; some faculty which enables us to know the truth when we see it. This assertion you call "a pretentious dogma," which requires "a little saintly patience" even to be considered. We believe that there are objective realities corresponding to these mental insights. This you characterize as a "monstrous" addition to Kant's philosophy, and the "resurrection of an effete superstition." This sentence upon our views is uttered with such a supreme air of sacerdotal infallibility that it is somewhat imposing. Still, we will venture to ask whether it is absolutely certain that we are the living representatives of the fetich-worshipper, or not?

One of your reasons for classing us with the African sorcerer is that we believe in "the possession of a faculty which, transcending experience, enables us to know truth when we see it." This you call "a pretentious dogma." I have always supposed that there were axioms in mathematics as well as in philosophy which we know to be true when we see them. What amount of experience is necessary to know that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points? That there is intuitive knowledge, or a sight of truth in itself, is conceded even by those who refer such axioms as the above to experience. Mr. Mill says that "truths are known in two ways: some are known directly and of themselves, some through the medium of other truths. The former are the subject of intuition or consciousness; the latter, of inference. The truths known by intuition are the original premises from which all others are inferred.' Is Mr Mill's position, therefore, identical "with the old superstition of supernatural communications"? And if not, what is the objection to our saying that we know truth when we see it?

Again, you call it "a monstrous" addition to Kant's philosophy that we believe in objective realities corresponding to our intuitive perceptions. You say that in this we attribute "amazing properties" to the human mind. But this belief also, if not held by Kant, has been that of the great majority of thinkers in all times. The doctrine of the purely phenomenal character of knowledge is an exceptional opinion, not the prevailing one. Even Bacon, who is not usually classed with idealists, says that the truths of knowing and of being are identical ("Veritas essendi et veritas cognoscendi idem sunt"); and certainly the great mass of men believe in the objective reality of their own existence, as well as in that of the outward world, with no better reason for it than that they know it to be so.

It is not my purpose to enter into metaphysical questions which are in debate between sensationalists and idealists. I must, however, protest against your assumption that these questions have been finally settled, without appeal, in favor of the former.

There are some writers of our time who, having been brought up on the philosophy of experience, hastily conclude that all other systems of thought are for ever exploded. Your reviewer somewhat naïvely expresses his surprise and indignation because the intuitive faith of mankind should refuse to remain dead, after having been so cleverly put out of the way by Mill and Spencer and Lewes and the other teachers of their kind. I fear that he is destined to encounter many other similar surprises. Transcendentalism, in some form, is as old as human thought, and will never die. A wave of temporary popularity may place the philosophy which deduces all our knowledge from sensation in the advance, but the oscillation of thought will soon bring men back to the faith of the greatest thinkers of their race.

Yours, James Freeman Clarke.

Boston, September 11, 1876.

[Without entering into any metaphysical discussion, we must

point out to Mr. Clarke that he has apparently misunderstood Mill's position. Nothing can be clearer than Mill's denial of any perception of truth flowing from the constitution of the mind. His celebrated discussion with Dr. Whewell was on this very point. The axioms of the demonstrative sciences are, he says, "experimental truths," and what he means by "intuitive truths" is simply truths which are "an induction from the evidence of our senses," the senses having previously gone through a process of investigation, and "intuition" being simply "imaginary looking." He nowhere gives any countenance to the idea that there is in the mind itself a fountain of truth.

We must also draw Mr. Clarke's attention to the fact that we have not called "belief in objective realities corresponding to our intuitive perceptions" a "monstrous addition to Kant's philosophy." Our words are that Kant "never affirmed the existence of any objective realities corresponding to the ideas of the 'transcendental faculties,'" which is a very different thing; and we took the "transcendental faculties" as described by Messrs. Theodore Parker and Frothingham, or in Mr. Frothingham's language, as "the immanence of the divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind." This is unquestionably "a monstrous addition to Kant," and we must oppose to Mr. Clarke's assertion that "this belief has been that of a majority of thinkers in all times" a simple denial.

As regards the future of Transcendentalism, we have no doubt Mr. Clarke is right when he says it will last for ever. As a form of attractive speculation, we do not know that anybody has a right to object to his neighbor's pursuing it in his own mind. What will not last for ever, and is rapidly disappearing, is the use of "the divinity in instinct," or each man's "consciousness of the conscience of God," in the regulation of human society. In the field of sociology the ground won by experience is won for ever. The government of popes, or priests, or prophets, or "medicine-men," and of persons who find out what is right and just in their relations with their fellow-men by looking in and not out, is surely destined to extinction at no distant day.—Ed. Nation.]

THE *NATION* AND PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The *Nation*, in reviewing the fourth volume of Müller's 'Chips from a German Workshop,' March 23, 1876, charged him with *intentionally* interpolating an important clause in a quotation from his own writings for the purpose of disguising its original meaning. As a "characteristic specimen" "of the manner in which Professor Müller quotes from his own writings," there is furnished the following, with preface and comments:

"To show that as long ago as 1854 he [Professor Müller] was no stranger to the correct distinction between vowels and consonants, he quotes from his 'Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet,' published in that year, as follows: 'If we regard the human voice as a continuous stream of air, emitted as breath from the lungs, and changed [by the vibration of the *chordæ vocales*] into vocal sound as it leaves the larynx, this stream itself, as modified by certain positions of the mouth, would represent the vowels. In the consonants, on the contrary, we should have to recognize a number of stops, opposing for a moment the free passage of this vocal *air*.' In quoting this passage, Professor Müller has interpolated the words which we have enclosed in brackets, and substituted at the close vocal *air* for vocal *stream*, with the obvious design of disguising its real sense."

Such is the charge. Now for the truth. There were two editions of Müller's 'Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet,' the first published in 1854, the second *early* in 1855. The second edition was revised, changed in many particulars, and greatly enlarged. Professor Müller quotes from this second edition, and does not interpolate. The second edition has the passage exactly as given in the 'Chips,' and here reproduced, except that *air* at the close is substituted for *stream;* but as that word stands for "*stream* of *air*" above, it makes no change in the sense, and is an error peculiarly liable to arise from a slip of the pen. W.

[We reopen this controversy with reluctance, but our correspondent is somewhat urgent and we shall attempt to satisfy him. We own with no little chagrin that we were simple-minded enough to take for granted that Professor Müller was here quoting, as he professed to quote, from the edition of his 'Proposals' published in 1854. For such uncommonly sharp practice as an examination of the second edition now first discovers to us, we were quite unprepared. The quotation ('Chips,' vol. iv., p. 492) is introduced thus: "This was in 1866, whereas in 1854 I had said: 'If we regard the human voice, etc.'" He quotes, however, from the second edition, giving it (for reasons which will presently appear) the date of the first. On the very next page (493) he again refers in the following manner to the same work:

"I do not object to the use of *surd* or *sonant*. I have used these terms from the very beginning of my literary career, and as Professor Whitney evidently doubts my word, I may refer him to my 'Proposals' submitted to the Alphabetic Conferences in 1854. He will find that as early as that date I already used *sonant*, though, like Pott, I explained this new term by the more familiar *soft*."

Here Professor Müller is forced to abandon the edition from which he had just quoted for the first, for the reason that in the second edition he had already repented of his use of the terms *surd* and *sonant*, and had dropped them. Thus, in the passage quoted in our review, instead of "the consonant is called *tenuis*, hard or surd," "media, soft or sonant," the second edition reads "*tenuis* or hard," "soft, or, according to classical terminology, media or middle." The error in our former statement, which no one will now suspect to have been intentional, we cheerfully correct. It was not by the rule of *interpolation* but by that of *double position* that Professor Müller proceeded in solving his puzzle.

The other, and certainly not less grave, part of our accusation—that Professor Müller in his 'Proposals' advanced very crude and erroneous views, which he has since abandoned, in regard to the distinction of vowel and consonant, surd and sonant, and that the passage quoted had there a very different meaning from that which he intends it to convey in 'Chips'—is as true of the second edition as of the first. The passage which we cited in proof of this, and which could easily be fortified by others if there were need, underwent no change in the second edition beyond the unfortunate dropping of the terms *surd* and *sonant* to which we have already alluded. To aid any who may care to make a further comparison of the editions, we add that the 'Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet submitted to the Alphabetical Conferences held at the residence of Chevalier Bunsen, in January, 1854,' were laid in printed form before the Conferences, and were also inserted as an appendix to the fourth volume of Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind,' published the same year. The second edition was joined as an appendix to the second edition of Müller's 'Survey of the Languages of the Seat of War in the East' (London, 1855), and also, we believe, issued separately. It is worthy of remark that, though considerably altered and enlarged, neither the title-page nor the preface of the second edition gives any hint of change.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

J. H. COATES & CO., Philadelphia, have in press 'Essays in Literary Criticism,' by Richard Holt Hutton, senior editor of the London *Spectator*. The subjects of these essays—writers "who have indeed lived with me and in me," as the author says in his preface—are Goethe, Hawthorne, Clough, Wordsworth, George Eliot, and Matthew Arnold. Messrs. Coates & Co. also publish shortly Mrs. Leonowens's 'Life and Travel in India,' with illustrations.——J. B. Lippincott & Co. are now able to furnish complete sets or single volumes of Schoolcraft's 'Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge.'——A clever artist, Mr. J. Keppler, with a happy knack at likeness in caricature, is to be the main reliance of a new German comic weekly, *Puck*, which makes its appearance next Saturday in this city (Keppler & Schwarzmann). If we remember aright, a similar journal was formerly published, under the same name, in St. Louis, with Mr. Keppler for artist.——The National Reform League announce their intention of issuing an occasional periodical devoted to the aims of the society, and that as soon as arrangements can be made a civil-reform congress will be held

under its auspices. Mr. R. Heber Newton, P. O. box 1740, New York City, is the editor of the periodical in question ; G. P. Putnam's Sons, the publishers.——The American Metric Bureau, 13 Tremont Place, Boston, issues monthly bulletins of metric "items" to such newspapers as are willing to reproduce them.——We have received a well-executed 'Mineral Map of New South Wales,' a Government publication, designed to promote immigration, and for that purpose accompanied by statistics calculated to appeal not only to Britons but to Americans who wish to better their fortunes. Certainly if mineral wealth and grazing capacity were sufficient attractions, the country could well compete with almost any other. The fact that Australia's subdivisions are, and are likely to be, few and of larger area than any of the States of our Union, is noticed as "a geographical difference that may involve important political differences."

—Among the numerous contributions of the present year to Fourth of July oratory, that of Mr. Theodore Bacon at Palmyra, N. Y., is one of the few which have attracted far less attention than they deserved. For suggestiveness and individuality of treatment it excels anything we have seen. He confines himself to the discussion of "certain limitations upon national self-laudation," and treats them with great good taste and skill. Entering fully into the spirit of the day, and detracting nothing from the country's just claims to glory, he yet proceeds to suggest some very pregnant enquiries. During the century we are now closing, what have other nations been doing ? While we have progressed have they been standing still ? Then briefly taking up each point on which we rest our claims for progress, he applies to it the results brought about elsewhere—in England, in France, in Germany. He avoids making comparisons ; he merely suggests them. The result is certainly very profitable centennial reading, and cooling withal to national vanity.

—About five years ago, on the occasion of a celebration at Duxbury, Mass., we were impelled to point out how little was known about Capt. Miles Standish, in whose honor the affair was held. What is known of the American career of the doughty warrior is to be seen in the standard histories ; the poetic fables of his modern admirers are beyond enumeration. In the *Catholic World* for August we find some eleven pages given to a discussion of the following question : "Was Miles Standish a Catholic ?" and the desire of the enquirer is evidently to answer it in the affirmative. The writer starts with two facts : first, that Standish did not join the Plymouth Church ; secondly, that the English family of Standish, both the branch at Standish and that at Duxbury, are and have been Catholic. Between these he interposes the fact that Miles in his will says that his grandfather was a "second or younger brother of the house of Standish of Standish." Hence he argues that the concealed cause of Miles's indifference to Puritanism was his inherited belief in the Catholic faith. But herein are two serious errors in argument. Miles was born in 1584, and was contemporary with Edward Standish, who built Standish Hall in 1574, and who died in 1603. Edward was son of Alexander and grandson of Ralph Standish, the latter dying in 1538, aged 80. This Ralph and his presumed younger brother (grandfather of Miles) were sons of Sir Alexander Standish. Now, the accepted authorities show an uninterrupted descent of the family estates, so that it is hard to see how the grandfather of Miles was defrauded of any property ; and as we know not the name of his father or his grandfather, the pedigree is too shadowy for acceptance. Miles *may* have been one of the younger branches of the tree, but he must suffer because he has not left the means of proof. It is a suggestive fact that Duxbury in Massachusetts revives the name not of this line of Standishes of Standish but of that at Duxbury Hall, which branched off as early as A.D. 1270. We must, therefore, first insist that there is no *proof* that Miles belonged to this line of Standishes. Secondly, as his nearest point of connection was the Sir Alexander who died in 1507, or at the outside the Ralph who died in 1538, what warrant is there that the special line of Miles's ancestors remained true to the Catholic Church ? Evidently none ; and accepting the English Reformation as bearing date about 1535, it probably occurred during the life of Miles's grandfather. Remembering how the nation was divided on religious affairs and the fluctuations under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, clearly no man's religious views can be reasonably inferred from those of any of his relatives. The writer truly urges that Miles, if a Catholic, did not serve probably in the Protestant forces, and would thus leave it in doubt where he received his military instruction. But if a Protestant, he might have served, as is usually said, in the Low Countries. There is, therefore, nothing in all the assumptions and suggestions of the *Catholic World*. There is no proof that Miles belonged to a Catholic family ; not the faintest reason for arguing that if he were so connected he was a Catholic. Every one of those who did remain Catholic in England must have had hundreds of Protestant cousins. That Miles was not a church-member is true ; but was there no alternative but Catholicism ? He may have been a moderate churchman, or merely indifferent on the subject. In either case he could have lived without offence at Plymouth. But no reason is suggested why a Catholic should have deprived himself of those Church ministrations so essential to his salvation for the sake of joining the Pilgrims. Briefly our answer is this : Was Standish a Catholic ? We do not know ; we can only ask as an equally unanswerable question, Was he a Brahman ?

—The question, "Are we Drying Up ?" is discussed by Professor J. D. Whitney in the *American Naturalist* for September without the usual anathemas against the lumber trade. Those who have witnessed the ravages of forest fires on the hillsides of New England and elsewhere, doubt the comprehensiveness of writers who ascribe much importance to the slow movements of the axe. Time would more profitably be spent in enquiring into the causes of these fires than in deprecating the cutting down of trees. We cannot suppose that many of the fires are spontaneous. The chief responsibility for them is frequently ascribed to the locomotive ; but the hunter, the camper-out, and the smoker have doubtless much to answer for. However this may be, the popular notion that such wholesale destruction affects the quantity of rainfall, Professor Whitney regards as very much at variance with the results of European investigation. Undue weight has been attached to recent meteorological statistics, which, in such a consideration, are too narrow and too brief to be serviceable. Records of the height of the waters of rivers are more significant. Such records have been kept at several points in Europe, and they show that the Danube, Rhine, Elbe, and other rivers have for many years been carrying a constantly diminishing quantity of water, and that there is reason to apprehend that they will eventually disappear from the list of navigable rivers of Germany. But all grounds for investigating the possible causative agency of wood-cutting in relation to this diminution seem to be removed from under us when we realize that records eclipsing in magnitude all those kept by the hands of men exist in the terraces surrounding the lakes and rivers of the Humboldt Basin, and other parts of America ; terraces which indicate that the period during which the process of desiccation has been going on far antedates the invention of edged tools by men. Recent explorations in Central Asia also show that the areas of several great lakes have been vastly curtailed. In view of these facts it would seem that the hypothesis of the influence of forests upon evaporation and rainfall must be set aside, and that we must look for some grander cause whose scale shall correspond with such effects. Setting speculative causes aside, such as the possible variation in the central heat beneath the earth's crust, there is one well-known cause which, we think, can scarcely be demonstrated to be incapable of producing the desiccation. The sun's heat is notoriously the source of all climates, and changes in the amount of heat radiated from the sun are now regarded as causing the changes in terrestrial weather. It is therefore reasonable to ascribe our drying-up, since it requires ages for its completion, to a change in the solar cause requiring also a long cycle for its fulfilment, provided that astronomy gives us proof of any such change. And astronomy does tell us of two such cycles : one in the obliquity of the ecliptic, and one in the perihelion distance of the earth from the sun, both cycles being results of planetary perturbations of the earth's orbit. The effect of the second of these cycles is too abstruse to explain here ; the first is simpler. As the angle between the plane of the earth's equator and that of her orbit diminishes, the limits of the torrid zone also diminish, inasmuch as that zone is bounded by the tropics which are determined by the angle in question. The region, then, over which the sun is occasionally vertical is being narrowed. An obvious result of this narrowing would seem to be an intensification of the equatorial phenomena of trade-winds, heat, and rainfall within the torrid zone, and a corresponding loss of heat and of precipitation in the extra-tropical zones.

—The salient article in the September-October number of the *International Review* is Mr. Freeman's paper on Macaulay. After saying that all students and writers of any period of English history ought to feel the deepest gratitude to Macaulay, and to look up to him as "a master and a model," Mr. Freeman proceeds : "First of all, Macaulay is a model of style—of style not merely as a kind of literary luxury, but of style in its practical aspect." Not that he should be copied, "but every one who wishes to write clear and pure English will do well to become not Macaulay's ape, but Macaulay's disciple. Every writer of English will do well . . . very often to ask himself . . . whether his writing is such as Macaulay would have approved. I know at least what my own experience is. It is for others to judge whether I have learned of Macaulay the art of

being clear ; I at least learned from Macaulay the duty of trying to be clear." The whole of this passage on style is worthy of careful perusal. Mr. Freeman next points out the limitations of Macaulay's information and his lack of love for certain periods of history, and declares that in all his work, even in his introductory sketch of earlier English history—for which he clearly had no liking—he shows a "thorough grasp of the order of causes and events, and of the bearing which the events of one age had on the next, . . . the grasp which the true historian has even over the times which he has not studied in detail." Reference is then made to the breaks in Macaulay's learning ; it is noted, for instance, that "he leaped from the fourth century to the sixteenth," and that, being a man of the eighteenth century, he had "something of the eighteenth-century contempt for mediæval times and things." Mr. Freeman ends his instructive and suggestive article with an admission that Macaulay was pre-scientific :

"Yet he was a great scholar, a great writer, a great historian, a great man. Those who can most clearly see his real faults are those who know his writings best, and who therefore admire them most. And those who know them best and admire them most will also be the first to mark what cannot fairly be called faults, those gaps in the way of looking at things which belong to the man and his time, as other gaps of the same kind doubtless belong to other men and other times. Macaulay is a man who already belongs to a past age ; but without such men in past ages, the present age could not have been what they have helped to make it."

Mr. Freeman must wince when he sees what proof-reading his manuscript has been subjected to by the *Review*. His pet way of spelling Edred and Edgar is converted into "Gadred" and "Gadgar," and Sir James Stephen appears as "Sir Jere Stephen" !

—In *Harper's Monthly* for October the novelette, the serial tale (there are no less than three, from "Daniel Deronda" down—a great way down—to "Garth"), and the time-honored résumé of works published by the Messrs. Harper occupy most of the space. Outside of these, American geography is cultivated in "The Silver Mountains of Utah," picturesquely illustrated ; local history in "Newark" ; science in a second and very interesting paper on the "Carnivorous Plants of Florida," by Mrs. Mary Treat, who tells with pen and pencil of the pitcher-plant ; and biography in Mr. James Payn's brief sketch of the late Harriet Martineau. Nothing more pleasing than this tribute to the great Englishwoman, of all that has been written about her, has fallen under our notice. Mr. Payn knew her intimately, and judges her impartially, but with undisguised affection for her sweet and womanly character. The portrait which accompanies the article is an unsuccessful enlargement from a photograph, showing her at her knitting, taken in the last years of her solitary life. Mrs. Lamb, perhaps, does not do quite as much for Newark as she did for Lyme ; but in more than one respect this great manufacturing city gives her an opportunity for the use of flattering superlatives. Its New England, and even, we may say, its Connecticut and Puritan, origin is reflected in the fact that, to quote our author, "the records of the Patent-Office show that Newark has contributed more useful inventions to industrial progress than any other American city." Its public schools, too, have something of the New England excellence ; but in general the city is not remarkable for intellectual activity. Mrs. Lamb did all that conscience would allow to courtesy when she wrote of the New Jersey Historical Society's library that it is "a favorite resort for scholars." There is, in fact, a sad lack of life in the Society, and, if more than one New England State library that we might name is equally buried under undisturbed dust, on the other hand more than one Southern or Western society offers a reproachful contrast to its inertness.

—There can be little doubt that the Danube is, for many years to come, to be the seat of the political preoccupations of Europe. Whatever the immediate result of the conflict now raging, time spent in studying the character of the Turks and of her more or less dependent Christian populations will assuredly not be lost. For what concerns the Turks one need not seek the most recent histories. The essential character of their government, both in peace and war, is not otherwise portrayed, for instance, in Stillman's 'Cretan Insurrection of 1866' than in Pouqueville's 'Régénération de la Grèce,' which preceded it by half a century. The only difference to be noted is the repressive influence nowadays of foreign powers on the natural outcome of Oriental despotism. The late atrocities in Bulgaria exactly resemble those recorded by Ali Pasha's biographer ; but in his time there was no way of bringing public opinion to bear on them, even if the facts came to light in season, and even, to speak paradoxically, if there had been any "public opinion." No great change, either, has occurred in the character of the Christian subjects of Turkey ; but their condition, their increase in wealth and numbers, their geographical environment, their race affiliations, their religion and manners, have assumed a new interest since the recent rapid progress of the European idea of nationalities. We find in the August number of the *Polybiblion* a tolerably long list of works relating to Bulgaria which have appeared in the last three years. Omitting such as are not accessible in the French or German, we select the following : 'Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan,' by F. Kanitz, an Austrian consul, is a worthy pendant of the same author's 'Serbien,' which was published in sumptuous style in 1868, and is the highest authority in regard to the geography, history, and ethnography of that principality. The present work is but half finished, but it happens to deal with the northwestern corner of Bulgaria, which has been the scene of so much unavailing bloodshed from Widin to Nissa. The history of Bulgaria is more singly and profoundly treated by a Bohemian scholar, Constantin Jirecek, from whom one may obtain not only light on the vexed question of the colonization of the Balkan peninsula, but some idea of ancient and recent Bulgarian literature. He has recomposed his work in German, and a French version is promised. On the literary side we have also the 'Chansons populaires bulgares inédites' of Auguste Dozon, in which, beside the original poetry, is placed a French translation, with notes and a complete glossary. Finally, for a sober view of the present situation of Turkey, her dependencies, and her neighbors, *Polybiblion* recommends the work of a Belgian officer, Franz Crousse, entitled, 'La Péninsule gréco-slave, son passé, son présent, et son avenir.' It is the product of much research, has appendices, ethnographic and statistical tables, and a map, and will be prized also for its reference to authorities consulted.

CARLYLE'S EARLY KINGS OF NORWAY.*

A MELANCHOLY interest belongs to this volume, for it is avowedly the last of Carlyle. 'The Early Kings of Norway' has been convicted of inaccuracies, both with regard to Norse history and with regard to the history of England with which the Norse history is connected. But Carlyle is not a profound historical enquirer, nor can his works, as a rule, lay claim to the special credit of works of research. They are historical illustrations of his philosophy. Regarded as such, they are not wanting in accuracy, and they are entirely free from the mendacity (we can call it by no more lenient name) which, as the literary world begins already to see, is characteristic of his principal imitator, Mr. Froude. You will never catch Carlyle wilfully misstating a fact or garbling a quotation. He tells you everything honestly, to the best of his knowledge. But he more or less perverts and distorts everything, both to his own eye and to that of his reader, by steeping the whole in the colors of his special philosophy.

That philosophy remains unchanged, and furnishes the keynote of this as it did of previous and more elaborately philosophic volumes. For the last thirty years, at least, Carlyle has been what he himself calls "a shut-up man," totally incapable of listening to argument or of reconsidering and qualifying his opinions. Changed his personal position in English politics has been. He has grown, like other Liberals of impulse, Tory in his old age ; and the scorn which, in 'Sartor Resartus,' 'Past and Present,' and 'Latter-Day Pamphlets,' he poured on ducal costermongers and a game-preserving aristocracy has given place to accents of what, if we did not know the man, we should call adulation. But the philosophy remains the same. Its leading principles, or rather sentiments, are all reaffirmed in the epilogue to 'The Early Kings of Norway,' under the form of a quotation from Ruskin's crazy 'Fors Clavigera,' so Carlylese that, had Ruskin's name not been expressly affixed to it, we should certainly have taken it to be Carlyle's own :

"My friends, the follies of modern Liberalism, many and great though they be, are practically summed in this denial or neglect of the quality and intrinsic value of things. Its rectangular beatitudes and spherical benevolences—theology of universal indulgence and jurisprudence which will hang no rogues—mean, one and all of them, in the root, incapacity of discerning or refusal to discern worth from unworth in everything, and most of all in man. Your main problem is that ancient and trite one, 'Who is best man ?' and the Fates forgive much—forgive the wildest, fiercest, cruellest experiments—if fairly made for the determination of that. Theft and bloodguiltiness are not pleasing in their sight ; yet the favoring powers of the spiritual and material world will confirm to you your stolen goods, and their noblest voices applaud the lifting of your spear, and rehearse the sculpture on your shield, if only your robbing and slaying have been in fair arbitrament of the question, 'Who is best man ?' But if you refuse such enquiry and maintain every man for his neighbor's match—if you give votes to the simple and liberty to the vile, the powers of those spiritual and material worlds in due time present you inevitably with the same problem, soluble now only wrong side upwards ; and your robbing and slaying must be done, then, to find out 'Who is *worst* man' ; which, in so wide an order of merit, is, indeed, not easy ; but a complete Tammany

* 'The Early Kings of Norway. Also, an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox. By Thomas Carlyle.' New York : Harper & Brothers.

Ring, and lowest circle in the Inferno of Worst, you are sure to find and to be governed by."

It is impossible to repress a smile at the picture of Mr. Ruskin panting for a state of things under which the question "Who is the best man?" should be tried by the heroic methods of material robbing and slaying. We wonder what he thinks his own lot, or even that of Mr. Carlyle, would be. Sons of a refined and sentimental civilization, what can be more grotesque than their sighing for barbarism? In this passage, however, are summed, as we have said, what we take to be the leading principles or, still to use the more appropriate word, sentiments, of the Carlyle philosophy—hatred of democracy, hatred of philanthropy; hero-worship; and preference of the past to the present.

At the birth of democracy, the optimist view naturally prevailed as to the capacity of the people for self-government. It prevails still among certain enthusiasts, especially in countries where the struggle against the powers of the old régime is still going on. Perhaps the illusion was necessary as a stimulant to the effort by which the world disengaged itself from feudalism and despotism. But among rational people, and in countries where the struggle is over, the illusion as to the perfect wisdom and goodness of the sovereign people has ceased, or is fast ceasing, to exist. Democracy is seen to be an experiment which the world could not help making, despotism and feudalism being effete, and which is full of the hope of far better things for humanity than despotism or feudalism, when at their best, ever produced, but which is also an arduous experiment, and one full of labor and peril for this generation, and probably for many generations to come. In opposition to the optimist view, Carlyle has presented the pessimist view. He has presented it with great vigor, with much grotesque picturesqueness, and probably not without effect. But the pessimist view is at least as false as the optimist view, and at least as noxious, if taken as the rule for our practice. Falsehood is not to be displaced by falsehood, but only by that of which Carlyle, with all his high sympathies and sincerity of feeling, is incapable—an exact statement of the real truth. The incessant reiteration of "twenty-seven millions, mostly fools" is taken by everybody for what it is—not a fact, but a joke. Moreover, the world knows and, after amusing itself with the cynicism of Carlyle, acts upon the knowledge, that the century which has passed since the birth of democracy has, in spite of all the abortive revolutions, the demagogism, flummery, blunders, crimes, and disappointments, been incomparably the most fruitful of all centuries in real progress and increase of genuine happiness.

Carlyle's denunciations of modern philanthropy seem to us both to have less to justify them than his denunciations of democracy and to have done far less good. On what they are founded we hardly know, mercy and loving kindness not being, as it appears to us, dangerously prevalent on earth. The only practical instance of excessive philanthropy to which Carlyle has ever pointed are the model prisons; but it is remarkable that by another writer of social fiction, Mr. Charles Reade, these same model prisons have been painted as dens of the most hideous cruelty. The fact is, that the system being new and the characters of its administrators various, there are over-indulgence, though to nothing like the extent imagined by Mr. Carlyle in some cases, and cruelty, though to nothing like the extent imagined by Mr. Charles Reade in other cases; both excesses being local accidents, not parts of the system, much less signs of the spirit of the age. The reform of the criminal law may have overshot the mark in some respects—all extensive reforms do—but, on the whole, the economy of punishment has been justified by its results, not only in the diminution of suffering, but in the reduced amount of crime. That golden age of England, according to Mr. Froude, when 70,000 people were hanged in a single reign, must either have been an age of wholesale injustice or an age prolific in offences which deserve the gallows. One of the least agreeable passages in Carlyle's works is that in which he sneers at Howard. In a passage of his 'Frederick' he seems, though we hope not deliberately, to regret the abolition of torture. Of course, he is outrun by his disciples, Froude and Ruskin, the first of whom revels in the heroic Tudor practice of boiling people alive, while the second thought it part of his mission to stimulate the vindictive thirst for blood after the suppression of the mutiny in India—a somewhat superfluous proceeding, since Lord Elgin, who shortly afterwards was Governor-General, has intimated his belief that the English reign of terror at Delhi was worse than the massacre under Nadir Shah. On the other hand, it is instructive to compare Mr. Carlyle's rhapsodies of exultation over the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford with Cromwell's own despatch, which at least breathes sentiments of humane regret. Cromwell was too strong to be inhuman. Anti philanthropy, as well as excessive philanthropy, is sentimentality, not principle. It is Rousseauism turned upside down. Mr. Froude, in his 'Shadows of the Clouds,' resolves, Rousseau-like, all crime into adverse circumstances; in his history, he exults in judicial murder and he wants to boil criminals alive.

As to hero-worship, what is it? In the name of common sense, what is it? Can it be good for us to blind ourselves, as Mr. Carlyle in his biographies of heroes invariably does, to the weaknesses and faults of great men? Can we hope to be saved by an illusion, or, as Carlyle would say, by a lie? It is very foolish and very dangerous to take a ballot-box for a universal regenerator. But is it a whit less foolish or less dangerous to take a man for a god? Construing Mr. Carlyle's sayings literally, or anything like literally, we should be led to suppose that our one hope of political salvation lay in renouncing the guidance of reason, conscience, and experience, whether individual or collective, to set out in a body in quest of a bell-wether. Would any one in his senses seriously recommend us to do so? And what are the marks of the bell-wether? How are we to know the hero? Looking to the list of heroes given us by Carlyle, what common attributes of leadership do we find in Odin, Mahomet, Shakspere, Dante, Cromwell, Rousseau, Goethe, Luther, Dr. Johnson, Napoleon, Frederic the Great, Dr. Francia, and, we suppose we must add, Governor Eyre? Those in the list who were rulers, and for whom political obedience might be reasonably challenged, such as Cromwell and Napoleon, rose to leadership through convulsions and wars. Is society to throw itself into convulsions and wars that leaders may emerge? Something of heroism, says Carlyle in one place, is needed to discern a hero. If so, how are heroes to be discerned by the "twenty-seven millions, mostly fools"? At the moment of transition from the hereditary principle to that of reason as the basis of government there was a natural tendency to overrate the powers of political science, which found its most extravagant and grotesque expression in the reveries of Sieyès. It was supposed that good government could be assured by mechanical arrangements and divisions of power, apart from the qualities of men. So far as hero-worship is a protest against this tendency it is good, but we can hardly believe that its preacher himself seriously regards it as a practical principle and a basis of government.

Carlyle's preference of the past to the present is closely connected with his hero-worship. The past was the time of heavy fists; it was also the time of individual predominance, while the tendency of progress is to raise the general level of humanity. Carlyle has no idea of the general movement of history, or of anything like evolution; the days of Odin are to him as the days of Governor Eyre. But it is difficult to understand how he can have written his own 'Past and Present' without being awakened to the fact that the era of King John and the Jewish usurers of St. Edmundsbury was not much happier or more heroic than our own.

The practical application by Carlyle himself of his philosophy has consisted in violent demonstrations in favor of Southern slavery and of Governor Eyre; in the first of which cases, at all events, that which, according to Carlyle, was the right, has not proved identical with the might. The only third instance we know of his practical intervention in politics is the call, in "Latter-Day Pamphlets," for the restoration to power of Sir Robert Peel. Nothing could be better or more beneficial to the whole country than the renewal of a wise, moderate, and upright administration; but if there ever was a public man who did not correspond to Carlyle's ideal of a hero it was the cautious, constitutional, and somewhat formal Sir Robert Peel.

It is a different thing when we come to speak of what we may call the hortative parts of Carlyle—his inculcation of high moral aims, and of the preference of duty to happiness. Often he is a great and salutary preacher. The only thing we miss here is a definite basis. What does Carlyle mean by "duty"? What does he mean by "God"?

The case is still more altered in Carlyle's favor when we come to speak of the literary expression of his philosophy, and, above all, of its embodiment in history or biography. It is needless to dwell on the literary merits of 'Sartor Resartus' or 'The French Revolution.' In interest, in vividness, in narrative power, in poetry, in the almost Shaksperean faculty of blending the humorous with the tragic, some passages of 'Cromwell' and 'Frederic the Great' equal 'The French Revolution'; though, as a whole, these books are more marred by the exaggeration, the sophistry, the perversions of historical justice which the worship of a fallible and faulty man as an infallible and faultless hero inevitably demands. 'The Early Kings of Norway' does not fail to exhibit traces of the same genius. Taking the work of his life as a whole, no doubt the veteran sage of Chelsea may look forward confidently to admission into the literary Paradise. If, on account of the partial falsehood of his philosophy and the historical injustice into which he has been thereby betrayed, he should be condemned previously to undergo a short term of Purgatory, his chastisement will probably consist in reading over and over again Mr. Ruskin's 'Fors Clavigera' and the history of King Henry VIII. by Mr. Froude.

Life and Letters of the Rev. John McClintock, D.D., LL.D., late President of Drew Theological Seminary. By George R. Crooks, D.D. (New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.)—Dr. McClintock was probably a "great" Methodist, but that he was a great man, considered from any other than a denominational point of view, his biography effectually disproves. Indeed, we have seldom, if ever, read a biographical work which made so little impression of any kind upon the mind. From his numerous letters and a mass of extracts from his diary we recall only two passages sufficiently aside from the commonplace to be remembered distinctly—one, which states that the works of Byron cannot live, that there are "no elements of durability, of immortality, about them"; and the other expressing his "deliberate opinion, and one not formed from theory or *à priori*, but from actual experience of colleges, that *all* the professors should be ministers of the Gospel, if possible." We recall, also, the fact that he could not feel comfortable in Paris because his friends there, although "kind and good," were not Methodists, and therefore not "the best sort" of people. But to the members of his denomination the biography of Dr. McClintock can hardly fail to be of some interest, on account of the numerous prominent positions which he held among them. Beginning as a book-keeper of the Methodist Book Concern, he became, at the age of 22, a professor in Dickinson College, where he remained nearly twelve years. He was then appointed editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, which position he held several years, acting also during a portion of the same period as president of Troy University. Afterwards he became Chairman of the Centenary Committee, which did such effectual service in the raising of money a few years ago; and at the time of his death, which occurred in 1870, at the comparatively early age of 56, he was president of Drew Theological Seminary. He held, also, several church pastorates, including that of the American Chapel at Paris; and in this position only can it be said that the story of his life becomes of interest to the outside world, for while in Paris he was able to do some good service to the Union cause, by influencing public opinion in Europe at the time of the outbreak of our civil war. His literary works were unimportant, with the exception possibly of the initiation of the preparation of a 'Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature,' which remains, we believe, unfinished. His prominence in his denomination was due evidently not to the possession of unusual talents, but to the fact that he managed to secure a college education at a time when the Methodists had very few educated men in their ranks. Even this education, however, could not have been very thorough, as "four years of university training had been crowded into three, and one of these had been spent in preaching."

Dr. Crooks endeavors, so far as possible, to let Dr. McClintock tell the story of his own life by giving extracts from his diary and private letters; but although, as a rule, we should commend this method of writing biography, we cannot do so in the present instance. Dr. McClintock was a lifelong sufferer from disease, brought on and confirmed by inattention to the laws of health, and his diary and letters are filled with dismal references to his physical and mental condition. Upon page after page we are told how he slept at night, how he felt in the morning, the condition of his throat, of his bowels, of his nerves, etc. In the first one hundred pages of the volume, we counted (hastily and with some omissions) no less than thirty-five of these dreary references by Dr. McClintock, in addition to many more of the same kind by Dr. Crooks; and in some parts of the book the proportion would be greater than this. The list of diseases given, also, from constriction of the œsophagus to rheumatism and diarrhœa, seems almost long enough for a hospital record. Dr. Crooks might well have omitted nine-tenths of this valetudinarian stuff, even if he had nothing better to put in its place than the names of the institutions which gave McClintock his doctorates.

A Centennial Commissioner in Europe, 1874-76. By J. W. Forney, Editor of the Philadelphia *Press*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876; pp. 408.)—This book is a collection of letters to the American public concerning five intermingled topics—viz., first, puffs of individuals, American politicians and others, chosen on grounds of selection known only to the writer: *e. g.*, pages 137-140, which are devoted to one man, end with the words, "This rapid sketch *is not a business notice* of M. Bartholdi. He requires no such advertisement. His hands are full of orders." Secondly, "Paris is getting to be full of the Centennial. I am doing all I can to see that she comes over," etc. Thirdly, promiscuous descriptions, so carelessly culled that Col. Forney makes Liverpool contain 200,000 more people on page 394 than on page 14, and locates Manchester 180 miles *west* of London. Fourthly, narratives of miscellaneous events, such as Captain Boyton's swimming the Channel and Weston's walking. The last contains the following eulogy on a notorious character: "As we passed out of the great hall, and heard the band and the shouts of the honest crowds, I could not help asking a friend whether James Buchanan, while Minister to England, with his chilling white cravat, or Chas. Francis Adams, robed in his cold ancestral mantle, would have gone out like Robert C. Schenck"—to see Weston! Fifthly, fine moral sentiments, such as "a public trust is as sacred as a private trust," and others equally unsuggestive of Pacific Mail and Washington lobbyism and journalism. Col. Forney's style is vague and showy. Besides pretending to be a judge of the fine arts, he inserts several Latin phrases, two of which are incorrect—"stylii" instead of "styli," and "sine deo frustra," translated "unless God prevents"! He mistakes Francis II. for Francis I. as the King of France who was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The only statements of the book in which its author speaks as an expert are those that concern the civil service, such as, "Nineteen years ago the Liverpool Consulate was worth four times its present value, which is $6,000 per year" (p. 396).

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Freeman (E. A.), Norman Conquest. Vol. V	(Macmillan & Co.)	4 00
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Gardiner (S. R.), First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)	1 00
Gleig (Rev. G. R.), The Great Problem	(Scribner, Welford & Armstrong)	5 25
Globe Encyclopædia, Parts 1 and 2, swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	0 50
Hart (J. M.), Goethe: Ausgewählte Prosa	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)	1 00
Holland (J. G.), Every-day Topics	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)	1 75
Howard (J. Q.), Life of Rutherford B. Hayes, swd	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)	
Keyes (E. W.), History of Savings-Banks, Vol. I	(Bradford Rhodes)	
Klemm (L. R.), Lese- und Sprachbuch	(Henry Holt & Co.)	
Knight (R. P.), Symbolical Language of Ancient Art	(J. W. Bouton)	
Lanfrey (P.), Napoleon the First. Vol. III	(Macmillan & Co.)	3 50
Marlitt (E.), At the Councillor's: a Novel	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1876.

The Week.

THE political event of the week has been Judge Sinnott's officially-inspired defence of Mr. Tilden's income-tax return for 1862. In another place we have endeavored to examine this defence without bias. Meantime Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer has been accused of fraudulent mileage charges as U. S. District-Attorney. He was allowed mileage at ten cents a mile for himself and three assistants, and this he charged, not for the actual number of miles travelled, but for the number constructively travelled, or which would have been travelled had he or his assistants, in each case, after going to a given place, returned to the point of departure, and then started out again for some new point. The *Times* sums up his account for mileage, and then produces his oath, taken on submitting his accounts, "that the services charged in the foregoing account and bill have been actually and necessarily performed, as therein stated," and say this proves the whole thing to have been a "swindle." In reply to this Mr. Dorsheimer shows that the charges are made in this way by all district-attorneys all over the country; that no fraud was possible, as the gross amount allowed to him as fees and mileage was limited by law to $6,000, while "there never was a time when the fees did not exceed the limitation." He quotes an opinion of the Attorney-General ('Opinions of the Attorney-Generals,' vol. viii., p. 286), holding, under the law, that the fee for mileage belonged to the district-attorney as of right, without reference to the fact whether the journey was actually made or not; while in vol. ix. of the 'Opinions' is to be found one by Mr. Black deciding that in the "services" declared by oath to have been "actually and necessarily performed" travel was not included. The only answer which the *Times* has made to this is that the charges may have been legal, but that they were at any rate dishonest, though how a confessedly constructive mileage account which is legal can be fraudulent is not pointed out.

The "arithmetic" of the campaign is so largely dependent in its present stage upon the results of the October elections in Ohio and Indiana that the newspapers have almost ceased to make calculations and predictions. There are some things, however, in the future which seem reasonably certain. At the beginning of the campaign Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, and North and South Carolina were talked of as among the doubtful States by the Republicans, just as Maine and Vermont were by the Democrats. The fate of Alabama has since been settled, and most disinterested observers speak of North Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana as certain to go Democratic. This leaves South Carolina as the only doubtful Southern State, and gives Tilden 131 votes from the South. Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin, with 129 votes, may be "conceded" to Hayes, leaving 109 votes in doubt. If Ohio and Indiana, with 37 votes, should both go one way next month, there can be little doubt that a sufficiently large floating vote will be affected to determine the election. If one goes Democratic and the other Republican, it will leave the matter much where it stands to-day. New York is still fairly to be counted a doubtful State, though the Democrats expect to roll up such a majority in this city as it will be impossible to overcome in the rest of the State. Among independent observers it is a matter of some interest to know what has become of Mr. Conkling. The time was when the rebel yell from Tammany Hall was wont to rouse the chieftain to loud and earnest defence of his native land, but now nothing moves him. This inaction has given rise to the suspicion that he has been "sulking in his tent" at the base ingratitude shown by his party at Saratoga and Cincinnati; but we observe a semi-official statement that he is soon to take the stump.

Mr. George F. Hoar has been making a speech at Newton, Massachusetts, on civil-service reform, which is said to have been received with much applause. His argument was chiefly directed to showing that no reform in the civil service could be expected from the Democrats; but a large part of his speech was non-partisan, and he boldly declared that the evil of the present state of affairs can "never be extirpated without the destruction of another, of which it is itself the parent, and with which it is inseparably blended"—*i.e.*, "the demand by members of Congress to use the appointing power as patronage for their own personal advantage." He pointed out that under this custom each Senator or Representative "surrounds himself, at the public expense, with a band of adherents devoted to his personal fortune"; and that when this custom is supplemented by an understanding in the Senate that no appointment shall be confirmed to which the Senator from the State to which it relates objects, the separation between the Executive and legislative departments is broken down, the President and heads of departments become dependent on Congress, responsibility rests in one place, actual power in another, and "the honorable service of the republic, which should be the noblest of human avocations, becomes degraded to an infamous bargain." This is very true; and as Mr. Hoar is one of the leaders of his party in Massachusetts, it must be taken as evidence that the reform issues of the campaign, which were made so prominent in Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance, are not to be wholly lost sight of. At the same time, what is most noticeable about the speech is, that it is almost the only one of the kind we have had during the campaign from any active Republican politician, and this very fact throws into glaring relief the sort of speeches that Mr. Hoar's associates are making, and the kind of arguments they are using. In the conclusion of Mr. Hoar's speech, by the way, we find an extraordinary statement, that he does not impute "any share of responsibility" for the encroachment of Congress upon the powers of the Executive "to any person who now holds or has heretofore held the office of Senator from Massachusetts." This must amuse Butler, when he thinks about Dawes and Boutwell.

The nomination of Butler continues to cause a good deal of trouble in Massachusetts, the Boston newspapers having got wind of a private letter written by Collector Simmons (Butler's appointee) to Mr. Adin Thayer, who is, we believe, one of the State Committee. What this letter contained is not known, as it has not been published, and Mr. Thayer is reported as declaring that it will "never get into print in God's world," while another member is quoted as having said that "$10,000 wouldn't buy it." The *Transcript* wants to know whether this letter did not arraign certain Boston papers (the *Journal*, *Advertiser*, and itself) for their opposition to General Butler, to this extent at least—"that if they continued their fire upon him, the Butler men in five Congressional districts might retaliate and secure the election of Democratic members of Congress." The publication of the letter is loudly demanded, and meantime the general's enemies have, through the energy of the Chicago *Times*, got hold of a quantity of Butler's telegrams for the year 1874, relating to the confirmation of Mr. Simmons as collector, and have printed them. Most of them are despatches relating to "pressure" of one kind or another for the confirmation of Simmons's nomination; J. B. Smith, for instance, a leading colored citizen of Boston, plaintively telegraphs to Sumner, "Please do not oppose Simmons's nomination, for my

sake," while Donald Mackay urges on the good work with a few marine metaphors addressed to Boutwell:

"Stand by Simmons. All hands on deck, making sail. We have best crew ever trod a deck. All to-day are for Simmons, you may depend. We have strong faith that we shall have short passage and beat whole fleet."

A great deal of Democratic support is brought to bear also. H. W. Paine and Benjamin Dean telegraph in favor of Simmons, describing him as a "clean man." After the victory Butler telegraphs, "Judge Hoar has been beaten for the second time in the United States Senate"; while one of his friends telegraphs, "Simmons is confirmed; take a drink everybody." John D. Sanborn appears in the despatches as a spy of Butler's. The latter telegraphs him: "Pierce ["Pierce" had the misfortune to be Butler's colleague in the House] goes to New York to-night. Should like to know who meets him at Fifth Avenue Hotel—what his errand"; while Sawyer, Boutwell's Assistant Secretary, of the Sanborn contract notoriety, asks whether he can "draw on him to-day for the $1,500," to which Butler replies that he can.

The Republicans of the Fourth Congressional District of Illinois are in a good deal of trouble over their nominee, Mr. William Lathrop. Though highly spoken of by everybody, it is charged that his nomination was procured by a fraudulent organization of the nominating convention in his favor. The merits of the dispute are involved in some confusion; but that the matter is serious may be inferred from the remarks of Mr. J. C. Sherwin at an indignation meeting held at Aurora to protest against the fraud said to have been perpetrated. Mr. Sherwin was a supporter of Mr. Lathrop as a "representative of the reform element which is now getting control of the Republican party"; and he admits that the Lathrop men were in a minority, that the manner in which the chairman was elected, and his subsequent rulings, produced a "pandemonium of excitement," in which "all judgment was swept away, and the convention was at the mercy of any master-mind that might seize the reins." The "master-mind," he declares, was there, and "ran the convention to suit himself." As to the question of what is to be done about it, Mr. Sherwin thinks that justice must be done; that either General Hurlbut (Mr. Lathrop's principal opponent) and Mr. Lathrop should be dropped and a new man put up, or the matter be "referred back to the people"; or if neither of these things can be done, Hurlbut should be nominated. The nomination in this district is an important one, as Mr. Lathrop is, as we mentioned last week, a civil-service reformer.

The *Times* of Monday published a letter from Judge T. C. Barden, of Victoria, Texas, in regard to the disorders prevailing in Texas, which was elicited by our recent enquiry—"How is it that peace and order reign in the States in which the whites are in a majority?" We recognize in Judge Barden the writer of several long communications to ourselves which he doubtless despaired of seeing printed, and justly, both because we could not have found room for them and because they were beside the mark. Judge Barden is not a reader of the *Nation*, but even the extract which he found at second hand in the Galveston *News* ought to have shown him that our remarks had reference to the relations of blacks and whites, and that the brigandage of sparsely-settled communities like Texas, and the street-brawls, assassinations, and vendettas which have always distinguished Southern society, have nothing to do with the question of race hostilities growing out of the struggle for political ascendency. In this sense we never vouched for the "peace and order" of any Southern State, nor do we believe that in the quietest of them any conflict can arise between blacks and whites in which the negro will not be overmatched by numbers and suffer most bodily harm, and suffer probably beyond his deserts. We do not doubt that everywhere south of Mason and Dixon's line Lynch law is invoked twice against colored malefactors to once against white, and that a colored man's life is worth less than a white man's. Slavery must become much more a thing of the past before this will cease to be the case. Judge Barden might therefore have spared us his long list of murders and other outrages perpetrated in Texas, mainly by whites upon whites, and by gangs of outlaws upon peaceable and unoffending citizens of both colors. He does not show that the black man is peculiarly the victim of these attacks, or that they have any political significance which should make Texas an exception to our general statement.

In fact, Judge Barden begins his letter to the *Times* by showing what mischief was wrought by the repeal of the "Police Law," on the accession of the Democrats to power, in consequence of which "the refugee desperadoes came thronging back into the State, and those that had remained cowed and quiet immediately recommenced their horrid work afresh." Jail deliveries, he says, and the obstruction of all officers in the execution of justice, became the order of the day. Is there anything "Democratic" about this; is there anything political? If a reduction of the constabulary force, giving a clear field to the dangerous classes, is a Democratic procedure, then the appointment of Moses and Whipper by another legislature, albeit black instead of white, must be a Republican procedure; and we can assure Judge Barden, though as a lawyer he does not require to be told, that the condition of Texas, overrun as it may be by desperadoes, is infinitely better than that of South Carolina would be with Whipper and Moses on the bench. Moreover, if we are to have the sins and shortcomings of Democratic administrations at the South held up to us, it is worth while to ask how there happen to be any Democratic administrations or any Democratic party there. We believe that any one who is cognizant of the working of negro suffrage at the South, and who has watched the transition from political apathy to a determined effort for supremacy on the part of the whites, must admit that Republican legislation in Congress, and particularly the Civil-Rights bills, have made the color line identical with the party line; have driven the whites to act together under the only party name which could bring them into sympathy with the Opposition at the North; and have postponed indefinitely the time when natural political and class differences, now held in abeyance at the South, can reassert themselves without peril of incurring the misgovernment of the ignorant, the idle, and the vicious. There were once Whigs at the South, though this generation has almost forgotten it, and their descendants now wear the Democratic badge chiefly because the Morton wing of the Republican party has so willed it.

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* fancies that the *Nation* exercised the functions of a "newspaper court" in the case of General Schenck, and chuckles over the discovery. The *Nation* did nothing of the kind. It commented on facts supplied by General Schenck himself, and which needed no investigation. When he became openly and by advertisement Trustee and Director of the Emma Mine, we pointed out that this was a gross violation of the proprieties of his place, and would raise a presumption against him in the minds of the English public (for reasons which we gave very fully) that would diminish his influence and damage the reputation of his Government, and we urged him to resign. When the Emma Mine troubles became more serious and got before the Courts, and it seemed likely that the Directors might be pursued criminally or otherwise, we again urged him to resign to avoid the painful spectacle of his pleading his ambassadorial privilege in bar. All this time there was nothing whatever to investigate. Finally, he went before a commissioner and testified on oath that all the interest he had in the mine he derived from money lent him by the principal promoter, and that all he knew about it he learned from him. We then pointed out to him that he had acknowledged facts which the English public would look on as dishonorable, and that he had been guilty of falsehood in telling Mr. Fish he had paid "dollar for dollar" for his shares, and again advised him to resign. In fact, the affair had no resemblance whatever to Mr. Tilden's suits, and we regret that the Republican press cannot, for General Schenck's sake, let it drop out of sight.

The match at Creedmoor with the Irish team, on the 21st instant, resulted in another victory for the American side, which, whatever else it shows, certainly proves remarkable progress in long-range shooting, as we believe the recent scores far surpass those ever before made in any part of the world. This must be in a great measure due to the difference of climate; and the habit of shooting in a perfectly clear atmosphere, without much interference from wind, may have given the American marksmen a slight advantage over some of their competitors who are accustomed to clouds and wind. But, on the other hand, the removal of obstacles can hardly be considered an impediment to good shooting, and men accustomed to shoot with wind-gauges would probably not find their aim seriously interfered with by the absence of wind, any more than a boat's crew accustomed to row over a crooked course would find it difficult to steer a straight one. At any rate, no better shooting can be done than that of Milner of the Irish team, who in the international match made fifteen consecutive bull's eyes at a distance of nearly three-fifths of a mile—a feat which makes it look as if such mathematical precision were being reached in the art of aiming at a target that either distances would have to be increased or targets made microscopic.

Hallett's Reef was successfully blown up on Sunday by General Newton, amid great journalistic and popular excitement. There was no reason, so far as we know, to suppose that General Newton did not understand the use of explosives, but there was a generous feeling prevalent in the community that so great an event as blowing out the bottom of Hell Gate should not be allowed to take place without a reasonable amount of "sensation." Some of the newspapers therefore kindly engaged in a controversy as to the probability of damage being done to life and property at a distance, which was very exciting to persons of a nervous turn. The newspapers also sent out their most enterprising reporters, one of whom secreted himself within the lines and received a violent shock, which he says was followed by symptoms of nausea, while another armed himself with an umbrella, climbed to the top of the mast of a vessel in the harbor, and obtained a fine view of the explosion. With the exception of these picturesque and distressing incidents nothing really remarkable occurred. A slight tremor was all that was noticeable in this city. The effect upon the reef is said to exceed the expectation of the engineers, though whether ocean commerce will now be diverted from the present mode of approach to that by way of the Sound remains to be seen. In any case the improvement was needed for coastwise commerce. Like all great events of the kind, it has given occasion for a good deal of moralizing on the wonderful mastery of man over nature, the optimistic view of the subject being generally taken by the press. The *Evening Post* observes, for instance, that the explosion "proves that the recently-discovered natural forces—forces far transcending in power any that were before known—may be made to obey the human will as readily and unerringly as the more familiar agents; and that fifty thousand pounds of dynamite and nitro-glycerine, stored in a submarine mine, may be discharged as safely as a cartridge from a pocket-pistol or an arrow from an Indian's bow. The reef of tough-fibred rock was torn into fragments and not a pane of glass was broken. These words tell a very suggestive story. They open a wide field for the advancement of the useful arts by new methods, and point to further and vast achievements by scientific skill and trained and patient labor." On the other hand, that aged pessimist, Commodore Vanderbilt, declares it to be his opinion that "the whole thing is not worth a cent."

The Black Hills have been formally relinquished to the United States in a treaty signed by the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and other Indians at the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies. There was something pathetic in the reluctance of the chiefs at the last moment not only to part with the country, but to make a fresh engagement with a people whose violated promises they remember so well, and a recital of which, before signing, they seem to hope will lend an added sanction to every new compact. The necessity of the present treaty arises, of course, from our neglect to keep miners and squatters out of the coveted reservation; and desirable as it may be to concentrate the Indians in the Territory set apart for them, their transfer is after all a rather shameful episode in our history. The campaign against the hostile Sioux during the winter is fully determined upon, and is likely to be one of hardship on both sides.

Trade reports from every part of the country agree that this autumn's business exceeds in volume that of any season for years; that business men are making satisfactory profits; that collections are good, as is always the case when the prices of goods are advancing; and that there is confidence in the permanence of the recovery. Indeed, in the wholesale dry-goods trade in New York many firms report a more satisfactory business than in any season since 1870. The sales of 4½ per cent bonds by the Syndicate continue, the buyers in this country being the banks, which use the bonds as security for note circulation instead of 5 and 6 per cents, which mature earlier than the 4½ per cents. During the week $10,000,000 more 5-20 6 per cents have been called in by the Treasury, making the total called $40,000,000; it is expected that another call for $10,000,000 will be made in the coming week. At the Stock Exchange the "bear attack" has shifted from the coal stocks to New York Central securities, and Mr. Wm. H. Vanderbilt has published a card denying the charge that the interest and dividends of late have not been earned. There is no immediate prospect of a termination of the war between the trunk lines. The bank reserve was last week reduced $4,400,000, or to $18,650,000, in consequence of the payment of gold into the Treasury by the Syndicate, and of the beginning of the usual autumn currency shipments to the South and West. The price of gold has been very steady, and the United States legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged between $0.9070 and $0.9102. The price of silver in London has advanced to 52⅝*a*⅞ per ounce English standard. The gold value of the old silver dollar would have ranged during the week between $0.8662 and $0.8778.

The military situation on the Morava remains unchanged, the Turkish armistice having expired on Sunday, but having been renewed immediately, pending the negotiations for peace. To Great Britain rumor assigns the part of furnishing a basis of agreement, and if the articles be correctly reported Turkey will find herself at the close of a victorious campaign with fewer subjects, less territory, and less power over the rayahs than at the beginning. This would be a notable instance of backing one's friends; it simply shows, for the hundredth time, that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire is due to European and not to Turkish considerations. The piecemeal dismemberment of the Empire is perhaps the best solution of the Eastern question, and when the worst penalty for revolt is a return to the *status quo*, the Turks may as well prepare themselves for a steadily losing game. The Christian principalities are now, in fact, the wards of Western civilization; and in the same way that European subjects in Mohammedan and other barbarous countries are tried for offences by special courts presided over by Europeans, these provinces depend, when they get into trouble, upon the ex-territorial jurisdiction of the great Powers, whose intervention they know will put an end to strife before it has gone too far, will restore the ground they could not hold, grant absolution, and remit the forfeits of an appeal to arms. Such an anomaly cannot long continue, and yet there is nothing left the Porte but to submit to it. In the perpetuation of the diplomatic fiction that Turkey is a peer of the other European Powers, with equal rights and privileges and the same sensitiveness as to national honor, lies her only hope of escaping a sudden and violent collapse.

MR. TILDEN'S INCOME TAX.

MR. TILDEN'S income tax has formed so prominent a feature in the canvass, and has been so extensively used to influence votes, that it has assumed the character of a great political phenomenon, and, now that we have the full materials before us, in the shape of the charge, his answer (through his former clerk, now a judge of the Marine Court), and his accuser's reply, calls for careful examination.

The *Times's* proof of perjury and fraud on the part of the Democratic candidate for President consisted, in the first place, of a facsimile of Mr. Tilden's sworn return of income for the year 1862, which the *Times* called his "false affidavit," the oath (the form of which it is important, in considering the charge of perjury, to bear in mind) being not that the sum returned was his *income*, but that it was so much of his income as was "*subject to an income tax under the excise laws of the United States.*" The amount sworn to was $7,118. The words which we have printed in italics should not be left out of sight, for they make the oath not an affidavit as to the facts of the total income of Mr. Tilden, but an oath as to a construction of law, or a mixed question of facts and law. The two things are quite distinct. A man's entire income might be $107,118, and yet, after deducting from it whatever paid a tax directly, together with losses, interest, rent, etc., the income returnable might easily turn out to be $7,118. Most people in examining the charges against Mr. Tilden have apparently been led to believe that he returned $7,118 as his whole income, and that the smallness of the sum bore upon its face evidence of fraud, the fact being that there is no necessary connection between a man's total income and his taxable income. Another mistake which has been made in discussing the subject is in supposing that the absence of all items in the return furnishes a presumption against Mr. Tilden; but this is far from being the case. On May 16, 1863, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue issued an order, which may be found in Mr. Boutwell's Internal Revenue Manual, instructing assessors and assistant assessors that the "specific statement of the several subjects of taxation" was merely intended "for the convenience of the taxpayer" and is "not to be regarded as a part of the return," nor "exhibited to the inspection of any one," and that "the return may be made in gross," adding as a reason that "this office does not propose to enquire into the kind or number of any man's investments." But what did furnish a ground for a charge was the apparent contradiction between the oath just quoted and the sworn answer of Mr. Tilden in the Terre Haute Railroad suit, to the effect that in the year 1862, for his services to the first and second-mortgage bondholders and receivers he made two charges of ten thousand dollars each, which were paid on the 17th of October and the 7th of November. There was here, apparently, a direct contradiction between the two oaths; though it is to be observed that, in the absence of a reply, to base a direct charge of perjury on such a contradiction was to take for granted the very fact which was to be proved—*i. e.*, that this $20,000 was not deductable by law from Mr. Tilden's professional receipts in 1862. Taking this, however, for granted, the *Times* went on to complete the case by a publication of its "true statement," the items of which were as follows:

(1)	Feb. 19—Fee for Trustees and Master Commissioner's Deed to the Purchasing Committee of Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company	$5,000
(2)	Feb. 25—Fees and expenses with reference to Deed of former Railroad Company, pursuant to order of court, Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company	2,000
(3)	March 1—For Drafting, etc., First Mortgage Deed of reconstructed corporation, Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company	5,000
(4)	March 1—Fees for Second Mortgage Deed Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company	2,500
(5)	March 1—Fees for Third Mortgage Deed Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company	4 500
(6)	March 2—Fees for Final Conveyance to Railway Company, subject to the mortgages, Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Company	5,000
(7)	June 14—Cumberland Coal and Iron Company	5,000
(8)	Oct. 17—Services to Second-Mortgage Bondholders of St. Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad Company, as per affidavit	10,000
(9)	Nov. 7—Services to First-Mortgage Bondholders of St. Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad Company, as per affidavit	10,000
(10)	Dec. 31—Fees during year from Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company	20,000
(11)	Dec. 31—Fees during year from Toledo and Wabash Railroad Company	15,000
(12)	Dec. 31—Share of bonds retained for services during year connected with reconstruction of Chicago and Alton Railroad Company	25,000
(13)	Dec. 31—Salary as Trustee and President of Balance Dry-Dock Company	1,000
	Total	$108,000

DEDUCT.

For expenses of office, repairs, and taxes	$6,500
For fees received, but not earned, in 1862	12,500
	$19,000
Net income on Democratic interpretation of law	$89,000
Net income as sworn to by Mr. Tilden	7,118
Professional income fraudulently concealed	$81,882

SUMMARY.

	Amount.	Am't of Tax.
Income subject to five per cent	$89,000	$4,450 00
Interest returned subject to three per cent	7,118	213 54
Portion of unpaid debt to the Government		$4,236 46

Besides this, the *Times* charged Mr. Tilden with having made another "obviously false return" for 1863, the details of which, however, it has not given, and that in all subsequent years, save one, Mr. Tilden failed to make any return, and allowed himself to be assessed on an amount very much below his actual earnings.

Mr. Tilden has now made his reply. He shows, as to the first item, that no such charge was made at the date mentioned or at any other time, and that no specific charge of any kind was ever made for drawing the deed, that being merely part of a continuous service rendered the railroad for years; as to the second, that no such charge was ever made, and that the deed was drawn by another man; that as to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, no such charges were ever made, the dates affixed to them, which give the *Times's* statement an air of exactness, not having been taken from any accounts or bills, and the amounts having been got at by guesswork. That services were rendered to the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railroad Mr. Tilden does not deny, but he says that these services extended through several years and ended in 1861, and that whatever he received was not "itemized or apportioned" but was "for the whole service." None of this was included in his return for 1862 because the services were not rendered in that year, the rule on this subject, as announced by the Internal Revenue Department in 1863, being as follows: "Physicians and lawyers should include actual receipts for services *rendered* in 1862." As to the seventh item, the reply is that none of it was earned in 1862, no services having been rendered to the company after 1861. The eighth and ninth items, of $10,000 each, Mr. Tilden admits having received from persons interested in the Terre Haute reorganization, but shows, as to the first payment of $10,000, that the answers in the equity suit, which the *Times* had quoted to show perjury, contained an express declaration on oath that the services for which this money was paid extended through five years before 1862, beginning in 1857, while the decree fixing the rights of the second-mortgage bondholders, which was, of course, the actual end of the services, was entered at the August term of court in the year 1861; the sale itself, which was purely formal, taking place in March, 1862. As to the ninth item, the defence is substantially the same, the proceedings having reached a foreclosure decree in August, 1861. As to the tenth item, the defence is that it is "totally false," Mr. Tilden having "received no fees, compensations, or payments from the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company in the year 1862"; as to the eleventh, the defence is that the Toledo and Wabash Railroad Company was never a client of Mr. Tilden, and he, consequently, "never, in the year 1862 or at any other time, received any fees from that company nor rendered them any professional service whatever." As to the twelfth item, he says that no bonds were received for services in the year 1862, nor was $25,000 ever received, but that services were rendered and were taken into account in computing the gross earnings of the year. The last item is admitted to be correct, except as to the date. The charge of not making any income return after 1863 Mr. Tilden meets by the reply that he merely did what the law permitted, by giving every taxpayer the alternative of returning his income or of running the risk of being overtaxed. He adds also as a defence that he "preferred in that way to be exempted from the difficulties incident to attempting a specific statement of the affairs in which he was interested, and of the corporations and business in which he was an investor, and also to be exempted from the responsibility of adjudicating on the facts and the law applicable to uncertain and fluctuating elements during rapid and violent changes of fictitious values. The law was unset-

tled; questions of real difficulty existed. Constructions were set up by officials which were often conflicting, unintelligible, or incapable of a just or safe application, and it was not agreeable to make a return on a doubtful or disputed theory, or in contradiction to even unmeritorious claims made on behalf of the Government."

The *Times* has, since the appearance of Mr. Tilden's answer to its charges, published its reply, which we have examined with care. As the *Times* has now for some two months been charging Mr. Tilden with "fraud" and "perjury," has had the advantage of making up its own indictment on which to try him, and has selected the counts on which to go to the jury, the issue being joined, its only proper reply would have been the production of proof. As to the first six items of the "true income," the *Times* states that the way in which they were arrived at was by "affixing" to "the titles of certain instruments contained in 'the manual of documents' of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway" certain charges, "*believed to have been approximately correct*"; declares Mr. Tilden's answer a "deliberate evasion of the main issue," without pointing out in what respect it is an evasion; promises to show at some unspecified future time that it had really "understated the amount earned by Mr. Tilden from this source in 1862"; and as to the second of the instruments, which Mr. Tilden says he did not draw, "withdraws" the charge. As to the grounds on which the original charges rested, it says that "former officials of the road" (names not given) "testified" (time and place not mentioned) to the "general fact" that "Mr. Tilden received at least $25,000 for services rendered to the bondholders in 1862." *Second*, with regard to the charge that Mr. Tilden received $5,000 from the Cumberland Coal Company, to which he replies that he rendered no services in 1862, the *Times* "declines to admit the relevancy of a defence like this," because, it says, Mr. Tilden is a man who seems "well disposed to take refuge in a suggested falsehood." *Third*, with regard to the two fees of $10,000 each, received from the St. Louis, Alton, and Terre Haute Railroad, which Mr. Tilden says were earned before 1862, the *Times* replies that they were earned *in* 1862, but brings forward no proof except the dates of certain acts and conveyances of 1862, which Mr. Tilden had in his answer shown to be merely formal, and withdraws one $10,000 charge, though which we do not make out. The most serious thing about this part of the case is the way in which the *Times* prepared the original charge of perjury, which was simply by publishing extracts in parallel columns from Mr. Tilden's income return and from his answer in the Terre Haute case, omitting, however, all mention of the important fact that in the other defendants' answer it was clearly shown that, though the money was paid in 1862, the services had in all human probability been rendered long before. *Fourth*, as to the item of $20,000 which the *Times* says Mr. Tilden received from the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, and which he declares is "totally false," the *Times's* reply is that if he did not receive it he certainly "earned" it; but no proof is produced. *Fifth*, the denial of Mr. Tilden that he ever received any money from the Toledo and Wabash is accepted by the *Times* as "conclusive," and the charge as to $15,000 is "withdrawn," with the admission that it has not, and never had, any proof of it, though it says that proof was "promised." *Sixth*, as to the $25,000 from the Chicago and Alton Railroad, no proof is brought forward; but the *Times* says, "We must reiterate this charge with renewed emphasis." Having thus disposed of Mr. Tilden's reply, the *Times* makes out a new "true income," with the "withdrawn" charges omitted, fixing it this time at $76,000, adds a new charge that he received $25,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad in 1862, submits it to the public that Mr. Tilden's answer, "instead of disproving the general charge, furnishes a very strong presumption of its truth," admits that its "bill of items" was "partly hypothetical in statement," declares that Mr. Tilden's defence for neglecting to make returns after 1864, and allowing the Government to "doom" him for what it pleased, is "disingenuous" and "thoroughly characteristic of its author," though how it does not explain, and as to the whole reply adds that "nothing but conscious guilt could have made his answer the contemptible farrago of half-truths and evasions which it is," and finally promises, at some future undesignated time, to prove "that he has attempted to conceal perjury by falsehood, and to hide fraud by the acts of the pettifogger and the shyster." In order that the reader may see at a glance how the matter now stands we have prepared the following table:

TIMES'S CHARGE.	TILDEN'S ANSWER.	*TIMES'S* REPLY.
1. Fee.....$5,000	1. No such fee ever received.	1.-6. No proof. Items declared to have been made up by affixing to the titles of "certain instruments" certain charges "believed to have been approximately correct." No. 2 "withdrawn."
2. Fees, etc..... 2,000	2. No such charge ever made. Work done by another man.	
3. Fee..... 5,000	3.-6. No such charge ever made. Services ended before 1862.	
4. Fee..... 2,500		
5. Fees 4,500		
6. Fee..... 5,000		
7. Fee..... 5,000	7. No services in 1862.	7. No proof; defence irrelevant, because offered by a man "well disposed to take refuge in a suggested falsehood."
8. Fee 10,000	8. Do.	8, 9. No proof; one item of $10,000 "withdrawn."
9. Fee 10,000	9. Do.	
10. Fees.....20,000	10. Do.	10. No proof.
11. Fees.....15,000	11. Never received; the company not a client of Mr Tilden's.	11. No proof; answer admitted to be conclusive; charge "withdrawn."
12. Share of bonds for services ...25,000	12. No bonds retained for services in 1862. Services rendered included in return.	12. No proof. Charge "reiterated with renewed emphasis."
13. Salary 1,000	13. Correct except as to date.	13. No proof. Charge repeated. Whole answer pronounced "disingenuous" and "characteristic of its author," but total amount of "true income" cut down to $76,000, or $5,832 less than the amount originally said to be "fraudulently concealed."
Total.....$108,000		
14. "Obviously false" return for 1863.	14. No answer.	14. No proof.
15. Omission to make returns in subsequent years.	15. Permitted by law.	15. No proof of illegality.

Mr. Tilden is now also asked, if this was not his true income, to communicate to the papers what it was, or be still considered "a swindler," "perjurer," and "cheat."

As to the failure to make returns after 1863, which he acknowledges, we find that a large number of the most honorable men in the country systematically refrain from making returns to State assessors, and take advantage of the undervaluation of their property; a large number did so, as to the Federal assessors, under the income tax, and, whatever may be the law of the matter, we should be very loath to pronounce all the men who do so unfit, on moral grounds, for the Presidency.

THE UNIVERSITY PROBLEM.

THE President of the British Association, Professor Andrews, devoted a considerable portion of his address the other day, at the meeting of the Association at Glasgow, to the conditions of the prosperity and usefulness of universities; and Professor Huxley has revived the interest of the topic in this country by his recent address at the inauguration of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. The discussion in England in which Professor Andrews took part, and in which Mr. Robert Lowe also figured prominently, turns mainly on the question whether it is desirable to multiply degree-giving corporations or to multiply colleges which must get their degrees from a Central University, with an examining board like the London University, which has nothing at all to do with the teaching. Mr. Lowe favors the separation of the examining and degree-giving from the teaching, while Professor Andrews would combine the teaching and the examining, but would combine them in a few great universities and discourage the multiplication of small colleges. In this country we have nothing like the London University—that is, a chartered examining board offering degrees to all comers who are able to meet its requirements—and we are not likely to have, though it would probably supply the simplest mode of remedying the great evil of small colleges. They cannot be got rid of, but if they could be got to accept a common standard for degrees, and to separate the teaching from the examining, and to compete for students through the quality of their teaching rather than through the cheapness and the ease with which they grant diplomas, it would be a great gain for the higher education.

Supposing this to be an idle hope, however, as we have no doubt

it is, there is another way, by no means unattainable (and on this point Professor Huxley touched at Baltimore), in which the usefulness of the small colleges might be greatly increased; or, if any one likes the phrase better, their injuriousness diminished. The great source of their weakness now lies in the fancy of founders or boards of trustees that the more ground a college curriculum covers, or tries to cover, the more of a college it is, and that a college consists principally of buildings and books, or buildings without books; the fact being—paradoxical as it may sound—that a college is not good in proportion to the *number* of its professors, and that it is the professors, and not the buildings and libraries, or apparatus, which constitute the college. At this moment a majority of the colleges or universities of the country, big and little, are established and governed on the theory that the college is an institution composed of trustees and a certain amount of real and personal property, with professors to assist in the lighter work of the administration. This is the radical defect of the American university system, and the work of university reform consists mainly in getting rid of it. Had we got it out of the minds of testators and donors, and out of the minds of the class of business men who are commonly charged with large trusts, the evil of the multiplication of colleges would cure itself—that is, if the importance of good professors and the difficulty of getting them were fully recognized, people would not be so ready to set up little universities, and one of the incidental results would be that university degrees would count for more as part of a young man's equipment for the struggle of active life. The only recently-founded college in which this radical defect of the current notions about universities has been acknowledged is the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore. The conductors of that institution apparently perceive that a university consists, first and foremost, of a body of instructors, and that other things are mere appendages, and that you might have one, and a pretty good one, under a tent with a library of five hundred volumes kept in soap-boxes.

We have, in fact, reached a point in the history of education in this country in which the teaching profession must be enabled to draw more heavily than it now does on the talent of the community, if college training is to keep or regain its place in popular estimation as something more than a means of passing four years pleasantly in good company and in a literary atmosphere. At present, in spite of the multitude of teachers the country contains, the profession of teaching can hardly be said to exist. The lower grades of the calling are largely filled by men and women on their way to something else. The higher places in it—that is, the places which bear some of the marks of prizes—are rarely filled by persons who have striven for them as prizes and reached them as the just rewards of not inglorious toil and endeavor, but for the most part by persons who have drifted into them, and fill them as the result of an accident or mistake in early life, which has, however, turned out better than was feared, or by persons who have been driven into them by losing their grip on something more desirable. No calling can be efficiently followed which does not offer a fair number of attractive material rewards and a large number of chances of a comfortable living; and no intellectual calling which does not in some way impress the imagination of young men on the worldly side can hope for a proper share of the ability of each generation as it comes on the stage. Even the clerical profession, though it offers a certain sort of social influence which no other profession can boast, and its functions have a certain character of sacredness which to young minds might be expected to have a powerful attraction, does not hold its own in the labor market. The theological seminaries do not secure the fighting-men, the robust, eager youth, with vitality enough for whatever work they have to do and more besides, by whom the world has in the main to be carried forward. These shrink from encountering the sceptical movements of the day, and the growing criticism of congregations, on small and uncertain salaries. If they have the philanthropic passion at all, or even religious fervor, they would sooner show it as successful laymen than as struggling ministers. And this is all true, in a still greater degree, of the teaching profession. It must offer, what all men are striving for, fame accompanied by pecuniary ease. It must accept, to some extent, the popular test of respect in order to secure popular respect for its work. Of course, it is not necessary by any means that it, or any other calling, should offer rewards to all who pursue it. There is nothing in the economy of human society more admirable and more effective than the influence of mere chance on the human imagination in stimulating exertion. Ten thousand men will live laborious lives for years in pursuit of a prize which they know only one of their number can receive. A thousand men will charge a battery in the hope of the cross or promotion which is sure only to come to five at best, and which not one may live to get. In the law, in business, in medicine, the number of those who achieve wealth or distinction compared to that of those who fall by the wayside, or only barely secure the means of dragging out an obscure and care-worn life, is miserably small, as those know who have ever consulted the statistics of those callings; and yet each of the three makes drafts so heavy on the ability and energy of every generation that there is but little left for the immeasurably important work of training the youth of the country, and keeping alive that devotion to intellectual work which is the salt of material civilization, and without which it would soon become a putrescent mass.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S LECTURES.

BIOLOGISTS like Professor Huxley have, as popular lecturers, the very great advantage over scientific men in other fields, of occupying themselves with what is to ninety-nine men and women out of a hundred the most momentous of all problems—the manner in which life on this globe began, and in which men and other animals came to be what they are. The doctrine of evolution as a solution of these problems, or of one of them, derives additional interest from the fact that it, in many minds, runs counter to ideas which a very large proportion of the population above the age of thirty imbibed with the earliest and most impressive portion of their education. It is not over thirty years since the bulk of intelligent men and women believed that the world, and all that is therein, originated in the precise manner described in the first chapter of Genesis, and about six thousand years ago. Most of the adaptations, or attempts at adaptation, of what is called the Mosaic account of the Creation to the chronological theories of the geologists and evolutionists by theologians and Biblical scholars have been made within that period, and it may be safely said that it is only within ten or fifteen years that any clear knowledge of the "conflict between science and religion" has reached the mass of that portion of the people who take a lively or, indeed, any interest in religious matters. It would not, in fact, be rash to say that little or nothing is known about this conflict to this hour among the great body of Methodists or Catholics, or the evangelical portion of other denominations, and that their religious outlook is little, if at all, modified or affected by it. One would never detect, for instance, in Mr. Moody's preaching, any indication that he had ever heard of any such conflict, or that the doctrines of the orthodox Protestant Church had undergone any sensible modification within a hundred years. Professor Huxley, and men like him, therefore, make their appearance now not simply as manipulators of a most interesting subject, but as disturbers of beliefs which are widely spread, deeply rooted, and surrounded by the tenderest and most sacred associations of human existence.

That under such circumstances he has met with so little opposition is, on the whole, rather surprising. As far as our observation has gone, no strong hostility whatever to himself or his teachings has been shown, except in one or two instances, by either the clergy or the religious press. Indeed, ministers formed a very prominent and attentive portion of his audience at the recent lectures at Chickering Hall. But it has been made very apparent by the articles and letters which these lectures have called out in the newspapers that the religious public here has hardly understood him. The collision between the theologians and the scientific men has been very slight among us; and, indeed, the waves of the controversy hardly reached this country until the storm had passed away in Europe, so that it is difficult for Americans to appreciate the controversial habit of Mr. Huxley's oratory. Of this difficulty the effect of his substitution of Milton for Moses, as the historian of the creation, on the night of his first lecture, has furnished an amusing illustration. The audience, or at least that portion of it which was gifted with any sense of humor, saw the joke and laughed over it heartily. It was simply a telling rhetorical device, intended to point a sarcasm directed

against the Biblical commentators who have been trying to extract the doctrine of evolution from the first chapter of Genesis. But many of the newspapers all over the country took it up seriously, and the professor must, if he saw them, have enjoyed mightily the various letters and articles which have endeavored in solemn earnest to show that Milton was not justly entitled to the rank of a scientific expositor, and that it was a cowardly thing in the lecturer to attack Moses over Milton's shoulders. Whenever Professor Huxley enters on the defence of his science, as distinguished from the exposition of it, there are traces in his language of the *gaudium certaminis* which has found expression in so many hard-fought fields in his own country, and which has made him perhaps the most formidable antagonist, in so far as dialectics go, that the transcendental philosophers have ever encountered. He is, *par excellence*, a fighting man, but certainly his pugnacity diminishes neither his worth nor his capacity. "Ce n'est pas la victoire qui fait la joie des nobles cœurs ; c'est le combat."

In many of the comments which his lectures have called out in the newspapers one meets every now and then with a curious failure to comprehend the position which an average non-scientific man occupies in such a conflict as is now going on over the doctrine of evolution. Professor Huxley was very careful not to repeat the error which delivered Professor Tyndall into the hands of the enemy at Belfast. He expressed no opinion as to the nature of the causal force which called the world into existence. He did not profess to know anything about the sources of life. He consequently did not once place himself on the level of the theologian or the unscientific spectator. What he undertook to do and did was to present to the audience some specimens of the evidence by which evolutionists have been led to the conclusion that their theory is correct. Now, the mistake which a good many newspaper writers—some of them ministers—have made in passing judgment on the lectures lies in their supposing that this evidence must be weak and incomplete because *they* have not been convinced. There is probably no more widely-diffused fallacy, or one which works more mischief in all walks of life, than the notion that it is only those whose business it is to persuade who need to be trained in the art of proof ; and that those who are to be persuaded need no process of preparation at all. The fact is that skill in reasoning is as necessary on the one side as the other. He cannot be fully and rightly convinced who does not himself know how to convince, and no man is competent to judge in the last resort of the force of an argument who is not on something like an equality of knowledge and dialectical skill with the person using it. This is true in all fields of discussion ; it is pre-eminently true in scientific fields. Of course, therefore, the real public of the scientific man—the public which settles finally whether he has made out his case—is a small one. Outside of it there is another and larger one on which his reasoning may act with irresistible force ; but just as the fact that it does so act does not prove that his hypothesis is true, so also the fact that it has failed to convince proves nothing against its soundness. In other words, a man's occupying the position of a listener does not necessarily clothe him with the attributes of a judge, and there may be as much folly and impertinence in his going about saying, "I do not agree with Huxley ; he has not satisfied me ; he will have to produce more proof than that before I believe in evolution," as in going about saying, "I know as much about evolution as Huxley, and could give as good a lecture on it as he any day." And yet a good many people are guilty of the one who would blush at the mere thought of the other.

Another fertile source of confusion in this and similar controversies is the habit which transcendentalists, theological and other, have of using the term "truth" in two different senses—the scientific sense and the religious or spiritual sense. The scientific man only uses it in one. Truth to him is something capable of demonstration by some one of the canons of induction. He knows nothing of any truth which cannot be proved. The religious man, on the other hand, and especially the minister, has been bred in the application of the term to facts of an entirely different order—that is, to emotions produced by certain beliefs which he cannot justify by any arguments, and about which no argument to him is necessary. These are the "spiritual truths" which are said to be perceptible often to the simple minded and unlearned, though hidden from the wise and prudent. Now, there is no decently-educated religious man who does not perceive the distinction between these two kinds of truths, and few who do not think they keep this distinction in mind when passing upon the great problems of the origin and growth of the universe. But, as a matter of fact, we see the distinction ignored every day. People go to scientific lectures and read scientific books with their heads filled with spiritual truths, which have come they know not whence, and which give them infinite comfort in all the trying passages of life, and which, in view of this comfort which raises them above earthly conditions, must, they think, connect them by invisible lines of communication with the great Secret of the Universe, towards which philosophers try to make their way by visible lines. When, then, they find that the scientific man's induction makes no impression on this other truth, and that he cannot dislodge any theory of the growth or government of the world which has become firmly embedded in it, they are apt to conclude that there is something faulty in his methods, or rash and presumptuous in his conclusions. But there is only one course for the leaders of religious thought to follow in order to prevent the immense and disastrous confusion which comes of the sudden and complete breakdown of the moral standards and sanctions by which the mass of mankind live, and that is to put an end at once, and gracefully, to the theory that the spiritual truth which brings the peace which passeth understanding, has any necessary connection with any theory of the physical universe, or can be used to refute it or used as a substitute for it, or is dependent on the authenticity or interpretation of any book. They must not flatter themselves because a scientific man here and there doubts or gainsays, or because some learned theologian is still unconvinced, or because the mental habits of which faith is born seem to hold their ground or show signs of revival, that the philosophy of which Huxley is a master is not slowly but surely gaining ground. The proofs may not yet be complete, but they grow day by day ; some of the older scientific men may scout, but no young ones are appearing to take their places and preach their creed. The tide seems sometimes to ebb from month to month, but it rises from year to year. The true course of spiritually-minded men under these circumstances is to separate their faith from all theories of the precise manner in which the world originated, or of the length of time it has lasted, as matters, for their purposes, of little or no moment. The secret springs of hope and courage from which each of us draws strength in the supreme crises of existence would flow all the same whether life appeared on the planet ten million or ten thousand years ago, and whether the present forms of life were the product of one day or of many ages. And we doubt very much whether any one has ever listened in a candid and dispassionate frame of mind to the evolutionists' history of the globe without finding that it had deepened for him the mystery of the universe, and magnified the Power which stands behind it.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—NO. XVI.

FRENCH ART.

PHILADELPHIA, September 22.

THE poignant mortification which is felt by a Frenchman who promenades through the galleries dedicated to his country's art is not alleviated by a corresponding show of remissness on the part of other nations. The countries whose claim to prominence in æsthetic production most nearly approaches that of France have, in all cases, distinguished themselves : Spain and Austria and Belgium have sent exhibits which, even when not full, are redeemed by salient instances ; Italy has fascinated the popular eye by a massive contribution of marbles which, if not classical, are piquant and original. Even England, whom France would hardly admit as a serious rival, has contrived an effective success by means of rare lavishness in contributing and studied skill in arrangement, contrast, and selection. From England, with its full exhibition of every prominent signature in the national art, it is painful to pass to the French rooms, deprived of all the classical names—without a single example of Ingres, Gleyre, Millet, Rousseau, Gérôme, Baudry, Flandrin, Delaroche, Hébert, Meissonier, Corot, Daubigny *père*, Couture, Regnault, Bonnat ; without even the new and rising names, such as Delaunay, Gustave Moreau, Vollon, and Laurens.

The French exhibit of 1876, however, is not completely trivial ; it is not a salon of "the rejected," or of the *intransigentes*, with their wild experiments and insulting *scandales ;* it is not absolutely commonplace, though it includes certain walls of unbroken ennui. Rather strong in black-and-white contributions, and by no means without striking works in sculpture, it also makes in its color department a sufficient number of happy hits to justify a patient examination. You could not argue from it the serious greatness of the French schools just past or passing ; but, with the aid of a little previous knowledge and a good deal of sympathy, you can prove that the younger aspirants still seek for pictorial effect by sincere methods and after a noble tradition.

Carolus Duran probably attracts the most intelligent attention with his large equestrian portrait of his sister-in-law, Mlle. Croizette (48). Reining up her bay hackney on a desert shore, remote from the crowds of the fashionable world at Etretat or Trouville, the beauty turns her ripe face, full of provocation and tenderness, to the beholder. The expression is such

that every spectator makes it a personal affair toward himself. Meanwhile, what the painter is thinking of is the problem of isolating his figure satisfactorily in a painting intended for a gallery exhibition, where frames beyond a certain width are not allowed, and where juxtaposition might take away all the individuality of his effect. To secure his idiomatic force, and jockey the hanging committee, M. Duran surrounds his heroine with an immense breadth of gray paint, hypothetically set down for sea and sky, but so quietly spread as not to attract the slightest notice, and having, in fact, the impression the artist intends for it—that of a broad neutral spandrel that effectively keeps off the surrounding paintings, however flagrant, and concentrates the attention on the pose, the mould, the expression, and the color of the fascinating Mlle. Croizette. She is in black, with a simple masculine hat—a hideous piece of armor when worn by a man, but on a fair woman strangely expressive and distinguished-looking ; one lavender glove is drawn from the hand with which she reins up the horse, the other hand holds the whip, while the spirited animal pricks his short ears, and turns his clean profile to the horizon. It is a portrait of the kind not easy to forget, full of a curious racy vivacity over which the fatigue of the footlights is drawn like a slight veil. At first sight it seems as distinct and clean-moulded as a bronze, but this firmness is not traced in all the details ; it carries, however, the conviction of having been painted in the open air.

M. Cabanel, usually so inspired in his Italian subjects, is by no means at his best in the "Francesca da Rimini," for which, besides, we have to leave the French department, and seek the loan collection in the Annex—Room 12, No. 777. It is confused in its lines, and has an unpleasant patchwork flatness. Lanciotto, at the right, holds back the curtain with his spear, a stern Dantesque avenger. Paolo, with his arm still around his young hostess's neck, falls from the seat towards his merciless brother, pressing one hand to his heart ; his fall has drawn the body of Francesca all along the bench, and as she sinks, the book of Lancelot falls upon the floor from her relaxed hand, crushing its guilty pander leaves on the pavement. The striking points of Dante's tenderest story are all put in evidence, and fall softly together with the felicity of French drama-making ; but the picture, from its want of distance and escape, is a stifling oppression to the eye.

The "nudities" about which we hear so much whenever a criticism is written in the English language on French art are sufficiently abundant for those who choose to pick them out, but they are not important enough in quality to attract necessarily a great deal of attention. It is a very curious symptom that this sort of criticism is so partial in its modesty ; it singles out with unerring and statistical particularity that class of nudities which may be supposed to be alarming to a chaste male mind—that is, the feminine subjects ; but it seldom has a word of reproach for those figures which must probably be equally shocking to a chaste female mind—that is, the undraped studies of men. It is very unjust that the shocked male should be allowed to go through French galleries freely ventilating the pain he experiences, and creating a popular sentiment against its cause, while the other class of figures, simply because they represent men, and a man thinks nothing at all about them morally, should be allowed to shock women without any rebuke. The principal nude feminine figures, besides a very unattractive bathing-girl of Courbet's, are Cetner's "Salammbô" (203), Faivre-Duffer's "Venus" (86), Chartrin's "Angelica" (69), Garnier's "Bather" (268), Tortez's "Echo" (293), another "Bather" (303), by Perrault, and Camorré's "Cassandra" (325).

The chief sinner against the decorum of the male figure is young Becker in his "Rizpah defending the bodies of her Sons" (76). In this case we believe, however, that the tragical and Biblical subject is held to exclude the question of manners, and that nobody is morally misled of either sex. In fact, the row of young crucified princes, delicate, tender, elegant, ardent, and frustrated, is very fine. The bodies hang well from the crossbeam, in perfect limpness and relaxation ; some are like young Greeks, supple and tanned from the palæstra ; some are bearded and curled like Phœnician warriors. In contrast to their supine postures, the rigid and manlike figure of Rizpah (a brilliant study from Mlle. Agar, the actress) is additionally striking. Rizpah's pose is original and full of verisimilitude ; she is braced well upon her two powerful and solid feet, the fingers grasping the club are exerting all their strength, and she looks the advancing eagle in the eye with real disgust and hate. This turn for contrast shown by the artist—this warrior-woman standing in her strength by twilight, while over her head the body of Michal's son hangs half-broken from its fastening, and slowly turns around one helpless wrist, might be supposed to make a picture's fortune. The fact is, however, that M. Becker's enormous effort is not a success ; the determination to do something great is too evident, and the conception, shrill and displeasing, is too obviously that of an ambition which does not yet command its resources.

Only a portion of the pictures collected last March by M. L. du Sommerard in the Cluny Museum for transport to America are to be seen in the Exhibition. The "six hundred and eighty easel pictures" then promised are reduced to four hundred. It is said that a misconception as to the rules of freight was the cause of the French Commission early losing its interest in the enterprise ; that M. du Sommerard had understood that the works of art for the Centennial were to be brought and returned at half-rates ; that on learning that they would be charged full rates for carriage hither, but nothing for the return, he was unable to see that this computation came to the same thing ; and that the artists who acted upon his advice withdrew or partially withdrew their loans. This motive should never have affected the more prominent painters of France, whose sentiment for America, as the most important patron of their labors, should have been a little heightened with gratitude. Philadelphia would in that case have been honored with something commensurate with Meissonier's immense exhibition of himself at Vienna, or with the grand rows of works by Millet and Gérôme at Paris in 1867. The Government, too, in this epoch of friendliest feeling, might have been at least as lavish with contributions from the national museums as has been its neighbor across the Channel. In this case we should have had a taste of the riches of the Luxembourg and Versailles collections, as we do have the gratifying but easily counted specimens from the Gobelins and Sèvres manufactories. E. S.

THE WAGNER PERFORMANCES.

Bayreuth, August 31, 1876.

I MIGHT have sent an account of the "Ring des Nibelungen" after its first performance, but I refrained from doing so, partly because its overpowering effect hindered deliberate writing, and partly because the novelties of its construction required, as no one knew better than Herr Wagner, at least the three performances as a basis for competent judgment. One had to meet the "Ring des Nibelungen" unarmed with the ordinary canons of criticism, and a familiarity with the superb pianoforte arrangement of Herr Klindworth could but inadequately supply their place. Friends as well as foes, in criticising the work, agree that scenes which had seemed tame and wearisome on the piano were among the most successful of the performance. Indeed, on the piano the magnificent introductions to each of the three acts of "Siegfried" give no hint of their orchestral splendor. The piano-score can at best give one but half the work ; the orchestral part can be played, but the singing must be omitted. In this imperfect manner, even, it would require superhuman power to play dramas which require more than four complete hours for their theatrical performance with such rapidity as would give an idea of the musical continuity of the whole work. There remain, therefore, granting complete familiarity with the piano-score, two entire novelties in the music as presented on the stage—the singing, and the perception of those delicate shades of meaning continually expressed by the use of "leading motives." For as these "Leit-motive" give to the dramas, both singly and as a trilogy, their organic unity, so are they only thoroughly to be appreciated when the works are presented in their unity. Manifestly, the critic who has trusted to a knowledge of the piano-score to make one hearing of the dramas sufficient, still finds much in the music that distracts him as novel ; and he cannot hope to give proper attention to the supplementary parts, the actors and the scenery, in dramas which aim at combining the highest qualities of several arts. In his bewilderment he is quite as likely to err on the side of over-praise as on that of over-censure—to assert that the "Ring des Nibelungen" was an ideal performance, or to dismiss it with the assurance that other theatres have exhibited scenery and acting equally good.

Such stress must be laid upon these considerations because no work ever depended more upon repeated hearing for its proper understanding than the "Ring des Nibelungen." A difference of one and three hearings will account for half the diversities of opposed criticisms. One can no more judge the work properly after a single hearing than one could account after the first reading of "Hamlet" for the prince's conduct towards *Ophelia*. The difficulty lies in the "Leit-motive," the employment of which is characterized by nothing less than the highest musical genius. If they prevent the work from meeting with the easy comprehension and popular favor of the operas of Mozart and Weber, no less surely do they stamp the dramas with a character—of which I trust to their description to give abundant evidence—which shows such an advanced conception of the function of musical expression as elevates at once the position of music as a fine art. But apart from the characteristics which give the "Ring des Nibelungen" its

significance as a united whole, it cannot but appeal with most intense effect to every musical hearer. It is without doubt the greatest dramatic music ever written. Devoid of arias, duets, trios, and finales in the Italian sense, and having but one chorus, it yet possesses scenes both of overpowering grandeur and of unsurpassed beauty. Each act advances towards a climax; the succession of acts is an ever nearer approach to a climax in the end of the drama; and in the dramas themselves there is a steady progress in dramatic and musical intensity, which reaches its culmination in the "Götterdämmerung." Such a union of dramatic and musical strength has never before been known. The sustained force, incapable apparently of any effort that is weak or petty, overwhelms one with the consciousness of being in the presence of an almost inexplicable power.

The various agencies which seconded one another in giving the work its complete expression demand some notice before the description of the dramas. Of the marvellous orchestra and its important functions, of the wonderful beauty of the scenery, of the cloud-effects and thunder-storms, of the sunrises and sunsets, I shall speak in connection with the dramatic incidents. But what of the actors and actresses? Two conditions are required by Herr Wagner of the interpreters of his works: they must possess that declamatory power which can give distinct enunciation to the words, for with him the poetry is the basis of the music; and they must exhibit that self-forgetfulness which is essential to true art, and break with those traditions which, dictated to art as the servant of luxury, make artists address their singing, their glances, and their actions to an audience that is living two hundred years, perhaps, after the events in which they are supposed to be the actors. This is to demand the realized ideal of perfect acting; but Herr Wagner aimed at nothing less. He determined, therefore, to build a special theatre in an isolated town—a special theatre, in order that, with new scenic appliances and a new disposition of the orchestra and the auditorium, a more perfect illusion might be produced, and the artistic character of the performance thereby elevated; in an isolated town, in order that the artists, removed from the influence of established theatres, might the more readily throw off their traditions and adopt a higher order of acting. The performance of the "Ring des Nibelungen" has justified Herr Wagner in the erection of his theatre; not that the performance, judged by established standards, was not of extraordinary merit; not that it did not depend upon the best artists Germany affords; not that the rarest discernment was not evident in the distribution of the cast; not that the acting of individual artists (Frau Materna, Herr Schlosser, Herr Vogel, Herr Hill) did not attain perfection itself; but because the performance did not reach that ideal at which Wagner's theories of art-regeneration aim. Had it done so, the building of a special theatre would have been proved a piece of extravagant folly, for Wagner's services might have been otherwise secured to give the few weeks' instruction which had sufficed to effect so great a revolution. As it is, Wagner has been able in his work to change the nature of the music, the relation of the music and the libretto—the whole contents, in fact, of operatic art; but the form of its presentation depended upon the training of his artists. That, except in a slight degree, he could *not* change. The traditions of a hundred years are not altered in a summer. Those who seem inclined to disbelieve this, and complain that the performance of the "Ring des Nibelungen" has not reached the theoretical ideal, are doubtless possessed of that sweet simplicity which would induce them to buy a ticket for a fife-and-drum show upon hearing the doorkeeper announce "The great South American leopard will now change his spots." But those who realize what a difference separates the traditions of the past from the methods of performance which Herr Wagner seeks now to establish, will find satisfaction in the fact that a number of the artists proved, by the clear enunciation which throughout their singing made almost every word distinctly intelligible, that the union between music and drama may be far closer than there was previously sufficient evidence for believing possible.

The "Ring des Nibelungen" does not, like several modern German dramas, derive its incidents from the 'Nibelungenlied.' Herr Wagner reverted for his story to the Northern sagas, in which the traditions of early German mythology have been preserved intact from the influence which sought, by obliterating some and giving an historical import to others, to adapt them in the 'Nibelungenlied' of the Middle Ages to the requirements of Christian theology. The name "Nibelung," for instance, means in the "Lied" Burgundian; while in the trilogy it designates one of the race of dwarfs whose home, Nibelheim, is in the bowels of the earth, where they forge the hard metals. Without comparing the widely-different characters as they appear in the two sources, under almost the same names, and without dwelling upon the acute sense of dramatic effect which Herr Wagner has shown in interweaving disconnected myths, it is sufficient to notice that the action of the dramas belongs to the prehistoric time of gods and dwarfs and giants.

The sound of a solitary E flat is heard proceeding from a depth so low that a special instrument had to be invented for its production. Herr Wagner wanted a sound which, possessing the quality of tone belonging to wind instruments, should yet have such sustained force as it was vain to expect from players who had grown up under the influence of traditions which permitted them to interrupt the most beautiful of tones for the sake of taking breath. He invented, therefore, the "contra-bass tuba," a sort of diminished organ. Its solitary note begins the introduction to "Rheingold," and is sustained for dozens of bars, while one after another the instruments follow, until the one hundred and sixteen members of the orchestra all join in swelling the rich flood of harmony. It is a veritable "progress from homogeneity to heterogeneity," and as such this introduction will be, doubtless, always the favorite music of the modern physicist. Its motive, developed in a grand, rhythmic, wave-like movement, which has its fullest expression in the introduction to the third act of "Siegfried," is associated throughout all the dramas with Eternity and Fate, as embodied in Erda, who, like Gaia, is the source of all things, and knows both past and future. As the introduction reaches its complete development the curtain parts, and we face the waters of the Rhine on a level with its bed. All is blank. Soon the white arms of a figure gliding through the water appear and vanish. The lovely voice marks it for a woman, and as the distinctness increases, and the rocky sides of the river-bed become visible, we discover the three Rhine-daughters. Above and below, behind and in front of the rocks, they glide (nobody dreams of asking how, so perfect is the illusion), until a voice from below puts a stop to their sport. In alarm they behold the ugly Nibelung, *Alberich*, who has been watching them from a cleft in the rocks. Enamored, he longs to embrace them. Each in turn pretends to yield, but mockingly eludes him. As they rise beyond his grasp, the rays of the morning sun, penetrating the water, strike the point of a projecting rock from which a bright reflection illuminates the river. *Alberich* asks what makes such brightness, and in answer they sing the praises of the Rhine-gold. What but a skylark ever poured forth song in such "profuse strains of unpremeditated art"? Here, as ever throughout the drama, the melodious gladness of the Rhine-daughters defies description. When the morning stars first sang together the music could not have been more beautiful. Rhine-gold, they sing, is the wonderful treasure which will give the mastery of the world to the man who can fashion it into a ring. But only he who has cursed love—and here the pure joyousness of their song changes for the first time to a tragic measure—can make a ring of the gold. There is nothing to fear, they add, from the love-sick *Alberich*. Hearing this, the dwarf climbs rapidly to the top of the rock from which the gold shines, curses love, seizes the treasure, and disappears in the depths. Darkness fills the whole river, and the cries of the Rhine-daughters are lost in the reiteration by the orchestra of the motive that accompanied their explanation of the need of renouncing love, and of the motive of the ring, which, continuing until the river has sunk out of sight and a new scene is before our eyes, seem to be assuring us of what we do not see—that the Nibelung is already fashioning the gold into a ring.

The remaining three scenes must be described more briefly. With the second scene, *Wotan* (or Odin) and *Fricka*, the Jupiter and Juno of Northern mythology, are discovered asleep on a beautiful mountain-height; on a corresponding height in the background rises an immense castle; between the two, flows the Rhine. At the advice of the crafty god *Loge*, *Wotan* had made a contract with two giants, the brothers *Fafner* and *Fasolt*, according to which they were to receive the beautiful goddess *Freia* in case they should build him a satisfactory castle. The castle stands ready, and *Wotan* awakes only to receive the reproaches of his wife for having entered upon an agreement devoid of the commonest precautions of self-preservation, for *Freia* alone can pluck the apples of youth which give the gods their immortality. To hasten the calamity, *Freia* comes fleeing for protection from the pursuing giants. *Wotan's* mind is rendered doubly anxious by their expected coming and by the absence of *Loge*, upon whose craft he had relied to evade paying the giants their stipulated reward. The orchestra expresses this perplexity in the commingling of two new motives, about the identity of one of which we are soon assured. Nothing could be more in keeping with the clumsiness of mind and body displayed by the giants than the motive that accompanies their arrival. They point to the completed castle—which displayed no more intellectual purpose in its construction than one could have expected of its giant architects—and demand their reward. *Wotan* refuses. Thunderstruck, they remind him of his position as the defender of oaths and compacts, which he should be the last to violate, and proceed to lay hands on *Freia*. But she screams for her

brothers to help her. *Froh*, the god of light, and *Donner* (or Thor), the god of storms, rush to her aid and threaten to annihilate the giants with a thunderbolt. But *Wotan* interposes his spear, the emblem of good faith in contracts. At this moment *Loge*, the god whose original element was fire, is seen approaching, and the motive, which had previously momentarily appeared, becomes identified with him. It is certainly the most expressive in the drama. *Loge* never utters a word that does not carry with it the conviction that it had been premeditated long before all that has been already expressed. His thought is always in advance of his action. And so the musical motive that is associated with him, beginning with a rapid chromatic figure, seems perfectly to express that quick craftiness which runs over so many devices in a second of thought as almost to find a choice embarrassing. *Loge* is at a loss how to aid *Wotan*, since in his searches through the world he has found nothing prized more highly than woman's love. One only has he heard of who reckoned anything more valuable: the Rhine-daughters had told him of the robber *Alberich* who had renounced love for the gold that would give him the mastery of the world. The giants have listened attentively. If the gold of *Alberich* is ready for them by night, it shall be accepted as *Freia's* ransom; until then they will hold her as their own. *Wotan* refuses to act in service for the giants, but they carry off *Freia*. The gods feel their vitality weakening; clouds settle over them; *Loge* reminds them that they have not yet made their morning feast on the apples of youth, and with sudden resolve *Wotan* determines to get the gold, and starts with *Loge* for Nibelheim. They enter a cleft in the rocks, clouds of smoke fill the stage, and the scene changes to the underground caverns of the dwarfs.

The picture of Nibelheim is one of the finest scenic effects in the entire trilogy. No amount of scrutiny can destroy the illusion which makes the cavern, red with the glare of unseen forges, descend apparently to the centre of the earth. Far above, the gray twilight marks the opening of a passage to the upper world. *Alberich* appears dragging his brother *Mime* by the ear. He had forced him to forge him a magic cap or "Tarnhelm," which would enable its owner to assume any shape. *Mime* does not know the virtue of the cap, but is loath to give it up. *Alberich* seizes it, puts it on, transforms himself into a column of steam, and gives *Mime* an invisible beating. He then disappears in the depths of the cavern. At this moment *Loge* and *Wotan* descend from the cleft. The groaning *Mime* has barely time to tell them of his sufferings, and how *Alberich* lords it over the Nibelungs with the ring he has forged, when the sound of his brother returning makes him run away in fear. *Alberich* drives before him the host of Nibelungs, laden with treasure, which they pile in front of him. Cowering on either side, they both fear to remain and fear to go away, until he takes the ring from his finger and holds it toward them, when they scamper off in all directions again to their work. Then, or the first time, the dwarf notices the presence of the gods. He tells them he knows they are his enemies; and yet, in his over-confidence in his new powers, he ventures to display them. He transforms himself into a dragon. But the transformation does not strengthen one's confidence in powers Tarnhelmian; for the dragon almost always appears before *Alberich* disappears, and then moves at such a lame pace across the stage that one is in constant dread lest the time for *Alberich's* next remark shall come before the dragon's tail is gone. Satisfied with his success, however, *Alberich* accedes to *Loge's* request and becomes a toad. Immediately *Wotan's* foot is upon him, *Loge* seizes the Tarnhelm, and *Alberich* returns to his natural shape only to be bound and dragged to the upper world.

Wotan returns with his captive to the mountain-height from which *Freia* has been carried by the giants. He forces *Alberich* to summon his dwarfs to bring forth the heap of treasure. *Loge* throws the Tarnhelm on the pile, as belonging with it. *Wotan* demands the ring. In despair, *Alberich* will part with life first; but *Wotan* wrenches it from him. Then *Alberich's* bonds are loosed and he sows the seed of all the trouble that is to come: as the ring came to him through a curse, so shall it be a curse to all others who possess it; those who have it not shall covet it, those who gain it shall win death; and no one shall turn its powers to his advantage. With this farewell he returns to Nibelheim. The giants returning with *Freia* find the ransom ready. They demand as much gold as shall hide her from their sight. When the whole treasure is heaped up against the two stakes they have planted in front of her, *Fafner* yet sees the glimmer of her hair, and *Loge* is forced to cover it with the Tarnhelm. But *Fasolt*, scrutinizing the heap carefully, declares he sees the starlight of her eyes. He demands the ring on *Wotan's* finger, which had been taken from *Alberich*. *Wotan* indignantly refuses, and the giants drag *Freia* from behind the pile. At this moment the all-wise *Erda* rises from the earth, warns *Wotan* to shun the curse of the ring, and tells him the day of doom is approaching for the gods, and all that is will end. Before he can question her she is gone. He throws the ring on the treasure, and *Freia* is released. But the curse is at work: in the division of the ransom *Fafner* kills *Fasolt* and carries off the spoils alone. With their youth restored, the gods are once more joyous. *Wotan* points to the castle, which he calls Walhalla—a name which the fulfilment of his secret purpose shall explain. In a scene of wonderful grandeur *Donner* gathers a storm around them, and, as the clouds disperse, amid lightning and thunder, *Froh* throws a rainbow across to Walhalla, on which the gods pass over the river. But the song of the Rhine-daughters, in a minor key, as they lament the lost Rhine-gold, rises from the water. Further account of the music of this introduction may best be given in contrast with that of the succeeding dramas.

Correspondence.

AN INDEPENDENT'S GLANCE AT THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: We Northerners find it easy to be calm under the troubles of the South. No eloquence of orator or editor can make us lie awake of nights over the adulteration of its electorate, the stuffing of its ballot-boxes, and the plunder of its treasuries.

Who can greatly wonder at us? "There is something agreeable to us," says Rochefoucauld, "in the misfortunes of even our best friends." Distance, too, lends enchantment to the view, or at least softens its ugliest features. Furthermore, we recollect that the Southerners brought these plagues upon themselves, and indeed brought plagues upon both our houses, by a needless and bloody insurrection. Finally, we are habitually patient under the like evils at home, feeling little wrath against our own repeaters and public pickpockets.

But there is another reason for the tranquillity with which we survey the rascalities of the carpet-bagger and of his ignorant dupes. It is a reason which has been little noted hitherto, but which is growing in importance every year, and which now deserves widespread recognition. The reign of the men who have plundered the Southern white and debauched the Southern black is nearly over. Only in two, or, at the utmost, in three States, do they retain unbroken their evil supremacy. There also, in a few years more, their feet will slip, and the native-born Anglo-Saxon citizen will rule supreme.

The revolution is sure, and is sure to be speedy. If whiskey and revolvers and Winchester rifles could be eliminated from Southern politics, it would come all the quicker. The only men who can seriously delay it are the hard-drinking, hard-fighting young bloods of such pugnacious districts as Edgefield, who occasionally suspend their multitudinous *rencontres* with each other to enjoy the lark of dispersing negro "trainers" or worrying a club of Republicans. But even they cannot long put off the end. The political cleverness and moral stamina of the better class of whites will soon prove too much for these sanguinary roisters, as well as for all the other enemies of Southern prosperity and peace. The highly-endowed race, the heroic race, the blood race is sure to win.

In vain will clever demagogues, and in vain, too, will honest men who see but one side of the shield, seek to perpetuate negro misrule. In spite of everything it will decay, it will perish, it will lose its actuality, it will vanish out of politics. Indeed, when compared with the great interests of the whole country, it may almost be said to have vanished already. It should doubtless have weight in this Presidential campaign; but it certainly should not overshadow and decide it. Important as are the interests and the rights of the whites of South Carolina and Louisiana, they are trifles when contrasted with the dignity of the Republic and the prosperity of its entire body of citizens.

Let us suppose that, merely to punish carpet-baggery, we should elect Tilden and a Democratic Congress. No doubt negro government and misgovernment would at once cease everywhere. But that would not be the only result of our wrath. We should enthrone the South at Washington. The Democracy depends too much upon Southern majorities and Southern brains to take one step in opposition to their guidance. If any man doubts this, let him look at the whole history of the party, and at the table of electoral votes through which it hopes to reach supreme power. In my own mind there is no question that to elect a Tilden Administration and Congress would be to hand over our national policy to the South.

In view of the unwisdom and corruption of certain Republican demagogues, I have sometimes said of late, Let the Democracy come in and the ex Confederates rule. But as the time approaches when such a thing may

be, I recoil from it with increasing distaste and alarm. Let us consider a few of the probable, if one may not add the certain, consequences of such a revolution.

The cotton tax, amounting to at least $100,000,000, would be refunded. Perhaps this would be justice; the Supreme Court has doubted. But the great peril is here: in order to secure this repayment the Court would be packed; and thereafter there would be no limit to Southern claims. Success would beget greed and confidence. Demands would be made which are now kept in silence, or are not even invented. We should hear anew of the assumption of the State debts and of the Confederate bonds. In four years, what with the zeal of Southern local patriots and the cunning of a newly-invigorated lobby, we should have to face exactions enough to beggar the Treasury.

Then would come more paper money. The South already asks for it. It is the poorest part of the country, the most indebted probably, and certainly the most ignorant of finance. It contains at least as many worshippers of unlimited greenbacks as all the other sections combined. Greenbacks in abundance it would surely have, and there would be no more hopes of speedy resumption.

Next would follow, unless the better-instructed North should recover its authority, a repudiation of more or less of the national debt. The South once paid, it would not care for alien bondholders, and it is too much versed in breaking paper promises to value the public credit. How should it desire to maintain the honor of a financial system which represents its own overthrow and devastation?

But there is another and even a graver reflection. It concerns our loyalty to our noblest convictions and sacrifices and deeds. It concerns our reverence for the memory of patriotic leaders, and of the innumerable brave men who followed them on to death or victory. It concerns our respect for the consistency and dignity of a nation which but a few years since sowed the South with graves rather than bend to it. Surely we should earn for ourselves overmuch shame and remorse in resigning the national cemeteries to the care of the men who conquered at Bull Run and surrendered at Appomattox. It is early yet to have the pensions of Union veterans paid, or perhaps withheld, by the hands which gave them their wounds. It is early yet to lay our torn battle-flags, stained with the blood of loyal men and the tears of loyal women, under the feet which but lately were marching on Washington.

I am not waving the "bloody shirt." I have no hostility toward the men whose heroism I have seen on the battle-field, and whose gracious, noble personal traits I have studied in the purity of their own homes. I wish them prosperity, peace, and the ordering of their own affairs with all my heart. But I cannot help believing and earnestly feeling that the patriotic North should not hasten to abdicate in favor of a pardoned rebellion, which still seeks to retain its political unity and to recover its sectional power. No people in all history has ever done such a deed of self-abnegation and self-condemnation; no people, as I fear, could do such a deed without having its meekness abused, and without being taught under the lash the wisdom of self-respect.

In fine, let us not be so agitated by a dying-out fire in one room of our public edifice as to see no resource but in a universal explosion.

The question of negro misrule, confined as it is now to two or three sparsely-peopled States, is too limited and also too near its end to be the decisive question of the day.

The North, with its vast interests and its purely patriotic history, deserves at least its own consideration, and should conserve its own rights and the welfare of the nation.

These ends it can only secure by voting down a party which lives and breathes through a united and a politically uneducated South.

J. W. De Forest.

[The fourth section of the Fourteenth Amendment forbids the questioning by Congress of the validity of the public debt of the United States, or of the pensions and bounties. It also forbids the assumption by the United States or any State "of any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave," and declares "all such debts, obligations, and claims illegal and void," though it does not bar the cotton-tax claims, or claims for damages to private property. Mr. De Forest has apparently overlooked the Amendment, and so have a great many writers and speakers during the present canvass. His letter is both thoughtful and suggestive, and yet does not touch upon the burning question of the time—viz., How is the Republican party to get rid of its rascals without handing over the Government to that portion of the country lately in rebellion? Or, to put it differently, In what way can we prevent this salutary dread of Southern restoration from proving a continual cover for political corruption at the North? This every honest voter ought now to ponder deeply.—Ed. Nation.]

ANOTHER VIEW.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Of all the political utterances of the season the most thoroughly acceptable to my own ideas of things have been your occasional remarks and arguments concerning the South. My only regret is that you do not seem willing to follow out your theory to what I take to be its logical conclusion—namely, that the expulsion of the Republicans from power is the necessary first step to any permanent reform.

Nowhere more vividly than in the *Nation* has public attention been called to the "amazing effrontery" with which the Republicans, after twelve years of undisputed sway over the South, now point to its miserable condition as an argument why they should be kept still longer in power. But it is every day becoming clearer, as you showed last week, that, if they carry the election at all, they will carry it by that sole argument—"by adroitly appealing to that tremendously strong sentiment, generated by the war, which includes distrust of the Southern whites and their Northern allies, and jealous sensitiveness in behalf of the negroes." If now, when the war has been for almost a dozen years a matter of history, that sentiment of stolid bitterness and ignorant hate can be successfully traded on, why can it not be traded on just about as well four, eight, and twelve years hence? There is no reason why people who believe now that a "Democratic restoration" implies the "undoing the results of the war," the "practical reenslavement of the blacks," and the "assumption of the rebel debt," should not retain that belief indefinitely, so long as no such restoration occurs. All the argument in the world would not dislodge the idea from their minds. The only thing that can possibly beat it out is the actual fact of a Democratic administration under whose rule none of these dreadful things come to pass.

Believing, with you, that the question of civil-service reform involves nothing less than the question of the success of our American experiment at self-government, and that the difficulties in the way of that reform are great enough to sober the most sanguine, it seems to me that we cannot afford to sacrifice it on "side issues," that we cannot afford to let anything else be made the "main question" among honest men in any section of the country, that we cannot afford to applaud Blaine for ridiculing Gordon's essay at reform because the latter was a "rebel." But, as a matter of fact, the whole tendency of what you well call the truly devilish policy begun by Blaine last winter has been to intensify the feeling of sectionalism among all the whites of the South and weaken their patriotism as Americans. If we of the North, with our homogeneous population and our well-defined social institutions, are to insist that the fabric of Southern society ought for an indefinite future period to be made to stand on its apex instead of its base because the Southerners were once "slaveholding rebels," we may be sure that those "rebels" will make it the main question of their political existence to get that fabric back on its base again. So long as we keep "choking the negro down their throats" we may be sure that their time will be taken up in seeking for a remedy for the distasteful dose, and that we cannot interest them in any remote question of "reform" in the civil service, or the currency, or the revenue. One might as well attempt to discuss the nebular hypothesis with a sea sick passenger on an ocean steamship.

I have faith to believe that the honest men of this country are powerful enough when united to get the better of the rascals. But the latter are always united, and they will continue to carry the day so long as they can prevent the alliance of their foes. Men like Pierce and Thompson of Massachusetts—whom I take to be the State's most creditable representatives in the present Congress—will never be numerous enough, north of Mason and Dixon's line, to carry through single-handed the desired governmental reforms. They will need all the help that men like Gordon of Georgia and Gibson of Louisiana can give them, if they are ever to achieve success in the long and desperate struggle that must ensue against ignorance and corruption before the established order of things can be overthrown. So long as the corruptionists can create public distrust of such thoroughly honest Southerners as the two just mentioned by calling them "ex-Confederate brigadiers," or of such a straightforward legislator as the man who overthrew Butler in 1874 by calling him a "Democrat," it seems to me

that "reform" must remain a matter of "lunar politics," and all the talk concerning it be "visionary and fantastic."

Having voted once for Grant because I admired him, and once because his rival was the only man in America whom I admired less, I propose now to vote for Tilden because he seems to be the one available instrument by which an end may be put to "the war" which the politicians have been waging against the "rebellious South" since the soldiers stopped fighting in 1865. I do not consider him the ideal Presidential candidate, nor do I relish the thought of some of the minor evils that would necessarily accompany "a Democratic restoration"; but even were he the hideous demon depicted in the "*Times* Campaign Supplement," and even were his supporters the mere hungry horde of negro-hating brigands and Popish propagandists so familiar to the patrons of *Harper's Weekly*, I should still hope for their success in overthrowing the Republicans. That overthrow their own campaign orators have now made plain is the only thing that can convince the average voter of the lack of power on the part of the Democrats to "overturn the results of the war"—results which can no more be overturned by human agency than the results that followed the war of a century ago.

If we make the pacification and nationalization of the South our "main question" *now* (by the aid of any instrument and at whatever temporary sacrifice of other things)—if we blot out sectionalism by a permanent closing of the "bloody chasm"—we shall give the friends of reform a fair field on which to fight their mighty battle, even though we postpone till 1880 the time for beginning it. But if we keep on treating the Southerners as our political inferiors, scoffing at them as whipped and unrepentant rebels who richly deserved all the punishment that fate has meted out, and calling them hypocrites whenever they profess any wish for the future glory and prosperity of the reunited nation—if we do this much longer, there is a dismal probability that we shall make of "the South" a "main question" that will vex American politics through all coming time. L. H. B.

West Springfield, Mass., Sept. 25, 1876.

HOW TO TREAT THE SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your article headed "'Intimidation' at the South," in No. 584 of the *Nation*, I have to thank you for the courtesy with which you refer to my letter. We whose homes are where the great "Southern question" is being worked out, and who are exposed to all the unhappy influences that may occur in its solution, have a profounder interest than you possibly can have in the process that is going on. We think that in speaking of the misgovernment here being more irritating than that of Turk and Tartar, you fail to notice one important element in the problem. I will admit that the government of the State has been, ever since reconstruction, as intolerable, as irritating, and as iniquitous as it could well be. It was inevitable, and always will be inevitable, where such a constituency of ignorance and degradation is provided. Now, it is noteworthy that no race under heaven ever showed such consideration, such forbearance, such freedom from revenge and ill-will as these blacks did, with the opportunities against their old masters which their freedom gave them. They were quiet and docile to the last degree. They were so when reconstruction was completed and they had the ballot. But under such circumstances what would shrewd political leaders, as Southern men of culture were always acknowledged to be, do? If the misgovernment has been that of Turks and Tartars, the subjects have not been such, for they have had their political destiny in their own hands, in that perfect freedom of action which belongs to all citizens, and in the freedom of the ballot. We who live here think it is impossible to deny that the former citizens of these States could have gained the entire confidence, politically or otherwise, of their former slaves had they so desired, and that, too, sooner than any one else. They knew what political arts to use had they so desired. They have never been treated as subjects of Pope or Italian prince. It is this element of perfect freedom of action, of the perfect enjoyment of all the rights of free citizens, and of the singular advantage which the old masters had of conciliating their old slaves, had they seen fit to use it, which we here think should always be considered in discussing the "Southern question."

Now, as to what the General Government should do, or rather should *not* do, we should be grateful if you would explain your position, for it seems to many of us so strange that I think we must miscomprehend you. You inveigh very severely against the Ku-klux laws—and, whatever may have been their constitutional import, they were of great practical benefit—you inveigh against the use of troops now in connection with this problem. You seem to think harmful all interference of the General Government. Would you lend the blacks *no* protecting hand? Would you not interfere if they were driven from the ballot-box? That has often been done. Would you take hands off altogether, and leave the blacks to the working out of this problem with the whites?

I will not ask you to answer these questions without committing myself. The blacks never should be coddled; they have been coddled too much already. They should be left *free* to work out their own political salvation, or else prove in the failure that they are unfit for citizenship. But I would use all the Federal force necessary to prevent interference with their rights at the polls or with their right of freedom of speech. But, more than all that and better than all that, I would, as President of the United States, give no party countenance to any corrupt government in any State, nor would I put in the Federal offices or allow to remain in the Federal offices, great and small, any but men of that integrity who felt their first duty was to the public, and whose uprightness and probity of action should commend them to all decent men. The moral effect of such men scattered all over the Southern States would go far to disarm all opposition to the Government. When I had given such use of force, backed up by the courts, and such use of Government patronage, I would leave them to themselves. Here "civil-service reform" and the "Southern question" become intimately blended, and should go hand-in-hand as a campaign cry.—One who wishes to be Informed.

Beaufort, S. C., Sept. 15, 1876.

[As regards our correspondent's first point, the failure of the Southern whites to conciliate the negroes at the outset, it rests on the assumption that the whites could have done so if they pleased. We have never seen any proof of this. The possibility of a political alliance with the negroes is not deducible from the kindly social relations of the two races. We see everywhere in the South that these relations are compatible with strong political distrust of the whites on the negro's part. At the same time we admit freely that the whites did not please to do so. They made no effort after the war to form a political alliance with the blacks, or to treat them as equals before the law, and did thus help to bring about the Reconstruction legislation. But as to the culpability of this we differ from our correspondent, and perhaps from most Republican orators and writers. In fixing the moral responsibility of the South we hold firmly to the old ante-bellum doctrine that slavery was injurious to the character of the master as well as to that of the slave, that it made his temper imperious, and destroyed or greatly diminished his capacity for political co-operation not only with persons of other races but persons of other social grades or classes than his own; and defects of character or capacity do not disappear the minute the cause of them is removed. We held therefore, and still hold, that Northern statesmen, in dealing with a society like that of the South, have no right to act as if it were only the black portion of it that slavery had damaged, and which therefore needed care, consideration, and allowance, and as if the white portion was in all respects like Massachusetts or Vermont people, and might be fairly called on at once for a display of as much good sense, good temper, and adaptability to circumstances as one expects from the average Massachusetts or Vermont voter. On the contrary, we think those who preached to us before the war of the dreadful effects of slavery on both master and slave now stultify themselves by denouncing the master for not showing immediately after emancipation qualities of which we were told slaveholding was utterly destructive. We might strengthen our argument greatly by citing the fact that emancipation was accomplished by violence, so that the master from whom we expected this extraordinary, indeed we may say unprecedented, display of political tact and prudence, had been not only (in his own eyes) despoiled of his slave property, but had been beaten in a fierce civil war, and left with little other remnant of his earthly possessions than a suit of old clothes. We decline to be irrational for the Republican party, and rail at this man by saying, "How unlike Mr. Conkling, Mr. N. P. Banks, Mr. James G. Blaine, and Colonel 'Bob' Ingersoll you are. You do not act in the least towards your negro neighbors in the way they act towards theirs; and you look sulky, while they are quite cheerful. I see what you need is 'troops' and martial law."

In reply to our correspondent's question as to what the General

Government should do, we entirely concur with him in thinking that it ought to protect the blacks in the exercise of the electoral franchise, and, if necessary, in the freedom of speech and of meeting necessary to the *proper* exercise of the franchise. But we do most sincerely dread the establishment of the habit of using "troops" for this purpose under the orders of a political partisan at Washington, it may be like Chandler, at one and the same time the chairman of a campaign committee and a member of the Cabinet; and we protest most earnestly against putting them into the hands of United States marshals, who are themselves electioneering agents appointed for political reasons, and whose places and bread are dependent on the result of the election. Nothing like this has ever been seen in any constitutional country. It is against all sound principles of morals and politics. In short, our belief is that the negro can only be protected in the use of his newly-acquired rights with safety to our Government and political system by a reformed civil service in the hands of a President and Congress pledged to its support, and watched in the use of it by an enlightened and instructed public opinion. The protection of the negro by the use of armed force in the hands of such persons as Cameron, Morton, Conkling, Boutwell, and the rest of the old hands, we look on as dangerous to the public liberties and destructive of public morals. —Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

THE fall announcements of our publishers, too numerous to be repeated in full, are fairly represented in the following selections: From Scribner, Armstrong & Co.: Mr. Eugene Schuyler's 'Turkistan,' notes on the author's journey in 1873, freely illustrated; Dr. Henry M. Field's 'Journey around the World,' a reprint of his letters to the *Evangelist*; 'The Adventures of Captain Mago,' from the French of Léon Cahun; 'Michael Strogoff; or, The Courier of the Czar,' from the French of Jules Verne; 'Philip Nolan's Friends,' by the Rev. E. E. Hale; 'An Introduction to Political Economy,' by Prof. A. L. Perry; a new volume in Mr. Stoddard's Sans Souci Series, 'Anecdote Biography of Percy Bysshe Shelley'; and two new volumes in the Epochs of Ancient History Series—viz., 'Early Rome,' by Dr. W. Ihne, and 'The Early Plantagenets,' by Prof. Wm. Stubbs.——From G. P. Putnam's Sons: Col. Richard Irving Dodge's 'Plains of the Great West, and their Inhabitants,' 'An Alphabet in Finance,' by Graham McAdam, and the following reprints from foreign authors: Van Laun's 'History of French Literature'; Leslie Stephen's 'English Thought in the Eighteenth Century'; James Martineau's 'Attitude of Materialism towards Theology.' The Misses Warner's 'Gold of Chickaree' heads a list of fiction, mostly intended for the young folks, in which we can only note 'Once upon a Time,' stories of the ancient gods and heroes, by Mary E. Craigie. Children will also find useful, we are sure, 'Among Machines,' by the author of 'The Young Mechanic.' A 'Dictionary of the German Terms used in Medicine and the Collateral Sciences,' by Dr. George R. Cutter, and 'Unhealthiness in Houses,' by Dr. Wm. Eassie, a well-known English authority, form part of the medical announcements of the above house.——From Dodd, Mead & Co.: 'Near to Nature's Heart,' a new story by Rev. E. P. Roe.——From J. B. Ford & Co.: 'Mothers and Daughters: Studies for the Conservation of the Health of Girls,' by Dr. T. S. Verdi.——From J. W. Bouton: 'The Works of William Unger,' a series of seventy-two large etchings after the Old Masters by one who is himself a master, to be sold by subscription only to a limited number of subscribers; Planche's 'Cyclopædia of Costumes'; and Wilson's 'American Ornithology,' with life and notes by Sir Wm. Jardine.——From Henry Holt & Co.: 'The Carlyle Anthology,' selected with the author's sanction by Edward Barrett; 'Autobiography and Musical Grotesques,' by H. Berlioz, translated by W. F. Apthorp; 'Philosophical Discussions,' by the late Chauncey Wright, with a biographical sketch by Prof. Charles E. Norton; 'Early History of Mankind,' by E. B. Tylor; 'Ancient Society; or, Researches in the Line of Human Progress through Savagery and Barbarism to Civilization,' by Lewis H. Morgan; 'Political Economy,' by Prof. Francis A. Walker; and a 'Dictionary of the German and English Languages,' by Prof. W. D. Whitney.——From D. Appleton & Co.: 'The Autobiography of William H. Seward,' from 1801 to 1834, edited by his son, Frederick W. Seward; Prof. Huxley's recent lectures on 'The Direct Evidence of Evolution'; Darwin's 'On the Results of Cross and Self-fertilization in th Vegetable Kingdom'; and St. George Mivart's 'Contemporary Evolution.'——From J. R. Osgood & Co.: 'Pacchiarotto,' by Robert Browning; 'In the Levant,' by Charles D. Warner; 'Autobiography of Harriet Martineau,' uniform with the Memoirs of George Ticknor; volume iii. of Wilson's 'Rise and Fall of the Slave Power'; 'Private Theatricals,' by W. D. Howells; and the following works illustrated by heliotypes: 'A Bibliography of the Original Quartos and Folios of Shakspere,' by Justin Winsor; and 'The Life and Works of Raphael,' by Charles C. Perkins.——From Roberts Bros.: 'Wit, Humor, and Shakspere,' by the Rev. John Weiss; 'Bits of Talk for Young Folks,' by "H. H."; 'Wenderholme,' a tale by Philip Gilbert Hamerton; and 'Poems,' by the Rev. John W. Chadwick.——From Gebbie & Barrie, Philadelphia: 'Illustrated Catalogue: The Masterpieces of the United States International Exhibition,' by "Edward Strahan" (Fine Art), Dalton Dorr (Industrial Art), and Joseph M. Wilson (Mechanics and Science).——'The Empire of Brazil at the Universal Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia' is a volume of nearly five hundred pages of large print. It is not, as might be supposed from the title, a hand-book to the Brazilian exhibit, but an exhaustive description of the constitution and resources of the empire. It would of course greatly enhance any one's interest in the exhibit to read this work in advance, and we do not know of any recent publication on Brazil so full of statistics or so trustworthy. Maps of the railroad and telegraph systems are subjoined.

—In noticing lately (*Nation*, No. 581) Mr. Whitmore's painstaking work on the 'Law of Adoption in the United States, and especially in Massachusetts,' we supposed we were safe in following so accurate an authority when we mentioned that there was "no statute on the subject in this State." Judge Learned, of the Supreme Court at Albany, has courteously corrected us in a brief note, in which he says: "An act was passed in this State in 1873 (Chap. 830 of the Session Laws) to legalize the adoption of minors by adults. It provides for the mode, and declares the effect, of such adoption."

—The Castellani Collection has already received considerable attention at our hands, yet such of our readers as will procure the catalogue of it now issued by Signor Castellani will find themselves still surprised by its richness. The catalogue (which is sold, by the way, at the very low price of twenty-five cents) is divided into two sections, the first containing marbles and terra-cotta, bronzes, personal ornaments, gems, intaglios, cameos, and rings, and the second, Italian majolica. In the first section we can only note the "personal ornament" consisting of a bronze disk worn by slaves disposed to run away or who had run away, inscribed (in one instance) "Tene me qui afugi, et revoca me in Celimontio ad domū Elpidiivo Bonoso." The majolica section has a permanent value given it by facsimiles of the marks, dates, monograms, etc., of a large number of pieces. No less than 321 are described. We need not say that we hope visitors to the Exhibition will secure this catalogue both as a guide and as a souvenir.

—It may be news to some of our readers that an Inter-State Industrial Exposition is held annually in Chicago, and that one of its features is a loan collection of pictures. Last year some 650 were thus brought together, almost exclusively by American artists, and they were very effectively arranged in groups with red-brown draperies by Mr. W. H. Beard, of this city. Similarly have been hung the 597 pictures now on exhibition, of which by far the greater part are foreign, and while all have been loaned from the West, Chicago alone furnishes five-sixths of the whole. The number and average quality are surprising in view of the fact that, five years ago, the "north side" of Chicago, the wealthy quarter, was utterly burned out. Continental artists predominate in the present collection, and one meets specimens of the work of Cabanel, Calame, Corot, Doré, and Vibert, among the modern French school; of the Spanish Zamacoïs and Leon y Escosura; of the Belgian Kuwasseg, Verboeckhoven (9 pieces), etc., etc. The Belgians have, in fact, a room devoted mainly to them, the contribution of Mr. J. Russell Jones, formerly U. S. Minister to Belgium, now collector of the port of Chicago. A few Old Masters—a Ruysdael, a Cuyp—occur; there is one of David's portraits of Napoleon, and a portrait of a lady by Sir Peter Lely. Of the older American school, Cole and Sully are represented; of the younger, Church, the De Haas, Gifford, the Harts, Eastman Johnson, McEntee, C. H. Moore, T. Moran, Page, W. T. Richards, Vedder, etc.—a good showing. The catalogue of this exhibition displays far more care, taste, and typographical excellence than those we are accustomed to in this city. The pictures are entered and numbered according to their titles, and an index of artists enables us to ascertain at a glance the total number of any one's pieces, and the place of each on the walls. An index of owners is also subjoined. Information about foreign

artists of distinction is generally given, though not always under the first mention of them, nor once for all.

—Mr. John Kelly finds an apologist in a correspondent who writes us from Springfield, Missouri: "As an attorney I am supposed to be interested in the advancement of justice in every forum and in every form; and, as you have a reputation for fairness, I cannot disdain to plead in the fair court of your mind. Therefore, I inform you that the statesman from New York has an authority for his use of the word 'hypothecated.' In the opinion of the court in the case of Seaman *vs.* Johnson (46th Missouri Reports, page 111) occur the following words: 'The jury appear to have found the facts *hypothecated* in the closing part of the instruction.' If *facts* may be left as collateral, why may not a *case* be pawned?"

—There is great variety in the contents of *Lippincott's Magazine* for October, with plenty of entertainment. The illustrated articles are the regular paper on the International Exhibition, and one on "An African Fairhaven" (Goree). Mr. Robert Wilson takes leave of the Eastern Shore of Maryland in some historical reminiscences of a pleasing kind. Mr. Edward King, in "A Day with the Vöivoda," makes the most of a short excursion from Ragusa across the Austrian border to a Herzegovinian camp, and if he has really little to tell, still conveys a distinct impression of the impracticable nature of the country for military operations on a grand scale, and of the low grade of civilization which prevails among the insurgents. Professor Crane rehearses from the Sicilian folk-lore some amusing variants of the nursery and fairy tales of the Aryan race, together with some examples of the decay of the classical mythus, and a few religious stories in which St. Peter figures as the butt of his companions. Under the head of "Our Monthly Gossip," a writer attempts the rather superfluous task of framing rules for deriving the name of the inhabitant from the name of the State of the Union to which he belongs. As might have been expected, in order not to multiply the rules and exceptions he invents names which have probably never been applied and never will be. To be sure, he queries "Mainian" and "New Jerseian"; but if he had not tried to persuade himself that we say Massachusetts man and Connecticut man because an extra syllable would make too long a word, he would have admitted frankly that we say, and doubtless always shall say, Maine man and New Jerseyman. So, too, but for the "rule" that names of States ending in a consonant add *er* to form the name of the inhabitant, we might have had the possible and likely Oregonian suggested in lieu of the impossible "Oregoner." Equally intolerable are "Illinoiser" and "Michiganer" and even "Wisconsiner," all of which are properly queried. More useful than these speculations would have been a list of established patrials, and another of patrials still wanting or merely tentative as yet. The facts are only obscured by the attempt at philosophy.

—*Scribner's* for October has an article on salmon-fishing in which Mr. A. G. Wilkinson gives a good deal of valuable information about the rivers of the British provinces. For many reasons they have been till lately a *terra incognita* to American fishermen. The Canadian Government, which manages these things better than we do, gives leases of the salmon streams, commonly for several years, but occasionally publishes a list of vacant rivers, with the minimum prices at which season-permits will be granted; but, as a rule, the better class of streams are not let to people from "the States." Trout-fishing, however, for any one who cares to go so far for it, can always be had in certain streams well stocked with fine fish for a small sum per rod. Mr. Wilkinson, we observe, takes a very advanced view on the subject of salmon-rods, and declares himself in favor of split bamboo—an opinion likely to enure to the discredit of his piscatorial reputation among conservative sportsmen, who stick to greenheart. For novices it should be welcome news that they may use bamboo, for to any one unaccustomed to the business of casting a line and playing a fish weighing from ten to fifty pounds, that bends a rod nearly double and takes from ten minutes to an hour to kill, the weight of the necessary apparatus is by no means the least distressing and embarrassing part of the undertaking, and the difference in weight between a bamboo and a greenheart rod is very great. On the other hand, the novice must take into account the probability of spoiling his rod in his first campaign, which is greater in the case of bamboo than greenheart, as well as the difference in expense, which is considerable.

—The drama of "Queen Mary" has at length "approximated" to New York, having been played before many auditors from this city on Friday and Saturday nights in the Brooklyn Theatre. As now arranged for the stage, it seems to be less un-Tennysonian than we anticipated, the knife having hacked not only at the more unmanageable lines of the laureate, but also, with some gleams of conscience, at the interpolations of the adapter. The effect of hearing Tennyson upon the stage is quite peculiar; each word seems a necessity, and touches the ear with a distinctness of its own, the whole drama seeming the first ever played in really choice eclectic English. The chiselled phrases follow each other in a series of clear sculptural effects, touching the sense with regularity and measure, and affecting us not so much like anything whatever our dramatic repertory possesses, as like some piece of perfect word-joinery of Ponsard's or Feuillet's in French. The impersonator, again, comprehended her part. It is not difficult to believe that "Queen Mary" in England, as administered by Miss Bateman, should have been cooling and medicinal; we are familiarized with the limitations of that very Protestant-looking young person's art, and could forgive her for not looking much like a daughter of Holy Church or of a Spanish woman. Miss Dargon, who illustrates 'Queen Mary" for us, is a lady of the style of Mlle. Favart, now classical and now fiery, and she made of her part an unquestionable success. In the last act it was especially noticeable how the meagrest hints of Tennyson towards dramatic "business" were developed into well-invented acts and deeds; the dying scene lost the cabinet tone it seems to have when read in private, and became an energetic, swiftly-moving precipitation of results, quite dramatic in conception. In spite of a few crudities, the verdict won by Miss Dargon was approval to unanimity. There was a rapid chasing of various kinds of eloquence in the delivery of the proverbial lines:

> "Open my heart and there you will find written
> Two names, Philip and Calais; open his—
> So that he have one—you will find Philip only."

—The fierce battle which has been raging for some weeks between Mr. Bret Harte and Mr. Stuart Robson on one side and the press of this city on the other, seems to have been finally settled in favor of the critics. The "Two Men of Sandy Bar," after a rather unsuccessful run, is soon to be withdrawn, no libel suits are to be brought, and the manager of the Union Square Theatre, in an interview with the *World*, has explicitly denied that there were any grounds for the charge that the hostility of the press to the play was due to the fact that the press was not paid to write favorably of it. This charge, he says, is "idiotic," inasmuch as the authors of the charge on being requested to make it specific, and name a paper or person, could not do it. It ought to be said, however, in justice to Mr. Harte and Mr. Robson, that there were some grounds for their suspicions. No candid person, we think, who has seen the "Two Men of Sandy Bar" would ever dream of any self-respecting critic speaking well of a performance calculated to cause so much human distress and regret without a large bonus in ready money paid in advance. Knowing that this precaution had not been taken, it was by a natural confusion that Messrs. Harte and Robson were led to the unfair conclusion that the absence of the favorable criticism was due to the non-payment of the money. The truth about the subject of dramatic criticism in New York we take to be this: that when the press unanimously damns a play and begs that it may be taken off the stage, it does so because the play is bad; if the damning were done by a single paper, particularly if that paper were largely devoted to the "interests of the dramatic profession" or the "elevation of the drama," we should have our suspicions of the motive, but when the attack is from all sides there is nothing for it but to do what actors always tell us they like to do—"accept the verdict of the public." The "Two Men of Sandy Bar" is, on the whole, one of the poorest dramatic efforts we have ever seen on any stage. The plot is difficult to follow, the characters are unin teresting, and the dialogue flat. The part of *Colonel Starbottle* might possibly be made something of by a low comedian like Florence or Raymond, but for Mr. Robson, though certainly intended for a comic part, it is altogether too serious. *Hop Sing*, by Mr. Parsloe, is the best part in the play, but an "original American comedy drama" in four acts cannot be redeemed by one Chinese laundryman.

THE *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* FOR JULY.

MR. LEWIS H. MORGAN, whose Indian articles will, we hope, prove sufficiently numerous to warrant their collection in some permanent form, discusses in the current number of the *North American* the "Houses of the Mound-Builders." To the ordinary reader, whose knowledge of the Mound-Builders consists chiefly of the fact that they were a people who at some prehistoric time, for some prehistoric purpose best known to themselves, built mounds, the article will be a surprising revelation of the advance made by science in the domain of anthropology. The feat of the reconstruction of an extinct animal from a bone has now for a generation made the unscientific public gape with wonder; but the reconstruction of an extinct society from an embankment, and that, too, an embankment half obliterated by time, seems at first sight quite impossible. If any one

were to say that, given a mound octagonal in shape, on the banks of a river, constructed in an age long gone by, science would tell us what sort of people had built it, the purpose for which it was built, how these people lived, where they came from, what stage of civilization they had reached, whether they had a political organization, what sort of houses they constructed, how they defended themselves against their enemies, how many of them there were, and what became of them in the end—we should be inclined to imagine that any answers to these questions must be reached by mere guesswork. But these are the questions proposed by Mr. Morgan, and whether the answers he discovers are wholly right or not, the process by which he reaches them is as strictly scientific as chemical analysis. "Approximate solutions" are what Mr. Morgan in most of the cases arrives at, and these approximate solutions assure us that the mound-builders —American Indians who had reached the "middle status" of barbarism, the same as that of the Village Indians of New and Old Mexico and Central America—lived chiefly by horticulture, that they came from beyond the Mississippi to the Northwest, and there, adapting themselves to the change of climate, introduced modifications into the architecture of the Southern tribes, of which the remains are the mounds. Practising communism, and accustomed to live in joint-tenement houses made of adobe brick, with a ground-floor ten or twelve feet high, and closed up solid on the ground, externally, for purposes of defence, Mr. Morgan thinks that if they removed to a northern climate these Indians would endeavor to find some closely analogous method of building. Adobe bricks were out of the question, because they would not have withstood the climate, and so, for the first story of brick, the mound was substituted. Ten feet in height, it offered a convenient foundation for the huge tenement-house, which, built of wood, with sloping walls covered with mud or mortar, would have made, against all ordinary savage attacks, an excellent fortress. Mr. Morgan gives cuts illustrating a conjectural restoration of these villages. From the absence of all traditional knowledge of the Mound-Builders among the tribes east of the Mississippi it seems probable that their period of occupation was ancient, while their retirement, Mr. Morgan thinks, was probably voluntary, because, had it been the result of a protracted warfare, all remembrance of the event among the tribes which displaced them could hardly have been lost. "A warm climate was necessary for the successful maintenance of the highest form of village Indian life. In the struggle for existence in this cold climate, Indian arts and ingenuity must have been taxed quite as heavily to provide clothing as food. It is therefore not improbable that the attempt to transplant the New Mexican type of village life into the valley of the Ohio proved a failure; and that after great efforts, continued through centuries of time, it was finally abandoned by their withdrawal, first into the Gulf region through which they entered, and lastly from the country altogether." With regard to the numbers of the Indians, the population of a single household is got at by a comparison of the measurement of the mounds with those of communal houses of existing tribes; and this being fixed with tolerable accuracy, we have merely to take into consideration the small number of their settlements in the large areas over which they spread, and the fact that "dense populations, an expression sometimes applied to the Mound-Builders, have never existed without either flocks or herds, or field agriculture with the use of the plough," to arrive at the conclusion that the Mound-Builders were small in numbers. Professor Whittlesey puts them at 500,000. Mr. Morgan would prefer something like 150,000.

The "Proposed Charter for the City of Boston" does not altogether please Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, who presents in an article on this subject a sketch of a charter as he would have it. This scheme would make the aldermen and common council, as now, elective bodies, the former at large, the latter by wards, but without the condition of residence within the ward. The mayor, elected also, would be the only executive officer, and would appoint all the heads of departments, with absolute power of removal, having "through those heads the same power as to all subordinate officers." The heads of departments would be required to be present on alternate days at the sessions of the aldermen and council, to "explain their plans and their current action, and to be open, under parliamentary forms, to question and criticism."

"The council would have by its members and committees the freest access to inspect and examine the work and accounts of the various departments, but no power under any circumstances to interfere with or dictate to any executive officer, *except in public sessions of the respective branches.* It would be the duty of the head of finance, after full consultation with the other departments, to prepare an annual statement, showing, first, the sources and amount of revenue, analyzing the different branches, pointing out the defects and inconsistencies, with the possible remedies; and, second, the estimates of expenditure, pointing out such parts as, in his judgment, might be omitted or postponed with a view to avoid increase or effect reduction of taxation. The council would then, with the aid of heads of departments, discuss fully the financial statement, both in its various parts and as a whole, and would approve or alter as the majority should finally decide. It would rest with the mayor to veto the appropriations, either as a whole or in parts, subject to the final persistence of the council by a two-thirds or three-quarters vote. The same general method of procedure would apply to the working of the various departments."

The remaining articles in this number of the *Review* are an essay on "Italian Popular Tales," by Professor T. F. Crane, who points out some of their prominent characteristics, their relations to the folk-lore of other parts of Europe, and the light which they may be expected to throw on the moot question of the secondary or primitive Aryan origin of European popular tales; a valuable *résumé* by Mr. Simon Newcomb of "Recent Astronomical Progress;" and an article by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge on Morse's 'Life of Alexander Hamilton,' in which the estimate of Hamilton's character is very fairly drawn, avoiding the rhetorical length to which Jefferson went in pronouncing him "really a Colossus to the anti-Republican party," no less than the opposite view taken of him by John Adams, who declared that "he never could see what there was in that little West Indian."

Nearly half the current number of the *Review* is taken up by book notices. Among these, the one likely to attract most attention from the general reader is that of 'Joseph and his Brethren,' a dramatic poem, written by Charles J. Wells, the friend of Keats, a poet who has had the singular fate of surviving his own literary death, and, after being in his youth warned off Parnassus by his contemporaries who had obtained a footing there, of receiving in his old age a cordial invitation from the literary descendants of the generation to which he belonged to attempt the ascent once more. 'Joseph and his Brethren' was published in 1824, and Mr. Wells modestly referred to the performance as "litter." It fell dead from the press, and Hazlitt, who read it, and thought it showed great genius, advised the author, who was a lawyer, to stick to his profession. He is now living in Marseilles, where the *North American* thinks he may at times have "smiled grimly" when reading "remarks in self-complacent literary journals about the accuracy of modern criticism and the glories of English literature." Whatever bitter feelings he may have justly had on this score, there is no reason for any longer entertaining them, inasmuch as Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Rossetti, and the *North American Review* are engaged in organizing a "rally" around his neglected reputation such as we have had few instances of in modern times. Mr. Swinburne declares that "in dramatic passion, in dramatic character, and in dramatic language" his "great play is no doubt far ahead, not of Blake's work only, but of most other men's," while Mr. Rossetti is of opinion that "this work is, perhaps, the solitary instance, within our period, of poetry of the very first class falling quite unrecognized, and continuing so for a long space of years"; and the *North American* assures us that it finds in the poem a "richness and fulness of sound, and of that use of language which has been unknown among writers of English since the time of the greatest of the dramatists"; that the reader may discover in it "passages reminding him of Keats," with the added charm of "what Keats lacked"—a "perception of the relations human beings bear to one another." The *Review* gives a number of quotations to justify this high praise, but admits that they do not altogether make out a perfect case, inasmuch as the poem needs to be read as a whole. This, we confess, is to us a serious obstacle to the enjoyment of it, inasmuch as the extracts given are not, to our way of thinking, such as to lure the reader on into the mazes of a dramatic poem "not intended for representation." If we were to express an opinion on the extracts here given, it would be one of gratitude for the excellent advice given by Hazlitt to Mr. Wells in his youth; but, being well aware that there is no saying in advance what the taste of the public in poetry is likely at any given time to be, we are quite willing to admit that 'Joseph and His Brethren' may outlive in popularity even Walt Whitman, for whom Messrs. Rossetti and Swinburne have also made themselves sponsors.

English History for the Use of Public Schools. By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, M.A. Period II. Personal Monarchy. Henry VII. to James II., 1485–1688. With maps and plans. (London: Rivingtons. 1876. 12mo, pp. 355–804.)—A few months ago (see the *Nation*, No. 553) we reviewed the first part of Mr. Bright's excellent school history of England. The second part, now before us, is equally good, and has the merit of covering a period which, so far as we know, is not embraced by any other single work—that is, the entire Tudor and Stuart periods; for this volume may be considered an independent book, connected with its predecessor by hardly anything

more than a continuous paging. Of all the aspects in which the history of these two important centuries may be presented, we should say that the political aspect is in this volume the most prominent and successful. Constitutional changes are rather neglected; social relations are well but not very fully discussed; military events are briefly narrated—the plans of battles are few in number; but the practical working of institutions, the relations of parties, and the causes and effects of events, are very well handled. Even here, however, we miss what may be called the personal element: leading personages are not distinctly enough characterized; and in the case, for instance, of Strafford and Pym, these statesmen are introduced as already well known, so that the reader is, so to speak, surprised into an acquaintance with them. It must be remembered that this is a school history, and that the confusion in the names *Wentworth* and *Strafford*, which would not trouble an adult, would be very puzzling to a schoolboy. As an especially good specimen of the author's style, we will cite the passage upon the development of the idea of constitutional royalty (p. 583):

"Judicial and executive authority had been divorced from land, and had been placed in the hands of officials. In many instances these officials were elective. Thus the feudal notion with regard to authority had received a death-blow. Moreover, the agitation of the Reformation had given birth to Presbyterianism, or church government by the congregration, as contrasted with the government by divinely-appointed priests; and thus even in the sphere of religion the idea of official government had begun to supplant the idea of authority based upon Divine right. There then arose the question, Is not the king, after all, instead of being a proprietor, an official? and, if an official, whence is his authority derived if not from the source of all official authority, the people? There thus arose, in the place of territorial royalty or Divine-right royalty, the idea of official royalty depending on the will of the nation; in other words, of constitutional royalty."

We question, however, the correctness of the expression, p. 462, the "more modern conception of royalty" in the Tudor dynasty. It was more modern for England; but it was really the revival of the Roman imperial conception of sovereignty.

The maps are good for the size of the book, especially the map of Ireland, which gives the location of the Geraldines, Butlers, and other Irish powers. The map of Europe in the sixteenth century is not so good. It really gives the Germany of the Hohenstaufen period, with its Saxony, Thuringia, Swabia, Franconia, and Westphalia; even for this, indeed, Westphalia extends a good deal too far to the south. On the other hand, real powers of the Reformation period, like Brunswick, Würtemberg, and the ecclesiastical electorates, are omitted. Neither did Prussia at this period belong to Brandenburg, while Lithuania was connected with Poland. The index is good; so are the genealogical tables, although not so marked a feature as in the previous volume. We notice that in speaking of Vane's notes, used in the testimony against Strafford (p. 618), Mr. Bright adopts completely the view which Mr. Gardiner, the first authority on this period, only suggests cautiously, that "a candid reader cannot but believe that 'this kingdom' meant Scotland."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1876.

The Week.

THE story which the Democrats have been industriously circulating that Mr. Hayes is a member of the "American Alliance," a body intended to revive the "Native-American" movement, turns out to be founded on these facts: After the nomination of Mr. Hayes, the Alliance nominated Hayes and Wheeler as their candidates for President and Vice-President, and on being informed of the nomination he sent, through his secretary, a carefully-worded letter in reply, saying that he was "deeply gratified by this expression of confidence," acknowledging the importance of carrying New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, and promising at the proper time to give references to committees for "such aid and co-operation as seems to be advisable." The practical object which the Alliance has in view is an amendment to the naturalization laws "limiting the suffrage to persons born in this country, or of American parents; the election of American-born citizens only to official positions in this country." It does not appear, therefore, that Mr. Hayes has committed himself to the principles of the Alliance, but merely that he is willing to allow it to help on his own election. The body itself is of little or no importance, but its support of Hayes and the silence of his letter on the subject of the principles of the organization will not tend to conciliate the foreign vote.

The talk about a bolt in Butler's district continues, and an attempt made to get Judge Hoar to run against him has met, we are glad to say, with success. On all accounts the nomination is a good one. Judge Hoar has plenty of the courage, shrewdness, and natural humor which is needed in a contest with a demagogue of Butler's stamp, and will make a hard fight, though it now looks as if Butler's strength was so great as to make him almost certain of his election. His defeat by Judge Hoar would have important consequences, inasmuch as his brother, Mr. G. F. Hoar, is talked of as the reform candidate for Boutwell's seat in the Senate, and it is needless to say that the defeat of Butler would make it less easy for "the boys" to control the succession, and more likely that the place would be given to the leaders of the anti-Butler party, who undoubtedly have been Judge Hoar and his brother. The indirect support given to Blaine by Judge Hoar at Cincinnati impaired the confidence of the reformers in the latter, but they seem now to have forgotten or forgiven that. Mr. Boutwell, we regret to observe, keeps very quiet in the campaign. This must be on account of illness; for were he in good health, the stirring questions of the hour would no doubt prove far too attractive to allow repose. There is no man in public life who has given more time and thought to the subject of "outrages" and the question of mixed races than Mr. Boutwell, as his recent report on Mississippi shows, and the remedy of "remanding the State to a territorial form of government" so closely resembles some of the measures proposed for the pacification of the revolted Turkish provinces, that we can hardly help thinking that a full discussion of the Southern problem by him would not only help on the good cause here, but would be of some value to Gortchakoff and Bismarck as well.

A good many campaign lies have been "nailed" during the week, and a good many "charges" made. It is not true, it seems, that Mr. Vance congratulated his hearers in North Carolina on the fact that "the brave Southern heroes who dipped their hands in Union blood are for Reform and Tilden," but he merely quoted the sentiment from one of "Bob" Ingersoll's speeches, for the purpose of repudiating it with scorn. Nor is it true either that one Daniel P. Jones, an agent of the Christian Commission, on calling upon Mr. Tilden during the war for aid for sick and wounded soldiers, was brutally repelled by the Democratic candidate for President with the assurance that he (Mr. Tilden) would "rather see all the soldiers starve than give them one cent"; but, on the contrary, it turns out that this Jones is a feeble-minded man of low repute, and "generally shunned in consequence of his squalid appearance and uncleanly habits." On the other hand, Mr. Wheeler's record in Congress is being examined by the Democrats with good results, inasmuch as they find that he "put through" the Northern Pacific land-grant scheme, and engineered the Goat Island purchase in the House. Of these two charges the second seems to be much the best, as the Goat Island purchase was so notorious a job, that when the transfer of the island to the Central Pacific Railroad as a gift was proposed, one or two of the Democrats got up in their places and declared that if the island was going begging they were willing to make an offer of a round million or so for it themselves. Mr. Wheeler, besides being a "land-grabber," also turns out to be a "railroad-wrecker," inasmuch as he has been sued by a railroad, of which he was one of the trustees, to recover a sum of money which he is alleged to have abstracted from the treasury. We do not care to go into the merits of these accusations; but we may venture to remind the Republicans that if they do not enjoy having a candidate attacked in this way, it is their own fault. They made a great pretence at the time of the Cincinnati Convention of having selected Mr. Wheeler as their candidate on account of his established moral worth and "approved sagacity," whereas, in reality, he was selected partly because he came from New York, partly because no one knew anything against him, and partly by pure accident.

The Commission on the Prisons of this State, appointed by Mr. Tilden, has made its first report. It shows that there are great abuses, waste, and mismanagement of funds, as well as downright peculation; proves that this comes from the system of rotation and short terms, which has led officials to regard it as their business to make as much money as their opportunities would allow; and declares that there can be no hope of reform until the system is abandoned and fixity of tenure with responsibility—not to "the people" but to an energetic, faithful, and vigilant head—is introduced. The report is, in short, an out-and-out demonstration of the necessity of a reformed civil service in State affairs, which, *mutatis mutandis*, might have been made on the United States post-office or custom-house.

We wrote three weeks ago to a leading merchant in this city, who was an active Republican during and after the war, asking for information as to the practice among the men of his acquaintance and standing in the matter of making returns to the assessors under the income-tax law. Owing to his absence from the city, we received the answer only last Friday. It was not intended for publication, and we therefore suppress the writer's name:

"The whole matter of the income tax was a hard problem. The law was crude and careless, and no two assessors took the same view of it. Lawyers took contradictory views, and merchants were left in grave doubts as to their duty. Unless a man had a fixed, accurate income, he was in a complete fog. Many made up their return faithfully, giving the law the benefit of the doubt; many, equally well disposed, refused to return, and bore the penalty; many worthy and wealthy men, to my knowledge, who had country places, removed their voting power to their country homes, and left the rustic assessors, to whom an income of five or ten thousand

dollars seemed fabulous, to fix a small amount on which they paid a penalty. The result of the law was demoralizing to a sad extent. I am among those who believe the first year's income return of Gov. Tilden was an honest and fair one. As to the after years, I happen to know the facts. He was startled by the inconsistencies of the law and the absurdities of the rulings and cross-decisions under it. As a lawyer, he saw the impossibility of any correct and fair return, and went to A. J. Bleecker, the assessor in his district, told him his difficulty, asked him to go to his office and consult his books and to confer with his clerk, who had full charge of all his matters, and then to make up a full assessment, on which he would pay the penalty rather than run any risk of being criticised. In this he was more honest, open, and fair than most wealthy men, and deserves praise rather than blame."

The Silver Commission has been nearly made up by the appointment of two of the three "experts," who are Mr. Nourse of Boston and Mr. Groesbeck of Cincinnati, the first of them being a "gold man" and the second a "silver man." It will surprise a good many people to learn that Mr. Groesbeck is a financial "expert"; but the Commission from the first has been organized in the regular political way, and great pressure, it is said, was brought to bear on the members with regard to their "expert" patronage. The conflicting "claims" of the seaports of the Atlantic coast and of the Valley of the Mississippi were strongly urged, and were reconciled by the selection of the gentlemen named above. The Silver Commission is strictly non-partisan, and therefore cannot be assessed for election purposes.

The Southern correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, one of the few employed by the Northern press in that field, and one of the best observers employed anywhere, is confident that the whites will carry South Carolina for Hampton if not for Tilden. His chief reason for this belief appears to be the determination manifested by the whites, in spite of their numbering less than 300,000 in a population of 700,000. He anticipates some advantage to them, too, from the personal differences between Judge Mackey and R. B. Elliott, the Republican candidate for Attorney-General on the ticket headed by Governor Chamberlain. Elliott as a Congressman has publicly admitted the misgovernment of the State he represented, and has affected to deplore it as ruinous to the party's prospects; but in a State Convention, last spring, says the *Commercial's* correspondent, he was himself called a thief by Judge Mackey, and resented the charge by drawing his pistol and attempting to use it. These two politicians have not been on good terms at any time since, and Elliott's being on the ticket is said to ensure Mackey's going over to the other side. Either for fear or favor there will no doubt be a significant polling of black votes for Hampton, and the Charleston papers even publish lists of individuals who have made up their minds to support him. The old notion that the blacks would stand by their color and the party of freedom to the bitter end, would have been sooner exploded if "intimidation" had not been even more potent as exercised among themselves than as exercised upon them by the whites, and, of course, if political plunder had not had its cohesive effect in South Carolina as it has in every other community.

Commenting on Attorney-General Taft's recent remarks to some South Carolinians, in the course of which he said he saw no reason why the blacks should not form rifle clubs and sabre companies if the whites were doing it, the same writer thinks the reason will be apparent "after a few 'fights' have taken place." That is to say, a proper regard for the safety of the blacks would have made the Attorney-General careful in asserting for them a right, it is true, but a very dangerous right. If the approaching elections in South Carolina were to be decided by rifle clubs, the State would not be classed as doubtful, even, by any political calculator. As we pointed out last week, the negro in any armed collision is so overwhelmingly and mercilessly attacked that the result appears not a "fight," but a massacre. We do not suppose that the Attorney-General meant what he said for counsel, for no worse counsel could possibly be given. Here, if at any point, is the occasion for Federal interference, to preserve order and prevent collisions. The blacks do not need to be armed for protection; the whites should equally understand that they do not need to be armed to obtain their coveted preponderance. The one party will only furnish a pretext for wholesale slaughter; the other draw down upon themselves the United States marshals, with all their power to abuse the instructions of the Attorney-General. When the actual struggle commences, we hope both parties will feel that it is a moral and not a physical trial of strength, and, as often happens, that the seriousness of the stake will make the voters more orderly and discreet than ever.

In a speech recently made at Boston, Mr. Blaine, referring to the supposed danger to the Treasury from the horde of "rebel claimants" who, he says, would get their opportunity should the Democrats come into power, instanced a case decided in the United States Circuit Court at Portland as an illustration of this danger. He described it as a case "against General Neal Dow for sugar seized by him in Louisiana for the use of his soldiers." Soon after, and in another speech made in Ohio, he went into the history of the case, asking the attention of the lawyers as he revealed its real nature, declared that by it judgment was rendered in favor of a "rebel" against Dow personally for sugar seized by a foraging party; that Dow had offered the man a receipt for the sugar, provided he could prove his loyalty; that this he declined to do, and got judgment in a Louisiana Court; that the United States Court confirmed this judgment, but that the decision was "warmly dissented from by Judge Clarke, of New Hampshire," who had been "brought up in the true faith," but was overruled by Judge Clifford, whom he described as an "ingrain, hungry Democrat, double-dyed and twisted, dyed in the wool, and coarse wool at that," adding that, in his opinion, Judge Clifford had "carried" the case—or, in other words, withheld his judgment—for eight years, "and never affirmed that decision until he in his ignorance believed in a Democratic triumph," and Mr. Blaine suggested that if this were sound law, every soldier in the Union Army might be sued for trespass, and the owner of the field at Appomattox "collect ground-rent from Grant."

Now, as a matter of fact, this account of the case turns out to have been a misrepresentation from beginning to end. The plaintiff was not a rebel but was a well-known citizen of New York, Mr. Bradish Johnson, of unquestioned loyalty, and he brought an action in the Sixth District Court of New Orleans against General Neal Dow for the illegal appropriation of some sugar, plate, and other property by officers and soldiers of his command. General Dow not appearing, the case went for the plaintiff by default, and the suit in the United States court was brought upon the judgment of the New Orleans court. The only question presented was as to the validity of the old judgment, and had nothing to do with rebel claims in any way. Judge Clifford could have decided this himself, but thinking that it might be better that the case should go to the Supreme Court, himself called in Judge Clarke, so that they might certify to a division of opinion. Worse than all this, it is stated, and we understand on good grounds, that before Mr. Blaine made his Ohio speech Judge Clarke complained to him of the injustice he had done to Judge Clifford in his Boston speech, and explained to him the character of the case and the points involved in the decision. If this be true, it makes as black a case as there could well be; if it be not, it requires no ingenuity to see how Mr. Blaine got at his facts. If he were anybody else he would be covered with confusion. As it is, we suppose he will not be seriously damaged by it, any more than he was by the exposures of last winter, which so endeared him to his followers that they came within an ace of making him candidate for the Presidency. But the case deserves a thorough overhauling by the

press, for the Supreme Court is a body in whose purity and good fame every citizen of the country has a stake, and a wanton and unprovoked attack upon the character of any of its members is a matter of public concern compared with which the success of this or that party in a political struggle is a trifle.

It always gives us pleasure to call the attention of the Reformers who united with the anti-Tammany faction a year ago to the results of their movement as they gradually develop themselves. This movement, it will be remembered, was directed not only against "Boss" Kelly, but against Tammany Hall itself. The people, we were told, had revolted against the "one-man power" and government through secret societies and "Bosses," and were going to take the power into their own hands and destroy their enemies root and branch. For the purpose of accomplishing this good work we were invited to join a company of gentlemen whom Tammany Hall had purged itself of, on account of their extremely low or doubtful reputation, and to vote for a ticket got up by these popular favorites and thus defeat the regular Tammany nominations, most of which were very good. We declined to accept this invitation; but a great many good people did accept it, the movement was a complete success, and the Anti-Tammany ticket was triumphantly elected. And now what has the result been? Has "Boss" Kelly been made to bite the dust? Has the "one-man power" disappeared, or Tammany Hall been pulled down? None of these things which we were promised have come to pass; but something has happened of a kind which it seems the Reformers, in their moral zeal, did not dream of, though we should have supposed any child would have known that it was going to happen, and that is that Tammany, having been convinced by its formidable opposition that Anti-Tammany is possessed of a considerable political power, feels that it must not be dropped, but must be conciliated, and, accordingly, the public are called in to witness the last scene of the great Reform farce, which consists in a union of Tammany and Anti-Tammany for the division of the spoils, as we are informed in Monday's *Tribune*, on "the basis of representation proposed by Mr. Kelly, about two-fifths to Anti-Tammany and the remainder to Tammany Hall."

The breaking up of the combination to control the production and market price of coal has at length been followed by the downfall of the combination which has been sustaining the market price of Reading shares. For months past there was a standing bid in Philadelphia of 44 for any part of the capital stock of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, and the bid gave the seller sixty days in which to deliver the stock. Soon after the coal combination fell to pieces, a good deal of stock was sold to the brokers who made the bid. As the stock was difficult to borrow, no difficulty was found in "twisting the shorts," as they say in Wall Street, and Reading was suddenly advanced into the fifties, to return later to 44. Early in the week this bid was withdrawn, and the price fell until Monday, when it touched 19⅞. As the par of Reading stock is 50, the decline amounted to 48¼ per cent. It is not absolutely known who were the principal members of the combination which authorized the bid of 44. It is known, however, that the shrinkage in the value of Reading shares has been immense—about $16,500,000 in less than a week. The futility of the attempt of combinations to resist the inevitable has never been more strikingly illustrated. The coal stocks dealt in in New York have also declined during the week, Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western falling from 74⅞ to 64½, Delaware and Hudson from 67 to 61¼, and New Jersey Central from 28¾ to 23¼. The directors of the first-named road omitted to declare the regular October quarterly dividend, and this led to sales of moderate amounts of stock by small holders and of large amounts by speculators. New Jersey Central, in the latter part of the week, recovered all the early decline and advanced to 29, the attempt to put the Company into the hands of a receiver having failed and the October interest obligations having been met. There were two auction sales of 100,000 tons each of anthracite coal during the week, and the prices obtained were an average of fully 50 cents per ton above the prices obtained immediately after the breaking up of the coal combination in the latter part of August.

Domestic trade in every part of the country continues good, and in volume very much above any previous season since 1873. There is a fuller employment for money, although rates continue low. The New York banks now hold a surplus reserve of $16,300,000, or about $2,000,000 more than at the beginning of October last year, notwithstanding the many withdrawals of gold in the past two weeks by the Syndicate to pay into the Treasury. The official foreign-trade figures for the whole country down to the month of September have appeared, and show that for the eight months ending with the close of August the total imports amounted to $305,905,732, or $69,083,779 less than in 1875; the total exports during the same time amounted to $362,244,753, against $323,436,455 last year. Including specie, the exports for the first eight months of the year exceed the imports $101,777,841, whereas the excess of last year was but $15,843,077. Of course, the movement of securities is not included in the trade figures. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between $0.9070 and $0.9101. Silver in London advanced to 52⅝*d.* per ounce, English standard, and closed at 52⅜. At the end of the week the gold value of the trade-dollar was $0.8933; the gold value of the old silver dollar would have been $0.8778.

What Turkey was willing to concede, Tchernaieff did not mean that Servia should accept, and on Tuesday he forced an engagement which is reported to have been one of the most serious of the whole war. He attempted to outflank the Turks and cut them off from Nissa; but the substitution of Russian for Servian rank and file had not gone far enough to ensure success, and on the following day the Turks were able to assume the offensive in turn, but without any material change in the situation. Every day's delay, however, makes the front attack more difficult on their part, and so long as Tchernaieff's rear is unthreatened, and Russian recruits continue to pour into Servia at the rate they are now doing, the theatre of war cannot be far removed from Alexinatz. Moreover, any brilliant success opening the way for an advance on Belgrade would, it is now evident, be quickly fatal to Turkish interests. While the regular Russian army is contributing without opposition to the ranks of Servian volunteers, the Czar has addressed an autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, proposing, it is said, a joint occupation—by Austria, of Bosnia and Herzegovina; by Russia, of Bulgaria; Servia to be as independent as Roumania, and the Bosphorus to be watched by the fleets of both Powers (or, according to another version, by the fleets of France and England). The Czar insists that the reforms which Turkey may promise she cannot be trusted to carry out, and that the Powers must devise guaranties for themselves. No one can doubt that this is a perfectly sound view to take, and that the guaranty of occupation is the only one worth talking about. But then everybody knows that occupation means permanent control, whether undertaken by Austria or Russia; and Russia's unconcerned putting of Bulgaria in the same category with Bosnia and Herzegovina has produced a cold chill in Europe, as well it may. The days of the Turkish Empire are already numbered if Russian generals may make their headquarters at Philippopolis, while a Russian admiral flies his pennant in the Bosphorus with the consent of Western Europe. Ridiculous as such a state of things may seem, it would be only the logical conclusion of the first and faintest attempt to regulate Turkey's internal affairs by outside pressure or menace. The theory on which such interference can be justified is nothing else than the total incapacity of the Turks to govern either themselves or subject races in a manner which civilized mankind will admit to be even bad government. The "rule of parvenu slaves," as it has been aptly termed, is not and never will be government.

CAMPAIGN DECEPTIONS.

WHEN we called on Mr. Tilden a few weeks ago to answer the charges of the *Times* with regard to his income-tax, we did so in the full belief that his "true income," as made out by that paper, was based on authentic data, or at all events on reasonably credible information. Now that we find that it was actually for weeks calling him a "perjurer" and "swindler" on the strength of an estimate of his income which was the product partly of guess-work and partly of invention, we feel as if we almost owed an apology both to him and the public for the amount of attention the matter has received in our columns. The charge of "perjury" having been perforce abandoned, we are now asked to consider him dishonest because he allowed himself to be assessed, during the last ten years of the income-tax law, on a taxable income of $15,000, instead of making a return himself to the assessor; and are informed that, under a recent decision of the United States Circuit Court, he really had no option in the matter, as he says he had, ought to have made his return, and, if he did not pay his full tax, is still liable for the deficit to the Government over and above any penalty imposed by the assessor. The original charge was that, having by "perjury" in 1862 supplied the assessor with a false basis for his estimate, he went on paying less tax than he ought to have paid. Since the "perjury" part of it has broken down, it has undergone the necessary modification. The simple failure to make a return is now elevated to the rank of fraud of a very bad kind, and we are told that this of itself, without the preliminary perjury, proves Mr. Tilden a very unfit man for the Presidency; and it is then assumed that he must have been paying very much less than his due quota of the public burdens from 1862 to 1872, because it is "notorious," or is "generally believed," or is "well known" that during that period he was making large sums of money, and was becoming the very rich man that "everybody knows" him to be to-day.

As to his failure to make a return, we have only this to say: that the view he took, or says he took, of the legality of this failure, was one generally taken until now, and was acted on by large numbers of the most honorable and upright men in the community; that even if the Circuit Court has decided and the Supreme Court shall decide that there existed no such option as was supposed, and that the assessor's penalty was not final, it will simply, like many other revenue decisions, prove that Mr. Tilden and those who agreed with him were mistaken in the law. It will not *prove* that he was a knave. Even if there was any immorality in his paying on the assessor's estimate of his income, there will be no certainty of it until we *know* not only how much his total income during those ten years was, but the amount of it which was taxable—two facts which have no necessary or constant relation. A man's gross income might be very large and his taxable income very small or nil. To establish the amount of his "true income" this time, and the amount of it that was taxable under the law, we shall need something better than the assertions of a campaign paper or popular rumor. Most of the talk about men's fortunes, as everybody knows, is the wildest guessing. We do not know whether Mr. Tilden is a very rich man or not; but, suppose he is, it is easy to think of ways in which he might have become rich without increasing during a few years the amount of his taxable income, and easy to think of ways in which his income might have been increased greatly without increasing the amount liable to taxation. We know nothing on the subject which is not known to all newspaper readers, but we say unhesitatingly that anybody who, after the warning received from the fate of the "perjury" charge, aids or abets in assaults on Mr. Tilden's character based on common rumor or newspaper guesses about his income, will act in an indecent manner. We do not say that the Government may not be able to prove that he received a larger taxable income during the years referred to than $15,000, but we do say—wait for the proof. Do not condemn a man on newspaper guesses at the condition of his private affairs.

About the likelihood of the Government's being able to prove anything concerning the amount of Mr. Tilden's income from 1863 to 1872 we have no opinion to offer; but, even if it produced the amount to-morrow in black and white, we should have to wait for Mr. Tilden's statement of his deductions before making up our minds as to his moral position, even supposing the theory that it was wicked to make no return to be sound. Upon one cognate matter we have a very strong opinion. We believe the conduct of the Government in aiding in these attacks on Mr. Tilden by the supply of information to his newspaper assailants which they could have got from no other source, and above all in allowing a citizen's return of his income to be facsimiled for publication from the Government records by a party organ, in order to give a semblance of accuracy to an assault on his reputation, to be a striking illustration of the notions of "civil-service reform" entertained by some of the party leaders. And though we are not ready to ascribe the recent issue of a revenue circular, ordering the prosecution of all persons who, having paid their income-tax under an assessor's estimate, are believed to have paid less than was really due, to partisan motives and a desire to help in discrediting Mr. Tilden, we do say that if the scheme be carried out, it will be a very gross abuse of power. In the first place, to pursue persons on account of their incomes ten years ago, when they have lost their memoranda, might prove in many cases very gross injustice. In the second, nothing could be better calculated to cause a revival of the system of blackmail which was carried on by Sanborn under an act passed to help the Treasury in doing this very thing. Other scoundrels like Sanborn will soon appear to play on the fears or misgivings of the honest as well as the dishonest; for no man can feel perfectly sure that he did not overlook something in making his returns so long ago, and we shall have one more chapter added to the already long and odious history of Republican corruption.

If we are asked why we devote so much space to the discussion of Mr. Tilden's taxes, we answer that they have been made deliberately and of set purpose, both by Republican writers and orators, a prominent topic in the canvass—next to the Southern outrages the most prominent topic—and probably nothing produced in the discussion has thus far had so much influence on voters. Moreover, all kinds of party writers and orators, from *Harper's Weekly* down to the Boshposh *Clarion*, have plunged eagerly into the subject, almost to the exclusion of everything else. Now, if Mr. Tilden is to be beaten at the polls on account of his personal character, we hold it to be of the last importance to the cause of public morals that the view of his character which defeats him shall be the true view; that if he perishes he shall not perish of "campaign lies," concocted and circulated in the very heat of the fray, when there is little time or opportunity for examination. In other words, if we are to have a villain in this canvass, we must have a genuine and not a show villain got up for electioneering purposes. In the second place, all right-minded men will be properly put on their guard with regard to these Tilden charges by the fact that they are made by politicians who are themselves corrupt and have as yet shown no signs of shame or repentance. Their old chiefs—themselves, as has been well said, "part of the thing to be reformed"—are still at the head of the "reform movement." There is every known sign, except the tardy denunciation of the Boston papers, that Butler is very popular with the party in his own State. Blaine, whose railroad transactions formed the last of the Republican "exposures," and whose defeat, though by only a few votes, was considered a great triumph of the reform interest at Cincinnati, is gradually but surely coming to the front as the most influential and popular orator of the canvass, and has even gone to Ohio, he says in a published letter, at "the request of Governor Hayes." He is, in fact, unless Mr. Hayes is a man of extraordinary nerve and resolution, at this moment, according to recognized party usage and tradition, the most prominent candidate for a place in the next Republican cabinet; and if he gets it, let us warn reformers, it will be a sign and proof that the movement for "reform within the party" has again proved a disas-

trous failure. We, therefore, who see clearly that the battle of reform will not be over in one year or two, and may be not in ten, would warn those whose hearts are in the cause that the need for caution and vigilance is as great as it has ever been; that whichever way they vote at the coming election, they ought to vote with their eyes open, and on facts and considerations they have well examined, and not on curbstone rumors about Tilden's taxes or private fortune; and that they ought to protect themselves carefully against that most fruitful source of discouragement—a consciousness of having been easily duped.

JUDGES AND WITNESSES.

THE proceedings in the recent Bravo poisoning case have raised a good deal of discussion in England as to the license of counsel in cross-examination—a question which recent trials in this country have shown to possess no little interest for us also. In the Bravo inquest, as in the Tichborne case and the Beecher trial of last year, the cross-examination of the witnesses was pushed into matters very remotely connected with the issue under trial, so that the general result of the enquiry was not, as in most cases, the eliciting of a certain number of facts bearing on the question in court, but a complete revelation of the whole private life of a family, or of a certain part of it, and even of a whole circle of families. The glaring exposure of matters usually kept close, and not even talked about, formed in fact the great fascination of these *causes célèbres*. It is difficult at the first blush to see how in the Beecher trial Tilton's eccentric nocturnal habits could have thrown any light upon the question of Beecher's guilt; nor in the Tichborne case was it at all apparent that an answer to the enquiry put to one witness—whether he had, at some distant period of time, had improper relations with some person not connected with the case—could even remotely tend to settle the Claimant's identity. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, discussing this kind of cross-examination resorted to for the purpose of breaking down the credit of a witness—of "showing him up" to the jury, and thus inducing them to pay less attention to his evidence than they otherwise would—has stated the case in the following manner: Suppose, it says, that the legislature of a free country were some fine morning to pass a law authorizing any one who chose to take it into his head, to compel any inhabitant of the country to answer any questions he might think fit to put with regard to the other's moral character, his relations with his parents, brothers and sisters, wife and children, his business affairs, his property, his debts, and in fact his whole private life, and to do all this without there being any dispute between them or even any alleged grievance; what would be thought of such a law? Would it be endured for an instant? Now, this, the *Pall Mall Gazette* continues, is to-day the law of England. It is just this odious tyranny which any one, by bringing a suit, can, under the vague and almost unlimited power to punish for "contempt of court," force submission to.

The law on this subject is, generally speaking, the same in the United States as in England, and this tyranny, if it really exists, weighs upon us as heavily as it does upon Englishmen. The first question that suggests itself is whether this is really a fair statement of the law; and, of course, the *Pall Mall Gazette* admits that there exist limitations of the right of cross-examination, but it contends that these are so undefined as to amount to little or nothing in the way of protection. The authorities contain little on the subject, except that cross-examination as to credit is allowed to go very far, and that judges may in their discretion stop it when it goes too far. But judicial discretion is proverbially an uncertain thing. It varies not merely with the court, but even in the same judge it is affected by the state of his temper, his curiosity, his feelings toward the counsel who is examining, and by a thousand other things that no one can know anything about or depend upon. Usually it is easier not to exercise than to exercise discretion, and the result is that the right of cross-examination is usually unchecked, and in most important cases, which are widely reported, the right is pushed to lengths which, with witnesses of any sensibility, amount to a process of slow torture. If the right is abused in England, it is unquestionably abused here; and probably at the time of the Beecher trial we should have had complaints about it but for the fact that in the singular society in which the parties to that case lived, a craving for notoriety had been developed which made any discussion of their private affairs less disagreeable than it is to most people. But with the great majority of mankind there is nothing more odious than the extraction by a sharp, hostile lawyer, from their own unwilling lips, of the details of their moral history. There is probably no one in existence, however good, and however quiet his conscience may be, who can endure without a shudder the thought of every transaction of his past life being dragged out in a court of justice for the amusement of a gaping crowd. Exactly how far the right is abused, and how far the discretionary powers of courts to limit its abuse accomplish their end, it is impossible to say, for it is only in sporadic cases of unusual importance that interest in the result is strong enough to warrant a lawyer's going to great length in cross-examination, and usually, too, it should be said for the credit of the profession, reputable lawyers shrink from outraging a witness's sensibility; but after everything is admitted that can be admitted in favor of the existing state of the law, it is impossible to deny that the door is left very wide open to disgraceful assaults upon credit which inflict serious and irreparable damage.

The difficulty is not in pointing out the evil, which is plain enough, but in suggesting a remedy. The rights of cross-examination are among the most important that the machinery of our law provides for the discovery of facts, and on the credibility of witnesses all cases hinge. The moment we begin to limit it by fixed rules we enter on dangerous ground. It might seem as if the solution of the problem lay in the enactment of a rule that witnesses should only be cross-examined as to their general reputation with regard to truth, and as to the matters involved in the case directly affecting their credibility; but this would by no means do. Suppose, for instance, that the suit is a common action for the purchase-money of a piece of cloth, and the defendant brings a witness who swears that he saw the defendant pay the money to the plaintiff, while the plaintiff has only his own evidence to rely upon in proof of non-payment; if, in such a case, the plaintiff were merely allowed to cross-examine the witness directly, he would in all probability lose the case, as the testimony would be two to one against him, and the story of the witness, as the only disinterested person, would probably be believed by the jury. But suppose that, on cross-examination, it turns out that this witness can give no good account of his manner of earning his living or of his place of residence; that he had been arrested not long before as a vagrant, and that down to the time of the action he had no respectable clothes, and that he suddenly became possessed of some; that he deserted from the army immediately after getting his bounty-money, and so on—there can be little doubt that his credit with the jury would be much impaired, and justly so, although no direct evidence of his being a perjurer had been introduced, and not a particle of his testimony had been strictly controverted. Every one who has followed with any care the evidence taken in celebrated murder trials or divorce cases knows how frequently a rigid cross-examination lays bare motives and prejudices on the part of witnesses which, often without their knowing it themselves, tend to bias their account of facts.

The problem, therefore, is to devise some means by which these benefits of a searching cross-examination may be retained, and yet the abuse got rid of. The only feasible way of meeting the difficulty yet proposed is that of drawing up a series of rules or general directions as to evidence, which shall not attempt to prescribe formal limits for cross-examination, but shall lay down in explicit words the general principles which should govern a judge in such cases. These rules would practically be a definition of the "discretion" he is now supposed to exercise. They would, for example, direct him

not to allow an examination into matters so remote in time from the case in hand that they can have no bearing on the credibility of the witness; nor to allow questions to be put which are plainly malicious, and asked for the purpose of irritating the witness; nor to allow any examination into transactions which, though they may have a bearing on the character of a witness, have none on his credibility—*e.g.*, an enquiry, in a murder case, of a witness in good standing, as to domestic difficulties with a deceased wife. It is not easy to lay down beforehand any rules by which we can discriminate the kind of evidence as to transactions involving moral character which ought not to affect credibility, but every one can easily imagine instances of such evidence. General directions of the kind we have just suggested are no more than a formal enunciation of the manner in which the "discretion" of a good judge would be and is exercised. They do not change the law, but they remind judges of what they may forget, and they may be appealed to by a persecuted witness with far more certainty than judicial "discretion." In the Indian code, which is probably the best body of law that the legal reform movement begun by Bentham in the last century has yet produced, rules of this kind have been laid down, and we believe have been found to work with success.

THE ISOLATION OF RUSSIA.

PARIS, September 8, 1876.

A MEMBER of Parliament, well known for his exuberant wit, but somewhat deficient in good taste, was once chaffing Disraeli on his extraordinary attentions to Lady Beaconsfield, who was still alive. Disraeli always behaved to her like a true paladin, or a geographer of the *carte du Tendre*. He did not much like the remarks which were made to him, and finally he got up and quietly said: "Well, I am afraid *you* don't know what gratitude means." There may be, there is, gratitude between individuals. Is there such a thing between nations? This is a question which Russia may well ask at the present moment, when she turns her eyes in the direction of Berlin. The Servian drama is drawing to its close, and the moral of the tale can now well be drawn. The agitation in Herzegovina was the beginning of the sad story which history will have to relate. This agitation was artificial, kept up from the outside. Everything at the time seemed quiet in Europe: the three emperors saw each other at regular intervals, they exchanged uniforms, they kissed each other in railway stations. The triple alliance found its first expression in the Andrássy Note. Bismarck thus early kept himself back and put his Hungarian colleague forward. Then came the Memorandum; this time Prince Gortchakoff was put forward by the German chancellor. The Memorandum was a much more serious affair than the Andrássy Note; it was ominous at the close, and there was in its last paragraph a vague threat of a common intervention in Turkey. Gortchakoff did not see the danger; he was full of confidence; he believed in Bismarck; he forgot that once Russia saved Austria from complete destruction. When the revolution was triumphant in Vienna, and Hungary had become independent, Russian armies entered Hungary and the capitulation of Comorn was the end of the struggle. Austria was saved; and who does not remember the famous prediction uttered at the time: "Austria will some day astonish the world by her ingratitude." The time came when Austria could have paid her debt—when Lord Palmerston and Napoleon III. became allies and resolved to make war against Russia. The Crimean war would not have taken place if Austria had stood by the side of Nicholas. The Czar could never believe that he would be given up alone to the occidental powers. He died broken-hearted, full of impotent rage against ungrateful Austria. Russia has not saved Northern Germany from ruin, but she has rendered invaluable services to the new German Empire. Since the days of the last Polish insurrection, when the alliance was struck between the two northern emperors, Bismarck's hands have been completely free. In the Schleswig-Holstein question, in the war against Austria which ended at Sadowa, finally in the great war against France, Russia stood by the side of Prussia as a sort of invisible ally. No armies of observation were ever necessary on the Vistula, in the Duchy of Posen, on the long Russian frontier. The whole strength of the Confederation was thrown against France. The Czar has ever spoken of the victories of his imperial nephew in the tone of an enthusiast; he allowed himself to speak of France as the "gemeiner Feind"; he gave flags to the conquerors of Sedan, heaped honors, crosses, and ribbons on the Prussian generals. Will Prussia ever astonish the world by her ingratitude?

We see her now completely silent, and in an attitude of observation. Her hand probably set fire to the Herzegovinian match, but since the Memorandum she has not made a move. Bismarck is always at Varzin. Gortchakoff felt so strong at the time of the interview at Ems that he did not even send the text of the Memorandum to England by a courier; he sent it *by the telegraph;* and for what reason do you suppose? Because he was in a great hurry to go to Wildbad, where his smiling face is a part of the landscape every year during the summer season. To those who told him that he was treating England very unceremoniously, that perhaps she would not sign, he answered with the most perfect assurance: "Elle signera." Well, she did not sign, and her refusal was the beginning of the present difficulties. One of the consequences has been that Prince Gortchakoff could not go, not even for a day, to Wildbad, which is in itself an event as extraordinary as a total eclipse of the sun.

The victories of the Turks have placed Russia in the most painful situation; the Christians are more oppressed than they have ever been; Russia is further than ever she was from Constantinople. Prince Gortchakoff evidently made great miscalculations; he first overlooked one great fact—viz., that he is the Chancellor, not the Emperor of Russia. Now, it is well known that the Emperor will not hear of war; he remembers how his father was forced into the Crimean war, and what misfortunes fell upon his country in consequence of it. He has accomplished a great and immense work, the emancipation of the serfs, and he is contented with it. He holds reviews, and has all sorts of fine military uniforms; but he is not a soldier; he hates war, and he says so. He says it so often and so loud that it is a great pity that his diplomacy should ever enter into what is called a "question," especially into a question so full of snares and dangers as the Eastern Question. For, after all, there is no use writing despatches if behind your despatches one don't see the light artillery of *ultimatums* and *points*, and behind this the real, heavy bronze or steel artillery. Arguments are thrown to the wind if they don't cover battalions. Your chancellors are nothing if they are mere scribes and sophists, and if they cannot open the door of the council-room to the commander-in-chief of the army. As Talleyrand once said: "Quand je ne peux plus être civil, je cède la place au militaire."

Bismarck has very hard names for everybody; he once called Prince Gortchakoff "das alte Weib." The expression is perhaps not too severe if Prince Gortchakoff entered into the Eastern Question without having any guarantee either from his own sovereign or from Prince Bismarck. We cannot yet tell what he may have in store; to the mere observer of passing events it would seem as if all the Pan-slavish agitation were of no avail, and as if the Czar were resigned to everything. On the other hand, it would seem as if Berlin were now nearer London than St. Petersburg; there are signs of some sort of understanding between England, Germany, and Austria, for Austria is now always drawn into the orbit of Germany. I don't say that Russia is isolated; she certainly seems isolated; she is now turning her eyes, in her great humiliation, towards France. France certainly has no sympathy for the Turkish cause; she has been horrified by the atrocities committed in Bulgaria; but France is helpless; she can do nothing for those who have helped to deprive her of her finest provinces. Who entered a word of protest, I do not say after Wörth, or after Sedan, but when the treaty of Frankfort was signed? Who showed the slightest pity for our sufferings? In whom can *we* believe? It is for us now to say: "La France ne boude pas, elle se recueille."

Far be it from me to boast of the influence of the "grande nation" in Europe; nobody feels more keenly than I do what we have lost; nobody has analyzed with a more painful interest our national defects and wants. I had no illusions when the great cry of "regeneration" was uttered after the misfortunes of the war. The revolutionary poison is working its way into the finest blood-vessels of the nation. Between the unreasonableness of Ultramontane Catholicism and the rude and coarse teachings of the Darwinist and materialist school, our youth grow up without any moral teaching. Our politicians have become a class as corrupt and unprincipled as can be found in a South American republic. Still something survives—the good sense of the rural classes, the spirit of industry and economy, the military spirit of discipline, the disinterested love of country; and it is certainly marvellous to find France, after so short a time, still compact, united, rich, and more prosperous, in a material sense, than any country in Europe. Her place cannot be filled; every country in turn will feel that "there is something rotten" in Europe since we have been despoiled of our natural defences.

Russia's turn has come. How eagerly the Russians now surround our

Minister of Foreign Affairs! It seems as if he were the arbiter of their destiny. The Duke Decazes has become suddenly very popular in Russia and very unpopular in London. And why? For this simple reason: the Duke Decazes affixed his signature to the Gortchakoff Memorandum without waiting until he heard of the resolution of Lord Derby. How could he well refuse to do so? Three emperors, three powerful chancellors, came to him and said: "We wish to do something for the Christians in the East; we have made our programme; do you approve it?" The duke signed as a matter of course. He had no conflict of interests with Russia; he could send no fleet to the Bay of Besika; he has no road to India to defend; he is not the representative of the greatest Mussulman nation in the world. The signature of France was a mere act of courtesy and nothing more; but it has been interpreted as a rupture with England and the beginning of an alliance with Russia. Alas! we cannot afford now to have enemies or friends; we are alone—"moi seul, et ce n'est pas assez." Russia also finds herself alone; she feels that England and Germany are ready to enter into a league against her. Grossdeutschland is not at all likely to forget the old theories about the necessary influence of the Germans in the valley of the Danube. Bismarck has always coquetted with the Hungarians, who are the secular enemies of the Slavs. If the Tories remain in power long, if Disraeli is allowed to have his own way, we must expect, I believe, to see a sort of coalition of England, Germany, and Austria against Russia. But will the Tories remain in power? The agitation against them seems to gain much ground. The Bulgarian atrocities has become a basis of operations for the Liberals. If Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and their friends come back to power, then the whole aspect of things would be changed; but it is idle to expatiate upon the consequences of an event which is still so doubtful. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

THE SWISS LIBERAL CATHOLIC CHURCH.

GENEVA, September 8.

THE constitution of the Old Catholic, Liberal Catholic, National Catholic, Christian Catholic Church (this last is the name finally pitched upon) may be, and doubtless is, ecclesiastically and religiously a failure. But then it is a political success, at least for the present. It has completely solved the difficulty under which some of the cantons lay—notably Berne and Geneva—of being under treaty obligation to support Catholic churches and clergymen in the Catholic part of their territory. It has enabled these cantons to turn out the whole hierarchy of Ultramontane clergy neck and heels from their churches and parsonages, and even, in some cases, to banish them for a time from the republic. And, on the other hand, it has enabled them to confer churches, parsonages, and salaries on a new set of stipendiaries of their own who are far from having any conscientious scruples against a cordial support of the Government—that is, of the party in power that gave them their offices. How good a thing it is to have enough of such officers posted in every parish any member of a State Central Committee will be able to inform you. The "Liberal-Radical" party used to be devoted to the idea of church disestablishment; but since the new church organization has been set up they do not take the same interest in the subject; in fact, they prefer the present arrangement.

Just at the present writing they are busy at Bonn in bringing out the topstone of the new (beg pardon!) the Old Catholic Church, in the consecration of Professor Herzog as Bishop of Switzerland. "For moral effect" (so one of the Liberal Catholic clergy told me) they had meant to have this solemnity at Soleure, partly because it was the capital of a Catholic canton and famous as the old-time residence of a bishop, and partly because there were magnificent churches there that could be taken possession of for the occasion, by consent of the Liberal Government, to the horror and impotent rage of the Ultramontane occupants. But the clergy of St. Ours, the most conspicuous and cathedral-like of these churches, refuse to give place, and have thus defeated the sacrilege; but the result is that the citizens of Soleure promptly hold a meeting, and resolve to proceed without delay to elect a new staff of clergy for the town; for it is a notorious fact that this Catholic city is Liberal Catholic by a large majority, and that the people have been waiting these four years for a convenient occasion to vote their present pastors out of doors.

But, as I have said, instead of Bishop Reinkens coming to Soleure to consecrate Mr. Herzog, Herzog goes to Reinkens at Bonn, metropolitan city of Old Catholicism. This is not grateful to Swiss patriotism; and both in Germany and in Switzerland the Old Catholic movement is much more an affair of patriotism than of religion. The question is muttered quite audibly whether it was on the whole so much worse for the bishop elect to go South for his pallium than to go North for his consecration. Geneva, on hearing of the proposed change, made haste to telegraph to Mr. Herzog, enquiring, in the spirit of Naaman the Syrian, whether Berne and Geneva, cities of Switzerland, were not better for the purpose than all the towns of Germany, and offering for the solemnity their large and splendid church of Notre Dame, built (at no expense to them) by Bishop Mermillod. However, this little irritation will be forgotten, and the new ecclesiastical structure will, in a day or two, be completed.

The new church came near having no bishop at all. The constituent body that had the ordering of its polity was all ready to establish and run it on democratic principles, but was dissuaded by the prayers and entreaties of some of its clerical members. It consented to retain the office of bishop, on condition that it should be stripped of all authority. Consequently in this "constitutional church" the bishop is kept, like the queen-bee in a hive, simply for breeding purposes. His sole function is to ordain; and this he may do, and *must* do, when required by the body of laymen tha are over him, and not otherwise. Considering what a miscreant crew of free-thinking politicians these laymen are, it is no wonder that Hyacinthe and his friends consider their tutelage an inadequate security for Catholic order and orthodoxy.

As to the amount of religious vitality in the new Church, there is little information to be got from the reported statistics. The German Old Catholics return so many hundred thousand adherents, and so many congregations, and complacently invite comparison with the growth of the Lutheran Reformation for a like period. But *such* adherents and *such* congregations it is simply delusive to compare with the ardent believers and throngs of fervid worshippers that followed the standard of the great Reformation. The Old Catholic voter is faithful to his religious duties on election-day, when there are churches to be appropriated, or priests to be annoyed with vexatious laws, or monks or nuns to be harried out of the canton; but on other Sundays he puts his unbaptized baby into a perambulator, and walks out with his wife to adore the God of nature in the suburbs; or if (as is commonly the case) he be not a family man, he practises the fellowship of the saints at a cabaret or café. This explains how it is that *Notre Dame de Genève*, after having been taken possession of in the name of a majority of the Catholic citizens, shows a beggarly attendance of a score or two of persons, while the *new* Notre Dame, built by voluntary contribution for the extruded clergy and congregation, is thronged with worshippers. In the country villages the contrast is even more violent—only in two or three, so far as I can find on enquiry, is the "*intrus*" or "*apostat*" (these are the names by which the new curés are commonly spoken of in conversation) making progress in securing the good will of his parishioners.

For another indication of the strength of the new movement, I would suggest that the statistics of church-building be looked up. I have not access to the figures at this moment, if there are any figures. But I should like to know whether anywhere in Europe the Old Catholics (who in some places have bitterly complained of being debarred from the use of churches) have ever built a church for themselves, in all these seven years. On the other hand, in the Roman Catholic regions hereabout, and in some of the Ultramontane Swiss cantons, new churches spring up like the grass of the earth; and in the cantons where the parish churches have been handed over to the Liberals, new buildings have been at once erected to supply the want.

Since I have got so far on this topic, I may as well go through with it. The character of the new clergy inspires no good hope for their work. I have some correspondents among the curés of a region where the "Reformation" has been pushed forward by the Government with special energy. They write to me from time to time the most urgent letters imploring my aid in finding them wives (any lady wishing to be considered as a candidate may apply to me through the *Nation* office), and giving me occasional hints about the state of the kingdom of heaven as represented by themselves. I get the impression very unmistakably, from this trustworthy source, that their colleagues throughout that region are scalawags. Their account of them is more specific and therefore more impressive, but it may be summed up in this favorite Americanism. There are eminently worthy and respectable men among this clergy; and I do not exclude from this worthy category those whose "coming out of Babylon" has been partly because they wanted to marry a particular person. But the best of them may be divided into gushing sentimentalists like Hyacinthe, and men of a scholastic conscience like the German theological leaders—men who have the notion that a great popular religious revolution can be founded on arguments about the genuineness of the Decretals. The main religious value of the movement is as a crucial test of Mr. Matthew Arnold's preposterous paradox that great religious movements always succeed on a merely nega-

tive basis—that apostles, reformers, confessors, and martyrs commonly toil and suffer for what they don't believe. What the basis of the present motionless movement really is has never been so well summed up as when, five years ago, with a sudden and solitary gleam of inspiration that shot through the sombre and nebulous wit of the German *Punch*, the position of Dr. Döllinger was thus defined by *Kladderadatsch:* "I freely concede, if you insist upon it, that two and two make five ; but not all the tortures of the Inquisition shall ever extort from me the confession that two and two make six."

Visitors to Geneva are always interested to ask, What is Hyacinthe accomplishing ? and are often disappointed to learn that he is accomplishing nothing. Since his secession from the Liberal Catholics, he has simply been running a conventicle, much frequented by travellers and others who admire his fervid and poetic declamation. I can find no evidence that he is doing anything that will not disappear the moment he leaves it. I have reluctantly given up the hope that he has any important or useful career before him, or that there is any great future for the religious movement in which he was at one time the most conspicuous figure. Still, as these easy-going reformers are quite too fond of saying, there is no knowing what may turn up when the Pope dies ; and if complete religious liberty should be established in France, something may be wrought among the impressionable Celts by the congenial eloquence of their now exiled fellow-citizen.

THE WAGNER PERFORMANCES.

II.

BAYREUTH, August 31, 1876.

IMMEDIATELY before the grand ending of "Rheingold" two mysteries presented themselves—the secret purpose to which *Wotan* referred in naming the castle Walhalla, and the motive which at the same time sounded for a moment from the orchestra. The explanation of both follows in "Die Walküre." Alarmed at the brief but significant prophecy of *Erda*, *Wotan* determined to strengthen the defences of the gods by an addition of heroes. To this end he begot nine daughters, one of them *Brünnhilde*, by the all-wise *Erda*. These he called *Walküren* or *Valkyries*, because their duty was to choose (*küren*) the slain (*Wal*). They were to watch over conflicts, and to carry to Walhalla, the hall of the slain, those heroes who were worthy to live among the gods. With this force *Wotan* hoped to repel any attack made by the possessor of the ring. But *Erda* warned him that, should the ring fall again into *Alberich's* hands, his force of heroes would be of no avail. He must exert himself, therefore, to restore the ring to the Rhine-daughters. But it has been paid, in ransom of *Freia*, to the giants; and *Fafner*, who with characteristic stupidity has used the Tarnhelm to transform himself into a dragon, keeps watch over both ring and treasure. Bound by the compact which necessitated the payment of the ring, *Wotan* cannot disturb *Fafner* in its possession, since as the defender of oaths and compacts among gods and men, he must be the last to violate them. He seeks, therefore, a hero who, of his own free will, shall kill the dragon and restore the ring to its rightful owners. He leaves the company of the gods. A mortal wife bears him twin children, *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde*, and through the former, he trusts, the safety of the gods shall be assured. For years the father wanders with his son, teaching him deeds of prowess ; but on returning home from one of their exploits they find the house burned, the mother killed, the daughter carried away. For a while they wander together in the guise of wolves ; but *Siegmund* suddenly loses trace of his father, and finally meets with the adventure which precedes the opening of "Die Walküre." Having attempted to defend a maiden who is compelled to marry against her will, *Siegmund*, after killing a number of his opponents, loses his weapons, and is forced to flee. In the midst of a storm, he comes to the very house where his sister, *Sieglinde*, lives as the wife of her captor, *Hunding*.

Freed from the restraints imposed upon it in "Rheingold," the genius of Herr Wagner bursts forth in "Die Walküre" with all its vigorous spontaneity. The splendid opening movement, expressive of a storm, indicates at once in the composer a consciousness of his freedom to give the fullest expression to his feeling. The opening of the curtain discloses a room in the centre of which an immense ash-tree rises and supports the roof. *Siegmund* pushes open the door and falls exhausted on the hearth. In a moment *Sieglinde* appears, and, in response to the stranger's call, gives him a drinking-horn and bids him welcome. Their glances meet : years have passed and they do not recognize one another, but a strange sympathy holds them motionless. At length *Siegmund*, thankful for his refreshment, starts to go away ; unhappiness follows him everywhere, and he will not bring it to this house. But *Sieglinde* tells him it is there already, and bids him stay. At this moment *Hunding* returns home. *Sieglinde* explains the stranger's coming, and her husband welcomes him. As they sup together, *Siegmund* gives an account of his life. He calls himself the son of *Wolfe*, borrowing the name from the wolf's guise in which he had last lived with his father. He tells, finally, of his recent adventure, and how he came to be unarmed. On hearing this account, *Hunding* jumps up enraged ; the men killed are his own kinsmen. For the night *Siegmund* shall have the shelter of the house, but on the morrow he must fight. Ordering his wife to prepare his bed, *Hunding* follows her into another room.

This entire first part of the act is manifestly wonderfully adapted to musical treatment. What music excels all arts in depicting is the purely emotional striving—the longing for something that is not—which constitutes desire. The inferiority of music to the other arts lies in the indefiniteness of its expression. To one hearer the desire expressed may be a striving of the soul of man, to another a striving of the elements of nature. But in the combination of music with the drama the characters become at once the required definite objects to which the music, shall attach. And this first scene of "Die Walküre" is remarkable for the fact that the characters which are to give definiteness to the music, are marked by that very feature which music is best able to express—an indefinite longing. *Siegmund*, for years a wanderer, has longed for home and rest without ever finding it. *Sieglinde*, forced to marry without love, never finds the sympathy she desires. Both have lived lives of anticipated, but unattained, satisfaction of hope. This is wonderfully expressed by the composer. From the beginning of the act, the infinite yearning of the music gains increase of tenderness with each successive note, and reaches finally a surprising loveliness which the fierce motive and the knocks of *Hunding* interrupt. During *Siegmund's* story of his life, the same beautiful motive of his first meeting with *Sieglinde* recurs again and again, when she questions him or when their glances meet, lasting with indescribable beauty as she leaves the room followed by her husband. But, as she crosses the threshold, she points back to the ash-tree. Then is heard again, as the glimmer of the fire falls upon a sword buried in the tree almost up to its hilt, the motive which occurred for the first time at the close of "Rheingold." *Siegmund*, left alone, calls in despair upon his father—who, *we* know, is with the gods in Walhalla—for the sword which he had promised should not be wanting in the hour of need. The remainder of the act defies description. The fire brightens, and *Siegmund* notices for the first time the glittering sword-hilt. He thinks it is the light of *Sieglinde's* eyes, and the motive of their meeting returns. But words cannot describe those splendors of tone-coloring in which the motives of the sword and of Walhalla are here blended with others. Far less is it possible to describe the succeeding love-scene. It stands alone in the intensity of its passion ; and the throbbings of the orchestra must find a hearer of extraordinary coldness if they do not impart some of their passionate impulse to the coursings of his veins. *Sieglinde*, who has given her husband a sleeping-potion, returns to save *Siegmund*. She tells him how, on her wedding-day, an old man had thrust the sword into the tree and departed, saying that it should belong to him who could draw it forth ; but many had tried in vain. *Siegmund* hails the fulfilment of his father's promise. But at this moment the outer door swings open and the moonlight of a lovely spring night streams into the room. *Siegmund*, in a song beautiful in words and music, sings of spring led on by love to break the bonds of winter. "You are the spring," cries *Sieglinde*, "for whom I have longed." And then, at *Sieglinde's* solicitation, *Siegmund* tells his name. She declares herself his sister, and, drawing the sword from the tree, he embraces her as "sister and bride."

Such is the repulsive ending with which Herr Wagner has seen fit to close this otherwise beautiful act. It is justified as an allegorical picture of love leading on the spring, but there is no intimation on *Siegmund's* part that he considers himself spring or love or anybody but *Siegmund*. Whether the scene exists or not in the original myths is quite beside the question, since Herr Wagner has not hesitated to adapt them to his convenience. It can only have been introduced in disregard of all modern associations, or as an intimation, perhaps, that they had better be changed ; and in either case it is equally reprehensible.

The second act, like the first, includes but one scene, supposed to be in the neighborhood of *Hunding's* house. On one side the rocks rise and terminate in a steep cliff ; on the other, a passage under them forms a natural bridge and affords a view of the descent to the valley below. *Wotan* calls his best-beloved Walküre, *Brünnhilde*, and tells her to give the victory in the approaching conflict with *Hunding* to *Siegmund*. But *Fricka* appears, and, as the defender of the sacredness of marriage, demands *Siegmund's*

punishment with death. *Wotan* thinks no wrong has been done, and reminds his wife that through *Siegmund* he has a great purpose to fulfil. Refusing to listen to such excuses, she finally extorts an oath from *Wotan* that *Siegmund* shall die. The god recalls *Brünnhilde* and reverses his commands. Then follows a scene in which an epic tendency seems to have overcome Herr Wagner's usually acute sense of dramatic fitness. *Wotan* gives a synopsis, at great length, of all the events with which "Rheingold" has made us acquainted, explaining thereby the important position which *Siegmund* holds in relation to the safety of the gods. This is all necessary in order to establish the connection —which I anticipated in my description—between "Rheingold" and "Die Walküre." But how undramatic for him to go into the precise details of an autobiography at the very time when he is supposed to be overcome with despair at the frustration of his plans! And how inappropriate for him to relate the matter to *Brünnhilde*, who, we are told later by *Erda* herself, shares her mother's gift of a knowledge of the past and future! It certainly seems that all the essential facts might have been presented briefly by *Wotan* with much more dramatic fitness in his discussion with *Fricka*. At all events, there can be no doubt that in this scene Herr Wagner's method of composition got the better of his judgment. The dramas of the "Ring des Nibelungen" were composed, so far as the poetry is concerned, in reverse order. "Götterdämmerung" was the first and "Rheingold" the last to be written. As there was, consequently, no "Rheingold" in existence when its author was writing "Die Walküre," the fact that he did not presuppose a knowledge of its events is not without excuse, though decidedly without forethought.

Having finished his monologue, *Wotan* departs. The last appeal of *Brünnhilde*—that she might not be obliged to interpose her spear and nullify the force of the sword in which *Siegmund* trusted—had met only with threats of punishment from *Wotan* for any disobedience of his orders. At the sight of *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde* approaching, *Brünnhilde* stands aside. They have fled from the house of *Hunding*. Half frantic with remorse and fear for *Siegmund's* life, *Sieglinde* can scarcely endure her excitement. *Hunding's* horn is heard, and she swoons in *Siegmund's* arms. As he lays her gently on a resting-place, *Brünnhilde* approaches. She tells him he must follow her to Walhalla; that the sword in which he trusts shall fail him. But he scorns Walhalla and its wish-maidens if *Sieglinde* is absent. His sword shall serve, at least, to let them die together. He lifts it to strike the unconscious form, when the cry of *Brünnhilde* checks him. Deeply moved, she tells him he shall live; his sword shall not prove useless. At this moment the shouts of the pursuing *Hunding* are heard. *Siegmund* rushes forth to meet him. Clouds fill the stage, but through them, on the top of the rocks, the fight is seen. *Brünnhilde*, who stands in the clouds above them, cries to *Siegmund* to trust to his sword. But, with lightning and thunder, *Wotan* appears. On his interposed spear the sword breaks in pieces, and *Siegmund* is killed. At a contemptuous wave of the god's hand *Hunding* falls dead; and *Wotan* starts in pursuit of his disobedient daughter, who has already carried *Sieglinde* away with her on her horse. In this second act, as in the first, an exuberant vigor marks the opening movement of the music. *Wotan's* long discourse prevents that steady progress towards a climax which characterized the preceding act; but the closing scene, beginning with the coming of *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde*, is of the greatest power and beauty. The dramatic effect of *Sieglinde's* intense excitement is greatly heightened by the recurrence of the motives of her first meeting with *Siegmund* and of the love-scene, which are not undisturbed, however, by the sound of *Hunding's* horn. And nothing could exceed the touching pathos of the orchestra as *Brünnhilde* approaches and sees the prostrate form over which *Siegmund* bends. At her mention of Walhalla, its grand motive returns. The contrast between this and the sad expression of *Siegmund's* fidelity gives to both him and *Brünnhilde* throughout the dialogue a distinct individuality. The dramatic intensity continually increases, and reaches a magnificent height when *Brünnhilde* promises her protection. Finally, as *Siegmund*, on the approach of *Hunding*, takes a last look at *Sieglinde*, all the memories of the previous act, the motives of the first meeting and of the spring-song, seem to crowd upon him, and the effect is indescribable.

The scene of the third act is on the top of a mountain. A cavern is formed by the rocks on the right, and the opposite edge of the summit is bounded by a forest; in the background a rock, projecting high above the surrounding boulders, commands a view of the depths below. Storm-clouds drift past, and through them are seen the mounted Walküren, who ride to Walhalla with their slain warriors, and then gather on this summit. Every bar of the music is full of the freshness of a breezy mountain-top, full of neighing of glad horses, full of the wild laughter of their riders as they gallop frantically down steep banks of clouds. The "Ride of the Valkyries" has been heard often in the concert-room: but visions of tempest and tossing manes and hair from which the wind has snatched away all bands, making each maiden a Miranda, are forbidden in such a place. Her sisters have scarcely gathered on the height when *Brünnhilde* arrives with *Sieglinde*. She begs their swiftest horse to aid *Sieglinde* in escaping *Wotan's* wrath. They refuse to second her disobedience. Already the god is seen approaching in a storm-cloud. But *Sieglinde* will not put them to any trouble; separated from *Siegmund*, she is ready to die. She must live, cries *Brünnhilde*, for the sake of the child she shall bear. At hearing this a sudden joy takes the place of *Sieglinde's* depression; she is eager to make every effort for safety. The Walküren advise her to take shelter in the wood near by, where *Fafner*, whom *Wotan* avoids, lies guarding his treasure. *Brünnhilde* gives her the fragments of *Siegmund's* sword, telling her to keep them for her son, who will be the noblest hero in the world. *Brünnhilde* will herself name him: he shall be called *Siegfried*, glad with victory. For the first time the heroic motive of *Siegfried* rises from the orchestra. *Wotan's* arrival follows quickly upon *Sieglinde's* departure. *Brünnhilde* has hidden herself behind her sisters, but he calls on her to come forth. She, who had known all the secrets of his heart, shall be banished from the society of the gods. Walküre no longer, she shall be cast into a sleep from which the first man who finds her may waken her and have her for his wife. Shocked at such a punishment, the Walküren break out in lamentations. *Wotan* dismisses them, and listens to the entreaties of *Brünnhilde*. She begs that he will so far relent as to surround her with a circle of fire, so that none but the bravest hero shall be able to awaken her. His love for her returns, and he grants her request. He kisses her eyes and they close in sleep. Under a sheltering tree he covers her with her shield, and then calling upon *Loge*, by whose advice he had entered into the compact which had brought him all his trouble, he strikes the rock with his spear and transforms the crafty adviser into the fire which was his original state. The flames leap up from the outer edge of the summit, and *Wotan*, looking back at every step upon *Brünnhilde*, disappears through them. This touching farewell is the one attractive feature in a character which his childish avidity in "Rheingold," and his weak support in the other dramas of a professed pessimism, make otherwise uninteresting.

With this scene, magnificent alike in its music and in its stage setting, ends "Die Walküre." The drama stands throughout in most striking contrast with "Rheingold." Spontaneity characterizes the one, restraint the other. The relation of the "Vorspiel" to the subsequent dramas places the composer in the position of an orator who, though burning with generous feeling, cannot express it to hearers who are unfamiliar with the events that led to it. Before they can be in sympathy with the horror and indignation which *he* feels at the thought of Bulgarian massacres, they must understand the details included in that general expression; they must know who Turks and Circassians and Bulgarians are; what relations existed between them; what difference of creed; what helplessness of the murdered; what cruelty of the murderers. When all this is known, then may the speaker, with sure hope of sympathy, give vent to his own feelings in appealing to the humanity of his hearers. In like manner the genius of Herr Wagner has proceeded. It was aware that an immediate complete expression of its own emotion could appeal only vaguely to its hearers, for they did not know to what different objects the emotion embodied in the various "Leitmotive" attached; and how much less could they sympathize with that symphonic blending of them all together which presupposed that each on its recurrence carried with it a flood of memories. The orator could trust that the single word "Bulgarian" would appeal to his hearers only after they had become familiar with the associations connected with it; and, in like manner, Herr Wagner recognized that the emotion which he felt at the beginning must be experienced by his hearers at the end. He held himself restrained, therefore, to definitions in "Rheingold"; but he finds himself able, in "Die Walküre" and the subsequent dramas, to give vent with continually greater freedom to all the intensity of his feeling. The work of definition, it is true, must still go on, since new characters are introduced; but almost before words have explained their presence, the orchestra, with brief boldness, has recalled the motives which bind them to the past, and proceeds with an impetuosity of feeling, which the narrower limits of "Rheingold" forbade, to develop the new motives that are identified with them. The unrestrained expression of this emotion finds abundant scope in acts which a change of scene rarely interrupts during their entire length of more than an hour; and we have, for the result, such magnificent exhibitions of sustained power as the first act of "Die Walküre," such individual instances of a

satisfied exuberance of expression as the "Ride of the Valkyries"; and from beginning to end such richness of orchestral coloring as makes the composer worthy to be called the Turner of music.

Correspondence.

SOME EXCUSES FOR THE STUMP ORATOR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The tenor of your article on "The Work still before Reformers," in your last issue, suggests the enquiry whether in it you do not take too despondent a view of the present situation. It is true, as you say, that the burden of most of the Republican campaign speeches has been an appeal to the Northern "jealous sensitiveness in behalf of the negro"; but then you must not expect too much from the campaign orator, nor should you attribute the party majorities entirely to the speeches. The Southern problem is, as you have said so often, a very complex one; to state the points to be discussed involves an arraignment of the Republican party as well as of the Democratic, and the average stump orator would hardly venture on that. That the vote of the South is united for the first time since 1860, and that it is impatient of negro suffrage and seeks to prevent or control it, are facts not to be denied, and alarming even to moderate men, and it is hardly to be wondered at that party orators confine themselves to the easy statement of these facts rather than the difficult discussion of the causes of them and the best means of preventing or curing them.

Again, as to the financial question: you can hardly expect, as things are, that this will be elaborately discussed. It is perhaps doubtful whether it is practically a party question. The platforms of Cincinnati and St. Louis and the views of Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden on this point are really much alike, and, as there are men of every shade of opinion on the question in both parties, the practical orator should rather avoid currency and finance as dangerous both to his party and himself; besides, it may be doubted whether as a rule he is quite up to it.

Substantially the same may be said of the principle of civil-service reform. It cannot be discussed without saying something unkind not only of the impersonal Republican party, but also of the personal party managers, especially the Senatorial Group. So bold a course ought not to be expected of human party orators until the consummation of the reform itself. A few days ago it was reported that the invaluable services of Mr. Schurz had been dispensed with because he had ventured on this ground, and certainly it would not be permitted in any one else. That the politician of the day regards civil-service reform as an absurd sacrifice of power which he does not intend to make if he can help it, and does not wish to say much about for fear he may be forced into some direct personal pledge to aid it, may be admitted, but his means of escape from so doing is not in the apathy of his audience, but rather in the ease with which he can show the impossibility of such reform under Mr. Tilden. That Democratic success in the coming Presidential election would lead to a complete change in the personnel of the whole civil service of the country is apparent; it is nearly as plain that party necessity and the inexperience and inefficiency of new appointees would compel a very large increase in the number of the employés in that service, and it is by no means clear but that the appreciation of these facts is more general and has had more effect than you would seem to imply in the article alluded to.

It must be remembered that the reformation of the civil service is only one of the questions at issue, and that it is manifestly impossible to weigh precisely the effect of any one cause in making up the result of the Maine and Vermont elections; but that the demand for such reform has developed great strength is shown by the recognition of it by both political parties, and that the plain inability of the Democratic party to carry it out has influenced many votes for the Republicans is certainly a reasonable supposition, and one not much weakened by the treatment of the subject by the party speakers, because that, as has been shown, is readily explained on grounds other than the indifference of the party at large.

How much Gov. Hayes can accomplish in face of the opposition he will undoubtedly meet is another question which I have already trespassed too much on your space to discuss, although I think it can be shown that he can and probably will do more than at first sight appears possible. At all events let us hope so.—Yours respectfully,

S. W. P.

Philadelphia, Sept. 25, 1876.

Notes.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S list of fall publications is long and of high quality. It includes Freeman's 'Historical and Architectural Sketches, chiefly Italian'; the third and last volume of the 'Memoirs of the Earl of Shelburne'; 'The Raja of Sarawak (Sir James Brooke),' by Gertrude J. Jacob; 'Rambles in Greece,' by J. P. Mahaffy; 'Dutch Guiana,' by W. Gifford Palgrave; 'The Invasions of England,' by Capt. H. M. Tozier; 'Chapters in the History of Popular Progress in England,' by James Routledge; a reprint of the edition of 1823 of Bentham's 'Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation'; 'The Austrian Arctic Expedition,' by Lieut. Payer; 'Unscientific Letters from the *Challenger*,' by Lord George Campbell; 'The Modern Telescope,' lectures delivered at the Royal Institution by J. N. Lockyer; 'A Manual of Marks on Pottery and Porcelain,' by W. H. Hooper and W. C. Phillips; and 'Selections from Herrick,' in the Golden Treasury Series, by Francis Turner Palgrave. ——For the holidays, Scribner, Welford & Armstrong announce a sumptuous illustrated volume on 'Italy, from the Alps to Mount Ætna,' edited by T. Augustus Trollope.——*Nature* for September 7, continuing its roll of "Scientific Worthies," gives an admirably executed portrait and a very full sketch of the career of Sir William Thomson, whose amiable remarks about American scientists since his return from this country have lately been made public here. His is a decided case of "hereditary genius," his father having been and his brothers being also eminent in science. Sir William's contributions to the practical working of deep-sea cables ought alone to make him famous; but he has many other titles to the gratitude of mankind. The same number of *Nature*, by the way, contains a full report of the proceedings of the British Association's session at Glasgow.——The third number of the *Bulletin* of the Nuttall Ornithological Club (Cambridge) is well sustained by a large number of contributors, and furnishes for the most part popular reading. Mr. J. A. Allen's paper on the decrease of birds in Massachusetts is first in order as well as in point of interest.——Mr. Thomas Vickers, making good his promises, has issued his catalogue of English Prose Fiction in the Cincinnati Public Library, close upon the appearance of his catalogue of German Fiction which we lately noticed. Comparing the new catalogue with the similar one prepared by Mr. Stephen Noyes for the Brooklyn Mercantile Library, we are struck with the liberal scale on which the former has been carried out. Types and paper are of the very best, and space and cost are of so little account (as if in comparison with eyesight) that every title, even in interminable juvenile series like Oliver Optic's and Jacob Abbott's, has a line to itself, with date and place of publication given. In 248 pages are catalogued, as we estimate, not more books than Mr. Noyes, by omitting details which may properly be left to the general catalogue, has recorded in 64 pages

—In a recent number of the *Times* of this city there was printed an article a column and a half in length, purporting to be a review, but actually a satire upon a Latin Grammar by Dr. Fischer. Nearly one-half of the *Times's* ridicule was devoted to the system of Latin pronunciation which the grammar in the proper place advocated, and which the reviewer characterized as neither English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, nor anything under heaven except Fischerian. We hope the satirist will be duly abashed when he discovers the fact, of which he obviously has never heard, that the system of pronunciation which Dr. Fischer follows was some time since set forth in a pamphlet by Professor Lane of Harvard.

—A volume which truly deserves a place at the Philadelphia Exhibition is the 'Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences.' Davenport is in Iowa, on the farther bank of the Mississippi. Forty years ago there was no such town in existence, and it is still "in the heart of an extensive grain-growing region," with only about 25,000 inhabitants. Yet its Academy of Natural Sciences is nine years old, and, after having experienced the lethargy which usually follows the exuberant vitality of a new society, it now finds itself popular, growing, well housed, and with a long career of usefulness before it. "Eighty-five new members were elected during the [past] year, of whom forty-three were ladies," and these have taken an active part in furnishing the rooms and promoting the aims of the society. One lady laboriously copied the records of proceedings during nine years to be printed for the first time in the volume before us, and the cost of publication has been borne by the "Women's Centennial Association" of Davenport. "The city is so situated as to afford many advantages to the student of Nature. The underlying limestone abounds in fossils of the Hamilton and Upper Helderburg groups, the rivers and ponds produce a remarkably fine development of molluscan life, while the

close proximity of the prairies to the wooded bottom-lands affords a rich field for the botanist and the entomologist." Moreover, round about and almost within the limits of the city the remains of the mound-builders are found in such abundance that the Academy's collection "is now one of the best in the country, and in some departments is unique"— it contains, for example, no fewer than twenty copper axes. These remains receive a large share of attention in the text of the 'Proceedings,' and especially in the illustrations; entomology holds the second place, botany and conchology are still more sparingly represented. Taken altogether, this volume does honor to the city from which it proceeds, and we recommend it to all intending emigrants to the West who may be in doubt where to settle, and who are affected by considerations of the sort suggested by the existence of a learned society in any given community.

—An article, "Notes on Book-plates," in the *Art Journal* for October, may serve by its illustrations to direct attention to the French work on which it is based—M. Poulet-Malassis's 'Les Ex-libris français depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours.' The subject is invested with a good deal of curious interest, and collectors of book-plates can variously find a justification for their mania in their fondness for art, for history, for genealogy, and for the study of human character. The coat-of-arms is naturally employed as the sign and seal of ownership, and is, perhaps, the commonest device of the book-plate. It fails, however, to indicate individual taste and traits, and is worth supplanting, or at least supplementing, with some original and pertinent design. Of these there have been plenty in the three centuries of the fashion, and there is no reason why they should not be indefinitely multiplied. Etching for such purposes is within the capacity of almost any one who can draw at all, and photography, which now gives us a raised plate from any pen-and-ink drawing, furnishes a very tolerable substitute for etching. To the revival of this latter art, however, under the Second Empire, we owe many beautiful book-plate conceits, and two of the most remarkable of them—Victor Hugo's and Manet's—are reproduced on wood in the *Art Journal*.

—The art of conveying information about dry subjects in an attractive manner is one which has to be cultivated by all scientific men who wish to reach a public of any kind; and as an illustration of how it may be done, Mr. John Fiske's article in the current number of the *Atlantic*, called "A Librarian's Work," is a good study. Although professing merely to give an account of the occupations of the librarians of Harvard College, and to dispel the mystery which surrounds the work of what, it seems, is popularly supposed to be a sinecure office, it contains a good deal of valuable information about books, of the kind which is always entertaining so long as we are permitted to consider it merely talk about books, and not compelled to attend in the spirit of earnestness and bibliography. Mr. Fiske not only finds in the library at Cambridge plenty of work for himself, but enough for twenty assistants, seventeen of whom are employed simply in cataloguing books. For the purpose of showing how the work is done, he traces the history of a volume through all its stages, from its appearance in the library to its final establishment on the shelves, ready for public use. One of the curious facts brought out by the minute examination to which books are subjected in the process technically known as "collating" (an examination made for the purpose of discovering any defects in the lettering, paging, and general make-up) is that, in the case of English publications, there hardly ever turn out to be any serious flaws, while in the French and German volumes "the grossest blunders are only too common. Figures are unaccountably skipped in numbering the pages; plates are either omitted or are so bunglingly numbered that it is hard to discover whether the quota is complete or not; title-pages are inserted in the wrong places; sheets are wrongly folded, bringing the succession of pages into dire confusion; sometimes two or three sheets are left out; and sometimes where a work in ten volumes is bound in five, you will find that the first of these contains two duplicate copies of Vol. I., while for any signs of a Vol. II. you may seek in vain. In all bungling of this kind the Germans are worse than the French; but both are bad enough when contrasted with the English, either of the Old World or of the New." The difference between a printed catalogue and a card-catalogue, roughly speaking, is that the former is a fixed and final announcement of the contents of a library—a solemn record, to which no additions can be made, except in the form of supplements, which with each new accession of books become more and more cumbrous; while the latter, consisting as it does simply of a quantity of loose cards arranged alphabetically in drawers, can be increased as the library itself increases, exactly as (if the comparison may be allowed) a "hand" of playing-cards may be increased by a provident but immoral player, and

"Grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength."

Printed catalogues have long since passed into disrepute in all the great foreign libraries, but in none of them, it seems, not even in the British Museum, has the new system been so perfected as at Cambridge. The British Museum catalogue is in manuscript, but is contained in enormous blank or scrap books, on the leaves of which are pasted thin paper slips, with the titles of the books, large spaces being left for the insertion of the titles of subsequent accessions in alphabetical order; the result is that the catalogue fills more than a thousand elephant folios, for the consultation of which a large amount of labor and a good deal even of physical exertion are needed. At Cambridge the card system has superseded this. Even card-catalogues, however, like all human inventions, have their defects, one of them being "the danger of buying a duplicate because a card-title does not happen to be in its place," and another the enormous space required. In fourteen years the Harvard College "twin catalogue" of authors and subjects has become fifty-one feet long and accumulated three hundred and thirty-six drawers. On this account Mr. Fiske thinks that the card system can only be considered a temporary expedient, and that it will in the end be used as a current supplement to the printed catalogue, the latter being published at stated intervals, and so incorporating the cards from period to period; in this way there would never be more than two catalogues to consult, which is perhaps the minimum of difficulty to be hoped for by the rational librarian.

—Two or three of the Paris journals have lately published a translation of a short poem by the Russian novelist, Ivan Turgenef, which—we quote the *Figaro*—"has recently been recited before the Czarevitch, and has obtained a rapid popularity in Russia." We give an English version of the *Figaro's* translation:

"The Queen is sitting in her forest of Windsor; around her the ladies of her court play at a game which not long since came into fashion—a game called croquet. You roll little balls and you make them pass skilfully through little hoops. The Queen looks on and laughs; but suddenly she stops; her face grows deathly pale.

"It seems to her that, instead of shapely balls driven by the lightly-tapping mallet, there are hundreds of heads rolling along, all smeared with blood. Heads of women, of young girls, of children: faces with marks of dreadful tortures and bestial outrage, of the claws of beasts, and all the horror of death-pangs.

"And now the youngest daughter of the Queen, a gentle maiden, pushes one of these heads further and further from the others, pushes it until it reaches her mother's feet. The head of a child with curly hair; its little livid mouth turns to murmur reproaches. The Queen utters a shriek of horror; an ineffable terror darkens her eyes.

"'My doctor, quick, quick, let him come to me!' And she tells him her terrible vision. But he then answers: 'It doesn't surprise me; reading the newspapers has disturbed you. The *Times* explains to us so well how the Bulgarians have deserved the wrath of the Turks. Here is a draught; take it and your trouble will pass.' And the Queen goes back into her palace.

"She is alone, and she begins to muse. Her eyelids fall, and—oh! horror, the edge of her garment is befouled with a bloody stain. 'Let them take it away this instant—I wish to forget it. Wash it for me, rivers of England!' 'No, your Majesty, never shall the royal robe of England be washed of the stain of this innocent blood!'"

—Austria mourns the loss of her greatest poet and "best citizen." Count Anton Alexander Auersperg, celebrated as "Anastasius Grün," died at Grätz on the 12th of September. Forty-five years ago liberal Germany hailed with delight his "Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten"—the first bold voice of independence from the country of Metternich; and in all his later writings and in every act of his life Count Auersperg proved true to the aspirations of his youth. Although in 1848 he was a member of the preliminary parliament and of the national assembly at Frankfort, his prominence in public life commenced with the era of constitutionalism in Austria. In 1861 he was called, as a member for life, into the House of Peers, and soon rose to its leadership. He was identified with all the liberal measures of that body, and, with one or two exceptions, was the author of all its addresses to the throne, some of which have become famous for their independence of sentiment and beauty of diction. Many of his speeches, notably those against the concordat, were masterpieces of eloquence. As a poet Count Auersperg was not prolific, and, in his later days, more distinguished than popular. He was not a revolutionary bard, like Herwegh, nor a "ladies' poet," like Geibel. Wealth of imagery and a ripe and all-pervading philosophy were the characteristics of his muse. His best-known works, besides the one mentioned, are: 'Der letzte Ritter' (1830), which treats of the life of the Emperor Maximilian I.; the beautiful 'Schutt' (1835), one chapter of which is a glowing tribute to our free institutions; and 'Gedichte' (1837), a collection of lyrics. His death, which is said to have been hastened by the popular ovations on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, has caused the profoundest regret. Austria, who, within a

few months, has lost Deák and Auersperg, may well take a sad pride in her bereavements.

—The constant interference of the Executive with the French stage, an interference which may well have found its climax in the decree regulating the affairs of the Comédie Française, written by Napoleon at Moscow, renders a study of the state of French theatrical law interesting to others than lawyers. The first chapter of 'Codes des Théâtres,' by a Paris advocate, M. Charles Constant, is devoted to the theatres; the second to the actors; the third to the authors; and the fourth to the public. From the second chapter we learn that the manager has always the right to cancel the engagement of an actor who has not given satisfaction to the public in his *débuts* in the first three parts in which he appears; and in the provinces the public, and especially the subscribers to the theatre, are severe in their requirements and jealous of their right to reject, so that "at Rouen, for instance, the acceptance or rejection of the new actor was for a long time certified and proclaimed by the chief of police; at Nantes, his acceptance or rejection was, and perhaps is still, put to vote, in which the subscribers and certain of the audience, chosen by lot, take part, sitting as an electoral college, with the mayor as a presiding officer; while at Orléans a municipal decree, which, we think, has not yet been revoked, declares that the public must be consulted on the subject by the stage-manager, who is to present the new actor and kindly enumerate his qualifications, after which a vote is taken by show of hands, and it is the Commissionaire Central of the city who is to decide as to the result of this public manifestation." The third chapter treats largely of dramatic copyright, and shows us plainly the hooks of steel by which the powerful monopoly of the dramatic authors' society has bound to itself the managers of France. The old country manager who liked to give Shakspere's plays because the author could not come to the treasury asking for money, would be greatly displeased in France to find that, however old the play and however dead the copyright, the agents of the society would still collect the author's fee, although in this case only to turn it over to a charitable fund for the relief of the theatrical poor. M. Constant has completed his volume by giving a list of all laws and legal decisions affecting the stage from 1780 to 1875, adding the text of many of the most important. There is an index to the names of all authors, actors, and managers cited, in addition to the analytical index indispensable to all legal text-books.

THE UNSEEN WORLD.*

THIS is a volume of very clever book-notices, most of which have recently appeared in well-known magazines; and one can trace now and then in its pages the character of its source. The emphasis and glitter, the easy off-hand decision, which catch the eye and fix the attention of the aimless reader who, in after-dinner mood, turns the pages in half-conscious search for a sensation, give a character not easily mistaken to the magazine criticism. Its influence is wide. It is so much easier to read a review of a book like the 'Unseen Universe' than to read the book itself; so much easier, too, to get a definite opinion ready made for society than laboriously to fit one's self out with the doubtful and scanty home-made article, that most of the one sex, and nearly all of the other, are content so to equip themselves. But from their very nature such opinions are as ephemeral as they are effective; their life is in their surroundings, and the author fortunately rarely attempts to revive them. As one reads in Mr. Fiske's dedication that these articles are published "by way of clearing out my workshop," one instinctively recalls the load of chips from a German workshop under which another author's fame has been half-hidden, and turns the pages with a certain misgiving; but he soon finds his fears uncalled for. No doubt there is a good deal of incompleteness about these essays, and there is no apparent reason why the abstract of Figuier's 'To-morrow of Death' should have been reprinted. The book reviewed was utterly worthless; and while the notice may have been useful to warn ignorant readers, no good reason appears for preserving it in a permanent form. The pressure of books is so great in this prolific age that authors can hardly feel too strongly the duty of preserving only their completest work. But, as we have said, most of the essays in this volume were well worth preserving, and some probably are on subjects that the author will never treat more fully, though Mr. Fiske's tastes seem so broad that we speak with hesitation. His reviews are more than mere criticisms. He selects the salient facts, and dwells upon the explanation with additions and emendations of his own. Thus his first article is an examination of 'The Unseen Universe,' the essay by Professors Tait and Stewart which attracted so much attention a year or so ago on its appearance in England—we wonder, by the way, why Mr. Fiske should have altered the title for the worse—and he gives the gist of the work, catching correctly its subtly expressed materialism, and taking the opportunity to give in his criticism a somewhat more definite statement of his own idealism than he had previously given, and draws with a firm hand the distinction between the loose Positivist speculations he is criticising and the hopes that his own idealism enables him to nourish: and then, assisted perhaps by the obscurity that enwraps his Unknowable, he dwells upon emotional reasons for believing in spiritual immortality which, to a strict Positivist, could have but trifling importance. As the reader turns the pages of this vigorous defence of the old stronghold against assailants armed with weapons of the last scientific pattern, he may remember with half-indignant amusement the short time that has elapsed since (if report is to be trusted) the great liberal university sagely decided that our author was too dangerous a free thinker to be allowed to lecture to its undergraduates.

Although Mr. Fiske is an idealist, his idealism is not to be identified with the transcendentalism of Mr. Emerson and his followers. The schools are quite opposed, separated indeed by one of the oldest of distinctions. We have but to prune away the childish myths that Hindoo conservatism could not free itself from when it had long outgrown them, and replace the old names by the modern ones, call the all-informing personal substance (the Brahma of the Brahmins) by its transcendental title of the "Over-soul," and call the impersonal essence (the principle of harmony of the Buddhists which Götama named the Karma) by the cosmist title, the Unknowable, and the likeness will be plain enough. It is a contrast of tone as well as theory, too, the lofty but dreamy and unpractical individualism of the one differing so completely from the practical but narrow humanitarianism of the other.

In the sketch of "The Jesus of History," Mr. Fiske rehearses, in a somewhat brief fashion, the scanty materials that modern criticism has spared, but one misses the intense inner life which Arnold and others have shown us how to find in those sayings of Jesus whose authenticity has been strengthened rather than weakened by criticism of the surrounding narrative; and some of Mr. Fiske's dates must be revised, as he himself is half inclined to admit. Some additional completeness is given by the companion sketch, "The Christ of Dogma," in which the slow development of the Catholic creed is exceedingly well shown. Hunter's 'Annals of Bengal' gives Mr. Fiske the opportunity to draw the lesson of the beneficence of honest speculation—a lesson much needed to clear our cloudy moral atmosphere; indeed, in the present miserable conflict between our business habits and the supposed dictates of morality, it can hardly be too much dwelt upon. Very readable criticisms of Draper's 'Science and Religion,' Lessing's 'Nathan,' Motley's 'Netherlands,' and Longfellow's 'Dante' follow, the last especially showing the nice taste in words which makes Mr. Fiske's own style so agreeable. In this last, and the notices of Paine's 'St. Peter' and Taine's 'Philosophy of Art,' there is some very delicate criticism, but in most of the essays, as in most of Mr. Fiske's other work, the historical, scientific, or philosophical elements are more prominent than the critical. It will be seen that there is a great variety, however. Art and history, the science of to-day and the philosophy of eighteen centuries ago, the literature of Europe and the music of America, all interest Mr. Fiske; and his thought is so clear and his style so fine that his reader's interest follows him. There is an occasional over-positiveness of a kind now unfortunately common which the reader must be on his guard against. We note in half-a-dozen places in the first essay hypotheses of a very speculative character stated as positively as if they were fixed facts. Once or twice the cleverness of his phrases seems to carry him away, as where he says "the individual does not exist for the sake of society, as the Positivist would have us believe, but society exists for the sake of the individual"—an antithesis which the Positivist would regard as a misleading suggestion of contradiction between two theorems, both of which are true, and either one of which can be deduced from the other. Possibly Mr. Fiske's error may go deeper than the phrase; we recall the passage in another work, where he advocates the mischievous custom of promiscuous charity on the thoroughly selfish ground of good to the giver.

The last essay, on Athenian and American life, is one of the most interesting. His description of the leisurely culture of Athenian life, and the varied interests—political, æsthetic, and intellectual—to which that leisure was applied, is suggestive, and its contrast to our restless energy in the one absorbing pursuit of money-getting loses none of its point in his hands. We half wish that we could share in the optimistic hopes with which he closes. He dwells upon the close connection of that leisure with the slave-

* 'The Unseen World, and other Essays. By John Fiske, M.A., LL.B., Assistant Librarian and formerly Lecturer on Philosophy at Harvard University,' etc. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876. 12mo, pp. 349.

holding habits of the community, its outdoor life, and the fewness of the luxuries that ingenuity had then constructed; but these are conditions which we can never hope to reproduce. Our entire social form, our whole theory of equality, and the enormous rewards that we bestow upon superior energy, daring, or skill, are totally at variance with the inherited status, the unchanging stability, of the Athenian. The one and the other cannot be joined. Indeed, the comforts of wealth and the rewards of power are every day increasing. The last few years have given us artistic furnitures and room-papers. To the next generation purified politics may again offer the noblest rewards for ability and honor. We have devised the most efficient systems of reward for energy and punishment for weakness that the world has ever seen. Let us not hope to combine with it the half-aimless leisure of the Greek, or fancy that the settlement of the wild lands of the West, the extinction of the red man, or the cessation of Eastern or Western migration, can bring back to American men the leisure of old-time civilization.

AN ITALIAN VIEW OF OUR BANKING SYSTEM.*

In a recent number of the *Nation* we gave the substance of the report of ministers Minghetti and Finali on the Forced Paper Circulation of Italy, and the proper measures for its extinction. The law of April, 1874, which called forth that report, made it also the duty of ministers to report upon the banking and paper-money systems of other countries now under a suspension of specie payments. The report lately published, of which we have given the title, relates to the United States and Russia; another relating to Austria and France will shortly appear, and will complete the series. Aside from the signal ability with which these reports have been prepared, they will have great value from their contemporaneous character. It will be found that while the financial history of each country has characteristics of its own, and peculiar local influences producing certain local results, the great underlying and controlling principles are everywhere the same, and that there is a growing tendency to give them the same treatment in all countries. There is nothing more to be deprecated than the cultivation of local political economy, or more to be desired than identity of treatment in all countries of the same social and politico-economical problems. With the strongest disposition among nations to attain this result, there will remain not a few questions requiring local handling, and the right of each to adapt general principles to its own peculiar situation and necessities is not impugned. Provincialism in legislation is much oftener the result of ignorance than of any necessity to make it provincial. The Italian government has before it the grave problem of restoring a sound currency, and while getting ready to do it arms itself with the fullest information about other countries similarly situated, in order that it may have every possible help to a wise solution.

We should hardly expect to go to Italy for information respecting the banking and currency system of the United States, and yet there is not in our language so condensed, and at the same time so accurate and full, an account of it as is to be found in the hundred Italian pages now before us. This is not an unusual circumstance in financial and statistical writing. Foreigners in writing about us take no knowledge for granted on the part of their readers, but state every essential fact. One of the best, if not the very best, books of its time on the finances of the United States was Baron Hoch's 'Die Finanzen der Vereinigten-Staaten,' published in Vienna nearly ten years ago. The same writer published somewhat earlier an account of the financial system of France, which the French finance minister pronounced to be the best book on the subject then in print.

After a brief but intelligent sketch of the earlier banking systems and institutions of the United States, the report before us goes very fully into the history and operation of the National Bank Act of 1863 and its later amendments. All that relates to the subject in the debates of Congress, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency, and in many other contemporary publications, seems to have been studied and carefully digested. The author's criticism upon the system is that its main design appears to have been to absorb Government stocks. No doubt Mr. Chase designed it quite as much for a fiscal measure as for a currency system, but it is certain that no one foresaw more clearly than he did the immense advantage of having a single homogeneous system of banking and paper money in place of the diverse and conflicting State systems which existed before it. The same criticism might be made upon the original charter of the Bank of England, the motive of which was a loan to the Government.

Commenting on the plan for redeeming national-bank notes established by the act of June 20, 1874, it is said that "effectual redemption cannot be had until the amount of the notes redeeming is less than that of the notes to be redeemed. If Congress should provide for the withdrawal of United States notes and for the issue of more bank-notes, as they should seem to be needed, until the amount of the former should be reduced, for example, to $300,000,000, then United States notes would be in demand, and in proportion as their volume was reduced that demand would increase, until at last, when the volume of bank circulation greatly exceeded that of United States notes, the bills of the national banks would return to the issuers of their own accord at certain seasons of the year by reason of the difficulty or expense of getting lawful money with which to redeem them. The existing stock of gold would reappear to supplement the demand for an additional amount of lawful money, and thus an actual resumption of specie payments would be brought about. To redeem, in the proper sense of the word, implies the exchange of a promise of payment for the thing promised —that is to say, for gold or for something which represents gold and will bring it on demand."

Nothing could be sounder than the following remarks on the influence of an effective system of redemption in promoting good banking:

"Such a redemption system has the effect of bringing banks into the only channel of legitimate business, which is the discounting of commercial paper. If the payment of bank-notes were frequently demanded, banks of issue could not, without danger, invest their capital in loans not immediately available (*prestiti immobiliari*), in stocks and bonds of uncertain value, in accommodation loans which have to be carried by continual renewals, nor in loans on doubtful collaterals; on the contrary, they would be obliged to have it always invested in loans promptly realizable at maturity. In this way the development of serious business would be promoted, and banks worthy of credit be built up."

An interesting chapter is devoted to the crisis of 1873, the immediate causes of which are thus described:

"The crisis arose mainly from the desire of the country banks to withdraw their balances from the banks of the exchange cities, first, because of the need which they have to use their funds in commercial discounts in the month of September; and, secondly, because they foresaw and feared a recurrence of such a crisis as had occurred in former years, and were suddenly animated by a common desire to get their funds into their own custody. The reserves of the New York banks being thus suddenly drawn down by the drafts of their country correspondents, the only resource left to the banks of the exchange cities was to convert their call loans, amounting to sixty millions of dollars; but if these loans had been paid, it would have been in checks upon the associated banks, and these institutions would have found the next day at the Clearing-House that, although some part of their individual indebtedness had been reduced, as a whole the association was possessed of no more money than the day before. Hence the suspension followed; but if the reserves of the country banks had been largely invested in Government certificates, their drafts on the city banks would have been proportionately less; and if the reserved capital of the exchange cities had been equally held in those certificates, the *interest* [sic] of the latter would have been withdrawn from the Treasury, and the banks would have found themselves in possession of means immediately available to meet the wants of their customers.

"The financial crisis of 1873 must, therefore, be attributed to the intimate relations of the banks of the city of New York with the affairs of the Stock Board. More than a quarter, and in many cases as much as a third, of the portfolios of those banks, after the late civil war, consisted in demand loans to members of the Stock Exchange, whose operations have a much greater tendency to derange the serious business of a country than to promote it. Before the war the Stock Board was composed of only 150 members, and their business was that of buying and selling on commission, and the public and municipal laws which governed them were severe and protective. At the end of the war, the Stock Board consisted of 1,100 members and was composed of men from every part of the country, many of whom, when taking up their quarters in Wall Street, had adopted as a rule of their business the motto of Horace: '*Rem facias; rem, si possis recte; si non, quocunque modo rem.*'"

It will be remembered that in Italy repeated efforts have been made to resume specie payments, but that they have always been met by one insurmountable obstacle—the deficiency of the national revenue to meet the current annual expenditure. This deficiency in the budget seems now in a fair way to be overcome, and we may judge of the application which will be made of any surplus by the following passage in the report before us, as to the extinction of the legal-tender notes in this country:

"The United States could by this time have extinguished the whole of their floating debt and re-established a metallic circulation if, instead of using the gold taken into the Treasury for the retirement of portions of the public debt not yet due, they had appropriated at least a part of it to retire the legal-tender notes. In eight years since the close of the civil war the Federal Government has reduced the funded debt by a sum of $618,895,673; and when it is remembered that in the eleven years succeeding the passage of the National Currency Act, the banks have received from the Government for interest on national bonds two hundred and fifty millions of dol-

* 'Notizie intorno all' Ordinamento Bancario e al Corso Forzato negli Stati Uniti di America, in Russia, nell' Impero Austro-Ungarico, e in Francia. Parte Prima: Stati Uniti e Russia.' Roma: Tipografia Sinimberghi. 8vo, pp 173. 1876

lars in gold, it is a matter of surprise that the United States have not already made provision for abolishing the forced currency."

In like manner, an Austrian economist, in a recent paper on the currency of that country, says: "We look almost with envy upon the United States, which, out of their annual surplus, could easily pay the interest on a loan sufficient to retire immediately enough paper money to insure the disappearance of the gold premium." Thus have we suffered in the United States, in the eyes of all competent European critics, by ignorance of established economic principles on the part of those who have made and those who have administered our financial system, and, still worse, by the vain and silly conceit that we alone of all nations are emancipated from those principles and are competent to create a political economy of our own.

In contrast with the straightforward, manly dealing with the problem of specie resumption which characterizes all the discussions of it in European countries similarly situated, we have produced nothing better than the halting compromise known as the Resumption Act of 1875—an act which, in the contemptuous phrase of one of the foreign ministers then in Washington, passed the Senate, "after a couple of hours' debate, by a majority of 18 in a total vote of 46, being regarded merely as a party measure, too inoffensive to provoke the serious hostility of either contractionists or inflationists."

Life of Israel Putnam ("Old Put"), Major-General in the Continental Army. By Increase N. Tarbox. With Map and Illustrations. (Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co. 1876. 8vo, pp. 389.)—Thirty years ago, if we are not mistaken, there was hardly more question in the public mind that Gen. Putnam commanded at Bunker Hill than that Napoleon commanded at Marengo. Since that time, an opinion has gradually made its way into popular favor that it was Col. Prescott; and this opinion has now become so firmly seated, and been so largely adopted by current literature, especially in the school histories of the United States, that the present generation is growing up with no more doubt of this being a fact than their fathers were of the other. Mr. Tarbox has undertaken to reverse this judgment, and to show that the men of the time, as well as of the generations which immediately followed, were right in ascribing the honor to "Old Put."

At first sight, we must confess that the question seems hardly to require argument. It is incredible that it should be left to Mr. Frothingham, at a distance of nearly a century of time, to discover who commanded in one of the most eventful engagements of the war. It is incredible that, when a general was present upon the field (and not as a volunteer, like Warren), a colonel should hold the chief command. It is incredible that contemporaries, both in England and America, should have been mistaken in hailing Putnam as the hero of the day. It is incredible, if Putnam blundered and misbehaved upon this occasion, as some of the advocates of the opposite theory would make out, that he should have remained throughout his military career the trusted friend of Washington, and been placed by him in positions of responsibility. We submit that Mr. Tarbox is right in asserting that a probability resting upon facts like these can be set aside only by the most direct and overwhelming evidence. And such evidence is wholly wanting. The argument for Col. Prescott's being in chief command of the field is entirely by way of inference, and, when sifted, appears exceedingly weak. He was in charge of the entrenching party on the night of the sixteenth of June, and commanded at the redoubt the next day; so much is certain. And the redoubt was the central point of the battle; but it was not the battle. Still, the fight at the redoubt has, in the eyes of later students, so completely overshadowed the other events of the day as to come to be regarded as comprising in itself the whole battle, so far as there was a regular battle; and its commander, who certainly did not command Putnam, and almost as certainly did not command Stark, with his New Hampshire men, next to the Mystic River, is called the commander of the day.

The fact is, if Prescott did not command Putnam, neither does Putnam appear to have exercised any active control over Prescott. This is accounted for in various ways. In the first place, Prescott did not need supervision; his duties were simple and well defined, and he performed them satisfactorily, while Putnam had his hands full elsewhere. In the next place, the engagement seems to have been somewhat unexpected, at least to the commander-in-chief, so that Prescott's work at the redoubt was almost independent of the other rather desultory operations, and was left without proper support. In the next place, and chiefly, Gen. Putnam, with all his great and heroic qualities, does not seem to have possessed the capacity of managing a pitched battle. The result is that his operations appear quite secondary to those of his subordinate, Col. Prescott. To these considerations from the facts of the battle, there is added a theoretical argument, which sets out from an assertion of John Adams (1818), that "the army at Cambridge was not a national army," but that it was "four armies," one each from the four New England colonies. From this it is argued that there could have been no officer with authority to command the whole body of troops engaged at Bunker Hill, and that at any rate, if there was one, it could not be a Connecticut general, because it was mainly Massachusetts troops that were engaged, and on Massachusetts soil. Prescott, therefore, as being the senior Massachusetts officer, must have been the chief commander, so far as there was a chief commander at all—for of course the reasoning which excludes Putnam will equally exclude Prescott from any real authority over the whole field. There is no doubt that there was a certain lack of unity in the command of the day which lends some support to this view. As to the doctrine from which it all starts, that there was not one army but four, Mr. Tarbox well answers (p. 89) that, whatever truth there is in it, "it is a *rhetorical* [rather *logical*] and not a *historical* truth. It relates to the legal relation of the men from the different States, and not their relations as a *matter of fact*." As a matter of fact, Putnam of Connecticut did obey Ward of Massachusetts, and, as appears here quite convincingly, did command Stark of New Hampshire, and Prescott of Massachusetts.

Mr. Tarbox has arranged the evidence for his view, gathered from many sources, at perhaps unnecessary length, but certainly with good effect, and has added (page 235) one important piece of evidence which is entirely new—the affidavit (of July, 1875) of Daniel Putnam Tyler, of Brooklyn, Ct., a great-grandson of General Putnam, as to a conversation held by him in 1822 with Governor Eustis of Massachusetts, who was a student of medicine in the office of General Warren at the time of the battle, and who met Warren as he was going upon the ground. "He [Eustis] said," the affidavit states, "he was a student in Dr. Warren's office, that early in the morning of the battle Putnam was there, and with almost superhuman energy acting as commander, and so far as he knew was alone recognized as such. It was not till many years after the battle that he heard it suggested that any other than Putnam had the chief command on that occasion. He said he knew that Colonel Prescott was entrusted with the defence of the redoubt; that he was an intrepid and gallant soldier, and defended that with great military skill and Spartan valor."

We have said that the argument is effectively presented. It might have been more so with a better arrangement, more clear in the description of military operations, and, we are inclined to think, with a distinct statement in advance of the point to be proved and the arguments to be refuted. The book is essentially a controversial one, written, no doubt, for the purpose of settling a disputed point, and might perhaps have made a useful monograph. A good life of Putnam is, however, an acceptable addition to our literature. It is well told, with perhaps an excess of words, and certainly, we must think, with the common fault of biographers of exaggerating the merits of their heroes. General Putnam was a remarkable man, a typical New Englander in many respects, and a useful officer; and his biographer has done well to vindicate his memory from a kind of depreciation which has of late become fashionable. But it is a pity that he himself has thought it necessary to depreciate Prescott in turn; and it is certainly too much to assign Putnam the next share to Washington "in the securing of American independence" (page 326). If this were a just estimate of his powers, we should not find him, as is the case, gradually relegated to subordinate operations in the war. To these his capacity and training adapted him, and in the early stages of the war he did invaluable service, for which he will always be deservedly a favorite figure among American heroes. The illustrations of the book, we will add—except the portrait and plan of the battle—are of that class, so common in popular histories and biographies, which neither adorn nor illustrate.

The History of the City of New York. By Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Parts I.-IV. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.)—Long after Diedrich Knickerbocker's chronicle had become a classic, instead of the caricature it was meant to be, Irving regretted that he had not time to write a serious history of New York. The occasion of this memorial year invites Mrs. Lamb to undertake the task, with the aid of abundant material industriously gathered from archives and public records, and from private memoirs, letters, and manuscripts. So far as the work has advanced, it has been done faithfully and picturesquely.

When an old-time shipwright built a vessel, he hewed the toughest and staunchest timber into keel and keelson, ribbing her with English oak and finishing with Scotch fir. After the same fashion this great trading craft of New York was framed, and her Dutch bottom, though mostly out of

sight, still bears up and binds together her whole structure. Two generations of Dutch peopled and ruled Manhattan Island before they yielded it, nor have two centuries of engrafted growth done more than to improve without effacing the sturdy ancient stock.

Whether as New Amsterdam or as New York, the fortunes of the colony were closely linked first with those of its motherland and then with those of its stepmother country. Old World history reflected itself in its early contests, and these gain light and clearness from the brief sketches of European events introduced by the author. Of course it is in the details of its special colonial life that the chief interest is found. It was a life of troubles among savage enemies and unfriendly neighbors without, varied by civil turmoil and official corruption within. The Indians, peaceable at first, soon changed, through the avarice of traders and hostile French influence from Canada, into a beleaguering circle of foes. The Eastern English provinces, encroaching while the Dutch were aliens, became jealous and unfriendly when united under the same government with them, while to smooth Penn and courtly Carteret the change of rulers brought no check in their grasping demands for territory.

Each figure in the short line of the governors sent from Holland and the longer series of their English successors is painted forcibly and individually. The Colonial annals break into distinct eras with the varying policy of rulers. Each of these, by his marked personal character, gives occasion for minute pictures of the men and manners of his time. These are heightened by details of domestic life, and stories of the origin of families whose names we hear every day in our streets. We do not remember to have read anywhere the curious episode of Jacob Leisler's two years' usurpation told with more impartial coherence, or its persistent influence over party action in the colony developed more clearly and satisfactorily. The author's candor appears as plainly in her admission that the colony did not always rise above the persecuting spirit of the age, and that in two instances, once in severity towards Quakers and once in cruel legislation against Papists, New York made exception to its usual tolerance.

The author's subject will grow less picturesque and more difficult as she approaches Revolutionary days. If finished with the same care and spirit that mark its opening, this work will deserve to become the popular history of New York.

The North Star and the Southern Cross. By Margaretha Weppner. (N. Y. : D. Appleton & Co. 1876.)—One hardly knows what to say of a book of this sort : its innumerable literary sins and exceeding bad taste invite the severest criticism, but this is to some extent diminished by its avowed object. A young, unmarried woman proposes to herself a tour around the world, to be "written up" into a book, and the proceeds of publication devoted to the support of an aged mother ; and, accordingly she starts out from Paris with seven and a half francs in her pocket, and two hundred francs indebtedness. Instead of imparting any useful information, "the unity of her story renders it necessary that the reader should know how she finally got rid of the debts she left behind her in Paris" ; and "the unity" also probably demands that we should be minutely informed how she travelled over four continents at other people's expense, obtaining passes from railroad and steamship magnates, raising subscriptions in Peking, lodging in convents and hospitals, and heartily abusing those Sisters of Mercy who did not receive her with entire kindness. In addition to these and various other incidents of the most trivial sort, we are given full details of an engagement to a thoroughgoing scoundrel of a Polish count, and her refusal of an offer of marriage from Mr. N——, of Boston, to whom she replied that "fate and the past were the reason of her inability to comply with his desires." As if these personal matters were not enough, she undertakes to assume charge of a poor crazy girl from India to Bavaria, and fills half a volume with the account of the various antics of this poor lunatic. Of geographic information there is nothing, and the occasional criticisms on the manners and customs of the various countries passed over are of the most superficial sort ; it is a comfort, however, to know that Miss Weppner received most assistance and politeness from Americans and Englishmen—her own country's agents offering nothing but hindrance and insult.

There is no questioning the novelty of the idea which inspired this book, and it affords a very lucid description of what can be accomplished by a certain sort of pluck and persistency, assisted by sex, in attaining a very worthy and charitable end by means which are at least questionable.

The Name Machabee. By Samuel Ives Curtiss, jr. (Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs. 1876. Pp. 42.)—To elucidate the meaning of an ancient name may appear too insignificant a work to engage in; and yet, if successfully done, it may be the means of shedding a bright light on whole periods of the past, for "names are crystallized history." Mr. Curtiss, the author of the dissertation before us, has furnished us with an excellent monograph upon a name brilliant in the annals of Jewish history ; and this monograph, the work of a young American scholar, deserves to be welcomed with sincere appreciation. He undertakes to show that the original Hebrew name must have been "Machabee," with a *Khaph*, and not "Maccabee," with a *Koph*, and he brings sufficient proof that the Hebrew letter Khaph was often transcribed with a *Kappa* by the LXX and by other Greek writers. He next examines the various theories as to the significance of the name Machabee, all of which he rejects, even the hammer theory, which has been accepted as the correct one by the most eminent Hebrew scholars of the age —among them by Gesenius, Ewald, Hitzig, Grimm, Keil, Frankel, Herzfeld, Kuenen, and others. He then proceeds to give his own derivation and explanation of the surname which the Asmonean hero Judas bore, and concludes that "Machabee" is derived from the verb *kabah*, to extinguish, and that it signifies "the extinguisher." Dr. Curtiss's conjecture may appear doubtful to many scholars, but every one who carefully peruses the dissertation will admit that he has written in a scholarly style, applying a sound, scientific method of investigation, and that his treatment of the subject is thorough and exhaustive. The theories of De Rossi, Yahya, Zipser, etc., have as little failed to be noticed by him as those of Reland, Kennicott, Michaelis, and others. On pp. 23 and 24 of his brochure, he inserts a letter from his teacher, Professor Delitzsch, of Leipzig, in which this learned Hebraist proposes the novel theory that "Maccabee" is a contraction of the Hebrew *Mah-keabi* (What is like my father ?). Fine a Hebrew scholar as is Prof. Delitzsch, we cannot refrain from saying that *his* theory is not a very happy one, and that, on the contrary, it is utterly untenable. An Israelite of old might have formed the name *Mi-kheabi*—contracted, *Micabi* (Who is like my father ?)—and to such a formation he would have had parallels in *Michael* and *Michaiah*, but he never would have thought of such a monstrous word as *Mah-keabi*. Furthermore, the explanation of the two Biblical names, Machbanai and Machnadbai, which Prof. Delitzsch compares, and by which he attempts to support his theory, is also more than questionable—"Thus stumbles the helper, and he that is helped falls down." How will he explain the word Machbena, which appears in 1 Chr. ii. 49 as the name of a city, and which is etymologically connected with Machbanai ?

The Science of Government in connection with American Institutions. New edition. By Joseph Alden, D.D., LL.D. (New York : Sheldon & Co. 1876.)—Dr. Alden's book contains 245 pages devoted to the treatment of his subject. Of these only thirty-four are devoted to an exposition of the "Science of Government," properly so-called. The remainder is a summary of the constitutional history of the New England Colonies and of the United States, with brief explanations of the nature of international law, civil and canon law, and parliamentary law. The first criticism which obviously presents itself is that any student who needed the instruction offered in his first thirty-four pages would be entirely unable to follow him through his historical sketch of the Colonial and Federal Governments. The sketch contains little that is new, but all disputed points of constitutional interpretation are fairly and clearly stated. Still, as we have said, no pupil who needed the preliminary exposition could possibly take hold of them. There are many definitions in this exposition which we might object to as promotive of hazy thinking among young people, if the exposition itself were not so brief. As it stands it is, considered as a treatise on government, hardly a fit subject of criticism. If Dr. Alden gets out another edition, he ought either to make his prefatory matter much fuller or to imbed his constitutional narrative in a much larger body of explanation.

Common Sense ; or, First Steps in Political Economy. By M. R. Leverson, Ph.D. (New York : The Authors' Publishing Company. 1876.) —This is an excellent little book, which is all it pretends to be, and in fact has, besides its shortness, but one defect—viz., that like nearly all attempts to give easy lessons to beginners in politics and political economy, the author, as he warms with his subject, throws off the yoke of simplicity and becomes somewhat more recondite and mature in his matter and manner than he evidently intended to be when he set out. His political economy is of the most orthodox *laissez-faire* type, the writer going so far as to express doubts whether even police and magistrates were worth the cost of their maintenance—which shows a happy ignorance of the spirit and enterprise of the vicious classes.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Price.*
Albemarle (Earl), Fifty Years of My Life	(Henry Holt & Co.) $2 50
Barnes's Centenary History of U. S.: Centennial Supplement	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 50
Bezold (Dr. W. von), The Theory of Color	(L. Prang & Co.) 5 00
Bushnell (Rev. H.), Christian Nurture	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Dawe (Rev. C. S.), Landmarks of General History	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Eliot (George), Daniel Deronda, Vol II	(Harper & Bros.) 1 50
Frey (Prof. H.), Compendium of Histology	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 3 25
Globe Encyclopædia, Part II., swd	(Estes & Lauriat) 50
Grant (Mrs. A.), Memoirs of an American Lady	(Joel Munsell)
Harris (A.), Review of the Political Conflict in America	(T. H. Pollock)
Howells (W. D.), Life and Character of R. B. Hayes	(Hurd & Hough on) 1 00
Johnson (C.), Centennial History of Erie County (N. Y.)	(Buffalo)
Joynes (Prof. E. S.), Position of the Modern Languages in the Higher Education, swd.	(J. P. Morton & Co.)
Larned (J. N.), Talks about Labor	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Landor (W. S.), Imaginary Conversations	(Roberts Bros.) 2 00
Marryat (Florence), My Own Child, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) 75
Menzies (S.), History of France for Junior Classes	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Mercy Philbrick's Choice: a Tale	(Roberts Bros.) 1 00
Morgan (H. H.), Representative Names in the History of English Literature	(D. Appleton & Co.)
McPherson (Hon. E.), Hand-Book of Politics. 1876	(Washington)
Notes on Building Construction, Part II	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Pennell (Prof. R. F.), Rome, down to 476 A.D.	(John Allyn) $0 75
Pre-Historic Remains, Cincinnati, Ohio, swd	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)
Portfolio for September, swd	(J. W. Bouton) 1 00
Roth (E.), Short Latin Grammar, Part I., Declensions	(Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger) 25
Robinson (C.), Principles and Practice of Courts of Justice. Vol. VII	(T. & J. W. Johnson & Co.)
Spinoza (B. de), Ethics	(D. Van Nostrand)
Spur of Monmouth: a Tale	(Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger)
State Charities Aid Association: a Century of Nursing, swd	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 50
Smith (J. E. A.), History of Pittsfield, Mass., 1800-1876	(Springfield)
Schmitz (L.), History of Greece for Junior Classes	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 75
Stanley (Rev. A. P.), Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, 3d Series	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 4 00
Scott (Sir W.), Ivanhoe: Condensed Classics	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Swett (J.), History of the Public School System of California	(A. L. Bancroft & Co.)
Talleyrand-Périgord (Marquis de), Etude sur la République des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, swd	(Hurd & Houghton)
Taylor (H.), Philip Van Artevelde: a Drama	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
The Industrial Arts: South Kensington Hand-book	(Scribner, Welford & Armstrong) 1 50
Twenty-first Massachusetts Life Insurance Report	(Boston)
Ultimate Generalization	(Chas. P. Somerby)
Voldo (V.), A Song of America, and Minor Lyrics	(Hanscom & Co.)

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1876.

The Week.

THE elections in Ohio and Indiana took place on Tuesday, but, as we go to press, nothing positive can be said as regards the result in either State. Just before the close of the canvass in Indiana, Mr. Anson Wolcott, the nominee of the greenback party for governor, withdrew from the canvass, advising the greenback men to vote the Republican ticket. This withdrawal was immediately followed by charges of fraud and treason, the Democrats declaring that Mr. Wolcott must have been bought up with Republican money. The chairman of the Republican State Committee was thereupon obliged to come out with a card denying all acquaintance or communication with Mr. Wolcott, and declaring that neither he nor any other member of the committee had been engaged in bribing the greenback candidate. Immediately on the withdrawal a new candidate was put in the field, but at the same time it was announced that his nomination was irregular.

The doubt in which the election returns from Colorado have been involved for the past week arose, no doubt, in great measure from the determination of both parties to affect the minds of voters in Ohio and Indiana. The result of the election does not merely show the "drift of opinion," but it gives three electoral votes to the party which carries the legislature. The population is not of the highest or most cultivated order, and owing to the thinly-settled character of the country and the remoteness of large districts from railroads and telegraphs, the real vote comes in slowly. The newspaper vote, it is hardly necessary to say, comes in with remarkable rapidity, and a week ago the Republican papers were able to announce a majority of 2,000, which must have been arrived at by guess-work, as the number of votes actually cast by Republicans and Democrats in most of the counties was entirely unknown. The Democratic papers, by aid of the same returns, made out a fair majority for themselves. After a week's telegraphing, and much earnest thinking as to counties not heard from, the Republican majority was reduced to about 1,248; the Democrats, however, still claiming the State by a majority of 218.

The "charges" of the past week have not been as interesting as heretofore. The *Times* has unearthed some new rascalities of Tilden's which it calls the "Brady's Bend Swindle," and shows how he "deliberately wrecked a railroad and a thriving community," and how he tried to "tempt an honorable superintendent with $50,000 of stock." We regret to see, however, that the *Times* takes no notice of the *World's* "Campaign Supplement" exposing the piratical career of the Republican candidate for Governor. The silence of Governor Morgan, we must remind the *Times*, is pretty good proof of the truth of the charges. Among the minor incidents of the week has been the request by General Dix of Mr. John Foley for proof of Mr. Tilden's want of sympathy for the anti-Ring movement in this city, and of his absence from the great anti-Ring mass-meeting in 1871, and the reply of Mr. Foley that he has no proof to give, always having considered Mr. Tilden one of the most efficient enemies of the Ring. He adds that the reason why Mr. Tilden was absent from the meeting in question was because he was engaged in anti-Ring work elsewhere, intimating that if General Dix can explain his (General Dix's) absence it would be well at once to do so, and finally declares that Tilden is the candidate for whom he intends to vote at the coming election. Mr. John Y. Foster, who will be remembered as having cut a conspicuous figure some months ago in connection with Mr. Blaine, has informed the public that some time in 1863 he was employed by the *Evening Post* to make his way to the meeting of a secret conclave at Delmonico's; that he did so, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in his way by the "negro waiters," and then found Mr. Tilden engaged, like a second Catiline, with some prominent Copperheads and Secessionists, plotting the ruin of his country. This story Mr. Parke Godwin denies, saying that Mr. Foster went to this meeting with a ticket of invitation, and showing that his account must be largely imaginary, on account of the introduction of negro waiters in a place where it is notorious that they never are employed.

The Democratic papers continue to make a good deal of Mr. Hayes's letter to the American Alliance, and try to make him out a Know-Nothing, which is probably the height of absurdity. Mr. Schurz has found it necessary to take up the subject on the stump and explain that the letter was probably a mere "routine" letter, such as every politician writes to people who say they are ready to support him, and meant nothing. In our opinion, the moral to be drawn from the case is a slightly different one from that drawn by the newspapers of either party. The "American Alliance" is a political organization which has been in existence for some months, has held a convention and drawn up a platform, which has been published in the newspapers, and which we some time since commented upon in these columns. Everybody in the country, therefore, had notice of its existence and of its character, particularly every one in public life, just as much as every one had of the existence of the Woman Suffragists, the Prohibitionists, or the Grangers, when those parties were first set on foot. Now, under these circumstances, whether the Alliance has a large membership or a small one, or whether Mr. L. S. Tyler, the secretary, is a real person or a myth, is of little or no consequence; but it is of consequence that any one who receives a promise from them of political support should, before thanking them and promising them "co-operation," make up his mind whether he wants their support or not, and whether they ought to have the "co-operation" of his friends. Presidential candidates have no business to write "routine" letters accepting nominations from people they do not know anything about, any more than Congressmen have a right to give "routine" letters of recommendation to people whom they do not mean to recommend. Any one who wants to be a candidate of the "American Alliance" can be so; but, in that case, it is his business to tell us so, and not first accept their support and then assure us that it has no meaning. All proceedings of this kind have a tendency to increase the present prevailing disbelief in the meaning of all platforms, party professions and principles, and are on that account demoralizing.

Judge Hoar has accepted the independent nomination in the Seventh Massachusetts District, in a letter in which he reviews General Butler's character and present position at some length; expresses the conviction that he is an unfit candidate for representation in a canvass in which the party is "pledged to a radical reform of the civil service and a speedy return to specie payments"; suggests that "when a public servant cannot bring a character from his last place it is wise to use some caution in accepting his advances to a new engagement, however pressing"; recalls the fact that at a late State convention, at which Butler appeared at the head of his forces trying to get himself nominated as governor, "it was only after they had been detected in a large amount of double voting" that the general yielded his claim; that he boasted to two of his colleagues in Washington in 1874 that "he knew what they were telegraphing," as "he had a man that read them on the wires by the click," and that the House of Representatives had to pass a resolution to protect the telegraph from his depredations. He also points out that General Butler is at variance with his party on two at least of its most important principles; being in favor of paying the debt in

greenbacks, and opposed, as he has admitted, to providing for a speedy return to specie payments, though nominally acquiescing. As to the civil service, he is "not only a scoffer at the whole of it, but the most conspicuous example of those who make the holding of public office the reward of personal adhesion and personal service." His nomination, and the appearance of his name on the State Committee, Judge Hoar reminds his adherents, are doing the party "incalculable harm throughout the country." Even on the question of equal rights and the enforcement of the amendments, he thinks that putting Butler in office is not a help but a hindrance, inasmuch as the cause of the present straits to which the party finds itself reduced is "the deep-seated and wide-spread dissatisfaction excited at the North at the Sanborn moieties, salary grabs, the bargains, contracts, office-jobbing, and caucus-packing which occur to every man's mind when General Butler's name is mentioned in connection with politics." The general has been made very savage by all this, and he is said to be contemplating as a piece of revenge a general order to his followers to scratch the name of the regular nominee for governor.

Butler seems to have handed over his old congressional district to his faithful friend and ally, Dr. George B. Loring, who has just received the Republican nomination. Dr. Loring is one of the leading representatives of "Butlerism" in the State, and it would probably be hard to find a politician of either party who has inspired a more thorough political distrust wherever he is known than he. He is, like Butler, one of the Democrats who came over to the Republican party when they found it for their advantage, and has been ever since a persistent wire-puller, pipe-layer, and office-seeker. He now declares that he is in favor of civil-service reform, which is very much as if Butler were to come out for it himself; though it may be also considered a gratifying sign, as being in the nature of the homage which vice is said to pay to virtue. The Civil-service Reform Club of Boston, is, we observe, doing some excellent work in forcing all the candidates for congressional seats to declare their intentions as to civil-service reform. This is the only way to make sure of them. But no mere declaration of intention on their part will be sufficient. The civil service will never be reformed until positive legislation secures in some way those in the employ of the Government against dismissal for political opinion. Promises on the part of Congressmen not to insist on patronage will do no good without this. Mr. William Lathrop, of the Fourth Congressional District in Illinois, has, we see, declined to withdraw from the canvass, and whatever may be the merits of the question as to his nomination, the friends of civil-service reform must be glad to have an opportunity of voting for him.

The Republican managers ought to put some sort of check on Mr. Blaine, as he is apparently losing his head, and has begun making "charges" right and left. At Xenia, Ohio, the other day, he said:

"But I hold in my hand a semi-official letter from an officer in the Treasury Department, wholly unsolicited by me, but specially authorizing me to state publicly that from the best information possessed by the Department, Mr. Tilden owes the United States to-day from $150,000 to $250,000 on account of unpaid income-tax; and this official letter authorizes me further to state that by a recent decision of the United States Circuit Court at Providence, Rhode Island, it is believed the whole of this vast sum, amounting to probably a quarter of a million of dollars, can be recovered for the benefit of the United States Treasury. I have, of course, no personal knowledge of the subject, but I make this statement on the best authority in the United States."

The officer who sent him this stuff ought, under the "reform," to be dismissed (1) for communicating information about the income of private citizens to stump orators, and (2) for gross mendacity. For the reasons given by us last week, "the Department" cannot know how much, if anything, Tilden owes the Government, and for any officer to pretend to know it for partisan purposes is to convert the machinery of administration into an instrument of slander and defamation. Upon Mr. Blaine's conduct in making use of this blatherskite in this pompous way we need make no comment.

He has, besides slandering Judge Clifford of the Supreme Court with inaccurate indecency, been falling foul of Mr. Charles Francis Adams with equal inaccuracy, though with less indecency, because Mr. Adams is not a judge. Mr. Blaine says:

"After the Republican victory of 1860, Mr. Adams, then a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, sought by all his influence to deprive the country of everything that had been gained in the struggle. He offered every humiliating concession to the South, agreed to abandon the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and, as the climax of the degrading and dishonoring conditions, he offered to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to render the abolition of slavery impossible so long as a single slave State should object. The amendment, so warmly urged by Mr. Adams, declared, in effect, that no amendment to the Constitution, in any way interfering with slavery in the States, should ever be even so much as proposed, except by one of the slave States, and should not be adopted, except with the consent of every slave State."

This is full of untruths. Mr. Adams did not "offer to amend the Constitution" in the manner described. On the contrary, he voted for the amendment of Mr. Corwin of Ohio, which struck out of the resolution to which Mr. Blaine alludes the provision in question, and then voted with the majority to lay the whole subject on the table. It was not laid on the table, and the Corwin form of the amendment was passed by the Senate, but it did not prohibit any such other amendment to the Constitution as Mr. Blaine describes, and was supported by the leading Republicans as an honest effort to prevent civil war, however mistaken it may have been. Nor is it true, as Mr. Blaine has affirmed, that "Mr. Lincoln often declared that no crisis of the war was so terrible, and no possible issue of it so destructive, as the proposition of Mr. Adams to found the continuance of the Union on the remorseless, hopeless, and endless servitude of an entire race of men." In the first place, Mr. Adams made no such proposal, and, in the second, of the proposal he did make Mr. Lincoln said, in his inaugural address, "that he had no objection to [this amendment] being made express and irrevocable." It is not true, therefore, that the amendment was prevented from coming to a direct vote by Mr. Lincoln's influence, as Mr. Blaine also says. Horace Greeley used sometimes exclaim plaintively, "Is there to be no end of lying?" and yet in his time lying on a great scale was left to the lowest class of Democratic newspapers. Were he alive now, and saw the leading Republican writers and journalists vying with Brick Pomeroy in the production of "campaign stories," what wails he would utter!

Governor Chamberlain has issued a proclamation calling attention to a condition of lawlessness in two of the South Carolina counties, ordering the "rifle clubs" and other unlawful organizations to disband, and announcing that unless they do so he will enforce obedience by a resort to all the powers given him by the laws of the State or of the United States. This proclamation he has followed up by an address to the country, assuring the public that he has evidence to prove the lawlessness, disorder, and crime referred to in the proclamation, pledging himself to prove it, and promising not to "stay his hand" until punishment overtakes the authors of the troubles. He fortifies his statement of the condition of affairs by a report from United States District-Attorney Corbin, who declares that armed "rifle clubs" exist throughout the county of Aiken; that they have created a perfect "reign of terror"; that "the colored men are many of them lying out of doors and away from their houses at night"; that many have been hunted, whipped, or killed; that from thirteen to thirty negroes have been killed in the county by these clubs in three weeks; that the sheriff does not dare to oppose them, and that the civil arm of the Govern-

ment is "as powerless as the wind to prevent these atrocities." All Mr. Chamberlain's statements are denied by the Democrats, who have produced letters from several Republican judges denying that there is any lawlessness in the State. The canvass is being conducted by the whites with great energy on what is called the "preference" plan. This plan consists in letting the negroes know that their bread and butter depends on their abandoning the Republican party, and forcing them to announce before the election whether they mean to vote for Hampton or Chamberlain.

The contest in this city over the municipal offices begins to grow warm, and promises soon to be exciting. Mr. Green is receiving a large non-political support for mayor, and receiving it in a way that looks as if it might be followed by the Republican nomination. Tammany and anti-Tammany appear to be gradually coming together, but the truce is still a hollow one, and which side is ultimately to carry the day depends much on the result of the Presidential election. Tilden's victory would probably put Tammany Hall permanently in the hands of men like Edward Cooper and Mr. Hewitt, while his defeat would be followed by the triumph of "Jimmy" O'Brien. John Morrissey, we see, is still strongly opposed to Tammany Hall, and wants to have it pulled down. The continued assaults of the *Times* upon "Boss" Kelly have brought that gentleman out in defence of himself, and he has made a speech or two with regard to his record, which, as he shows, is really a remarkably good one for a "Boss," and one which many a private citizen might envy him. He does not in his defence deny that he is a "Boss," and is carrying on the government of this city for us, but points out that the difference between him and other "Bosses" has been that he has tried to be a good, kind "Boss," to give good judges, good mayors, good district-attorneys, and, in fact, to fill all the offices in his gift with good men. This is perfectly true. We have watched Mr. Kelly's career for some years with the interest which all taxpayers must feel in the "Boss" for the time being, and we think that, judging him as a "Boss" should be judged, he is rather a credit to the city. In fact, if we were to have the right to select the "Boss" of our own choice out of all those who have filled the position during the last twenty-five years, we should pick out Mr. Kelly as the best of them all. He is a plain, simple-minded, straightforward, Irish-American Catholic, is not an office-holder or office-seeker, has wealth enough to place him beyond the reach of temptation, and has attained his present eminent position not by bribery and corruption, but by doing what we have always been assured is so necessary for good government in New York—attending to his political duties, going to primaries, and watching the caucuses and conventions to see that "none but fit men" are nominated. The only defect in his character as a "Boss" that we have been able to discover is a tinge of hopelessness and scepticism as to the ultimate success of the good cause for which he is always working. This was increased, we fear, by the success of the "Reform movement" of last year, for Mr. Kelly has not been the same "Boss" since. He is now said to be thinking of making Mr. Schell mayor, which would be a mistake, and would tend to show on his part a growing distrust of the soundness of the people on the reform issue, which we should regret.

The movement in Mr. Green's favor has, we are glad to say, taken a shape which is not unlikely to result in giving the public an opportunity to vote for a genuine reform ticket. The gentlemen in charge of the movement, among whom are to be found Mr. Jackson S. Schultz, Mr. Ottendorffer, General Barlow, and other well-known reformers, have decided not to fall into the usual trap of a "committee to consult other organizations"—which usually begins with a consultation and ends with a bargain by which the independents get the support of one of the two political parties on some leading candidate, at the price of having to support some of the leading rascals of the party for minor offices—and have resolved to nominate a full ticket for mayor, judges, surrogate, sheriff, county clerk, and aldermen, the candidates to be selected "with special reference to fitness, good character, and capacity," and to ask the co-operation of the Bar Association, and other reform organizations. What this will all result in it is impossible for anybody to attempt to predict, but one thing is very certain, that we have in this movement an opportunity to get a better city government than we have had for years. Mr. Ottendorffer unquestionably represents a large German vote, as General Barlow and Mr. Schultz do a large number of native Republicans; and by holding rigidly aloof from the two rival parties, the reformers may either compel both of them to make unexceptionable nominations, or may at any rate defeat a large number of bad ones made by either party. We trust that the fury of the campaign, which promises to be very great in this State, will not be allowed to blind voters in this city to the fact that there ought to be no connection between the questions as to who is to be President of the United States and who is to superintend the lighting, paving, and policing of this city, and that it is just as important for them to be saved from bad government, over-taxation, and communistic tyranny in their own homes as it is for them to determine which party they prefer to see in Washington.

The course of speculation at the Stock Exchange was reversed early in the week, and prices of stocks have since advanced from 2 to 12½ per cent. The rise was led by New Jersey Central, in which company there has been a reorganization of the management, Mr. Knight of the Bound Brook Road having succeeded Mr. John Taylor Johnston as president. The recovery in prices has, after the coal securities, been most noticeable in those shares which, having been held by investors, have in the past few months been vigorously attacked. Railroad business, although the trunk lines have not yet announced a settlement of differences and an advance in rates, is more profitable than last year, and the accounts of trade in all parts of the country continue encouraging. It is to be noted, however, that there is a disposition on the part of party organs to turn the business situation to political account in a way that is not warranted. After three years of depression and liquidation the recovery now is natural, and will probably continue whoever is elected President. At the request of the syndicate the Treasury has called for redemption $10,000,000 more 6 per cent. bonds, making $50,000,000 in all since the formation of the present syndicate. It is now beyond dispute that they have sold fully $50,000,000 new 4½ per cent. bonds; and it is an open secret that a little more than one-half this amount has been taken in this country, principally by national banks for use to secure their note circulation. The rumors and reports of war in Europe have had no effect on the London money market and none here on the gold market. Gold here has fallen almost entirely because of the arrangements made between the syndicate and the Treasury. Under these the Syndicate is not compelled to turn gold into the Treasury for new 4½ per cent. bonds at the time the latter are taken out. This relieves the gold market of a scarcity which threatened to become embarrassing. A considerable amount of gold has also been imported, the Rothschilds having sent to their correspondents here $750,000 during the week. The fall in the gold market has, by temporarily checking the export trade and increasing purchases of bills by importers, so strengthened the foreign exchange market that at the close gold could not be profitably imported. The money market shows less change at this point than was expected, but in all parts of the country the mercantile demand for bank accommodations is increasing. The gold value of a one-dollar Treasury legal-tender note has ranged during the week between $0.9090 and $0.9184. The price of silver closed in London at 52d. per ounce, English standard. The gold value of the old silver dollar would at the close of the week have been $0.8778; the gold value of the "trade dollar" was $0.8938.

"THE INDEPENDENTS IN THE CANVASS."

THE last number of the *North American Review* has an article under the above heading, generally attributed to Mr. C. F. Adams, jr., which follows into their present political position the members of the Fifth Avenue Conference called by Mr. Schurz last May, and makes a number of criticisms on them and on the two parties they have joined which will attract a good deal of attention. The writer jokes them pleasantly upon the great haste with which they joined one or other of these parties after the nominations were made, although there is no doubt that the following passage in that portion of the address describing the sort of candidates whom independent voters could *not* support was intended for Mr. Hayes: "—— who, however favorably judged by his nearest friends, is not publicly known to possess those qualities of mind and character which the stern task of genuine reform requires; for the American people cannot now afford to risk the future of the Republic in experiments on merely supposed virtue or rumored ability, to be trusted on the strength of private recommendations." But then he acknowledges that the nominations on both sides, though not the best, were, on the whole, so good that "there was nothing from which an appeal to the country could be taken with any prospect of success." It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that in taking sides the reformers did the best thing in their power, as long as they thought there was any chance whatever of getting what they wanted from either Tilden or Hayes. The effect of the nomination of Hayes, too, on the public mind was heightened by the circumstances of Blaine's defeat. The "exposure" of him which immediately preceded the Convention, coupled with the extraordinary support he received in that body, made him, in the eyes of the better element of the party, in some sort the representative of its corruption, and made his overthrow *by anybody* seem a great triumph of reform, and made "the anybody" seem the heaven-sent man, the "Deus ex machinâ" who was to save the state. It is quite true, as the writer points out, that Hayes is not the natural and proper candidate of his party, as Tilden is of his. He has not risen into prominence by a long and conspicuous political career, as Tilden has, and it is no answer to this to say that he has filled more offices and been longer in office than Tilden. The candidate of a party which has been in opposition for sixteen years cannot be expected to have had much official experience. His claims have to rest on prominence in the party councils, and this Tilden had had, while Hayes had not. But then, if we once concede that it is proper or possible under any circumstances for a party to be allowed to reform itself when in power, and to turn itself to new duties under new leaders, Hayes's nomination was as good a one as could have been made, because the conspicuous men of the Republican party, from whom, in the ordinary course of things, the candidate ought to have been taken, are themselves "part of the thing to be reformed." To blame the party for not nominating one of them is, therefore, tantamount to blaming it for attempting "reform within the party." Its course has, perhaps, been irregular, but any other would have been suicidal. The question which Mr. Schurz and other "Independents" had to settle for themselves, therefore, as it seems to us, was not whether Hayes was a man whom the Republican party could consistently nominate, but whether he was a man who would answer their purpose. Mr. Schurz apparently, after seeing Mr. Hayes, found no difficulty in answering this question in the affirmative, and we do not think he made a mistake. For, if our view of the situation be a correct one, the duty of a reform President at this juncture will be unusually simple, and will depend for its proper performance rather on character than on political experience. Indeed, for the work before a Republican President of the right sort, we doubt if long political experience would not be a hindrance rather than a help.

Where the reviewer is undoubtedly right in his criticism of the "Independents" is in his condemnation of the haste with which they committed themselves, and for this Mr. Schurz was largely responsible, though in judging him it must be remembered that what he had at his back was not a controllable organization, but a loose body of respectable men who did not enjoy their position of observers and critics, and were glad to seize any opportunity of getting out of it. For nearly everybody who takes any interest in politics at all likes to act with a party if he can, and if a large and enthusiastic party so much the better. "Independents" are human; they are stimulated and encouraged and consoled by sympathy and co-operation, and as a general rule do not quit party organizations as long as they can help it, and get back into them as soon as they can. But even after it appeared certain that Mr. Hayes was the man of whom the Fifth-Avenue Reformers were in search, the kind of work they expected him to do made the manner of conducting the canvass a matter of great importance. Over this they lost all influence by giving in their adhesion to the regular nominations as soon as they were made, and the result has been most unfortunate for several reasons.

Whatever discouragement was inflicted on the Machinists by Hayes's nomination was at once removed when they found that all the dissidents and malcontents of the party had surrendered unconditionally, and were again enrolled in the party ranks, and that under no circumstances would there be a bolt or desertion, and that the old managers might remain in full control of the canvass. Accordingly, they all gradually left their "back seats in the rear car," headed by that eminent reformer Chandler, and crowded upon the locomotive, and began shouting and waving flags and making themselves as conspicuous as possible. The result of this will be what it ought not to be, that the election of Hayes will bear the appearance of an act of indemnity and oblivion for the very men who have made reform necessary, who are indeed themselves part of the abuse, and who have put the Republican party in the danger in which it now finds itself. Their activity and prominence in his behalf, too, will, as the *North American Review* justly points out, make Chandler, Cameron, Morton, Blaine, and the like (themselves component parts of the evils of the day), according to established party usage, the natural advisers of the new administration, and put on Mr. Hayes, as the first step in his thorny path, the difficult and delicate task of overlooking their claims.

In the next place, the things which most needed discussion in the canvass, the questions on which the public mind was least informed, the public judgment least ripe, and the public zeal least warm, were the currency and civil-service reform, and on one or other of these subjects "the record" of the Republican chiefs is so bad, or their hostility to change so strong, that it is no wonder they have endeavored to shirk debating them. Moreover, it is on these subjects that Mr. Hayes will be called on for most action and for most energy and determination. With regard to civil-service reform nearly everything will depend on him, and in the conflict with Congress into which that is sure to lead him, the issue will undoubtedly turn on the degree of support he gets from the main body of the party. He will need it all, and more than all, when he is surrounded at Washington by the managers, and "pressure" is brought to bear on him in favor of "harmony," and he is warned daily and nightly of the danger of breaking up the party and letting "the solid South" get control of the Government at the end of his four years. The preparation of the people to give him this support ought, therefore, to have been the main work of the canvass. Of the Southern question, even when looked at from the Blaine point of view, less, or very little, is needed to be said. With regard to the South neither action nor legislation will be called for hereafter. Mr. Hayes can do nothing about it unless he is called on for troops by the State governors, and as they promise to be all Democrats during his term of office, they are not likely to trouble him. The only remedy for Southern dangers or abuses the Republican politicians suggest is the retention of themselves in office. They propose nothing else, except vituperation. The enormous quantity of talk expended on the South has therefore been at least nine-tenths unnecessary, but it has been resorted to because it was the safest topic and that on which nearly all Republican orators are most sound.

They can all safely say that, whatever may be the condition of their accounts, they have never hindered a colored man from voting, and have always warmly disapproved of such hindrance.

Whether anything the "Independents" could have done or said would have prevented all this is, of course, matter of speculation, but it is very clear that the Conference led many to expect greater caution and scrutiny from the gentlemen who issued the address. As matters stand, we think the canvass has been so conducted as greatly to increase Mr. Hayes's difficulties, and to make the result of his attempts at reform more doubtful. But, for our own part, we shall be well satisfied if he stands his ground without flinching, and thus, whether he makes any immediate impression on Congress or not, gives honest men somebody and something to rally upon, and delivers them from their present unhappy participation in the farce which makes Blaine and Chandler the leaders of a "reform movement." If Mr. Hayes leaves behind him at the end of his four years a real party of reform under new leaders, who lead because they are reformers and never were anything else, we shall be grateful to him, even if he accomplishes no radical and thorough change in the present system.

THE SENTIMENTALISTS AND CYNICS IN ENGLAND.

THE Bulgarian massacres are causing a marked revival of the spirit of reformatory enthusiasm in England which during the greater part of the history of the Gladstone ministry was its mainstay, and the decline of which led to its overthrow; and the Liberals have not been slow to take advantage of it. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet is not the only contribution to the controversy from that quarter which has helped to fan the flame of excitement. Mr. Lowe has spoken in the same sense, if not with the same heat, and so has Mr. Forster, and so have many other Liberal chiefs, while the Liberal press, which has had much to do with bringing the atrocities to light, keeps up a crackling of small arms between the booming of the great political guns. The ministry have been put in a very awkward position by not having been at the outset properly informed by the ambassador at Constantinople, and were apparently so thrown off their guard by his nonchalance that they almost pooh-poohed the enquiries which were addressed to them on the subject in the House of Commons. Indeed, Lord Beaconsfield almost made the reports the subject of a rather flippant jest, by denying the torture of the Bulgarian prisoners on the *à priori* ground that an Oriental people had a quicker mode of disposing of their enemies. The result was that when the true accounts finally came, the fury against the Turks was deepened by the indignation against the ministry. This indignation has apparently been leading the public to forget that there ever was any reason whatever for English support of Turkey, and the language at many of the meetings has been such as almost to lead to the belief that the speakers thought British patronage of Turkey was due simply to a cold indifference to human suffering or a fellow-feeling for cruel brutes. As the agitation has gone on, however, the Conservatives (in temperament as well as in politics), who were at first compelled to bow their heads before the blast, have picked up courage enough to answer back, and the result is a controversy of exceeding bitterness between the "sentimentalists" and the "cynics" or "club-loungers," the *Pall Mall Gazette* doing battle for the latter, for whom also the *Economist* gives judgment, and the *Spectator*, with considerable help from outsiders, for the former. The "cynics," in the first place, affirm with increasing boldness that the policy of England towards Turkey has been a sound one; that it has not promoted, but, on the contrary, has moderated Turkish inhumanity, and has greatly improved the condition of the Turkish Christians, and has been the policy called for by English interests; that the misconduct of the bashi-bazuks in Bulgaria, of which the Government was not cognizant, has not altered and cannot alter its complexion; that, anyhow, no matter how great the indignation of the British public may be, interference in Turkey, to be effective, must be on a plan made with a distinct calculation and perception of consequences. To this the "sentimentalists" reply that Turkey has been encouraged in her wrong-doing by the feeling that her existence was considered by Englishmen necessary to British safety; that England is therefore to a certain extent morally responsible for her wrong-doing; that, in point of fact, the late despatch of the fleet to Besika Bay, which was intended as a measure of protection for foreigners at Constantinople, was looked on by the Turks as a sign that they might defend themselves with the first weapon that came to hand; and that England must now rid herself of the whole business, come what may; that her duty is to do right, and leave the consequences to Providence.

Out of this crimination there has, naturally enough, sprung the old controversy about the morality of caution in action when the end in view is good; and over this the *Spectator* and *Pall Mall Gazette* have been both acrid and lively. The *Spectator* has had more than one article on the evils of "negative criticism," which it associates with love of personal comfort and "club furniture," and considers the product of a somewhat depraved moral nature; and at this the *Pall Mall Gazette* sneers viciously, and calls the *Spectator* "a lively little prophet." Considering how much this subject has been discussed, it is wonderful how much confusion of thought there is about it; or rather, it would be wonderful if we did not recollect that it is nearly always discussed in a passion. There is really nothing more objectionable, on moral grounds, in negative than in affirmative criticism—certainly in politics, at all events; that is to say, the man who says "Don't," or "Wait," is just as likely to be good and wise as the man who says "Act," or "Make haste." Indeed, we think, as a matter of fact, the world on the whole owes more to the Negative Critics than to the Affirmative; but it would be difficult or impossible to prove any such position, and for this reason: the good that results from refraining is imperceptible. We see that the *status quo* is maintained, but we do not see the evils that have been avoided—we only picture them in our imagination. On the other hand, the benefits of successful action are palpable, and often permanent, and bring the opponents of action into confusion and disrepute. But when we think of the enormous amount of misery which has been brought on the world by rash and inconsiderate action, we may form a faint idea of the misery which would have been wrought if all the wild schemes which have been conceived had been carried out.

A good illustration of this may be found in the recent history of the British connection with Turkey. In 1853 both Bright and Cobden were "negative critics" of the Crimean war. The rest of the nation were fierce and eager for it; the press was unanimous for it, and exalted it into a holy war, waged in the defence of civilization against barbarism, and of the weak against the strong, and as a means of rousing England from sloth and filling her youth with high resolves, and so forth. These two statesmen stood alone in cold opposition to it. It is now generally conceded that they were right; and in this case we can measure the exact amount of misery and loss which would have been avoided by taking their advice. The war against the French Republic was another folly of the same sort; and to come nearer home, what a band of sages they were, but how cold, cynical, and heartless they must have looked, who advised the Southern secessionists not to fight the North. "What might have been" doubtless often seems a sad tale, but if we knew the whole of it we should find it was full of pleasant passages, and that the world had in the main, though imperceptibly, been an enormous gainer through people's abandonment of designs conceived in hot blood and wearing a look of nobility.

The reason why "negative criticism" has come to have such an ignoble look is not simply that it is the favorite attitude of selfish or slothful persons, but that it is almost always addressed to persons who are excited and off their balance. The native hue of resolution is apt to be very ruddy, because the blood is in the head when action is contemplated, and under such condition nothing is more exasperating than to be told of difficulties and dangers by pale-faced people, who mean to go quietly to bed after having given you their

advice. That they are mean and base and up to no good, seems an irresistible conclusion.

Lord Derby, who is a "negative critic" by temperament, besides not seeing very well what to do though he were never so well disposed to do something, is at present, owing to the early bad management of the business, in a position of great difficulty. It is comparatively easy to bully the Porte into making compensation to the plundered Bulgarians, but it is no easy matter to do what Mr. Gladstone asks—that is, secure autonomy for Bulgaria and Bosnia and Herzegovina—without bringing the whole Empire down in ruins; and if it is brought down it will not be possible to set it up again, or anything satisfactory in its place, with a fleet simply, and a fleet is all England has to meddle with. It would be hard to give any reason for liberating the Christians of Bulgaria and Bosnia that will not apply to the Christians of Rumelia and Macedonia—Turkish tyranny is not confined to one province; and yet no English statesman can feel sure that the now excited public are really prepared for the possible and even probable consequences of a complete Turkish collapse.

CAMPAIGN EPIGRAMS.

MOIETIES.

A Widow? Yes, and not of one but twain,
The worser half of Sanborn and of Jayne;
She helped their dubious profits, and, they gone,
At the old stand the business carries on.

THE ASTRONOMER MISPLACED.

Boutwell could find a big hole in the sky,
Blind to the small ones in the Treasury.
Tell him of leaks, he doesn't care a pin;
Can't they be stopped by sticking sponges in?

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SCIENCE TO MORALITY.

THE satire, thinly veiled, under Professor Huxley's phrase of the "Miltonic theory" of creation may not improbably have betokened the lecturer's personal attitude of mind towards the hypothesis he was about to confute; an attitude of amusement rather than of serious consideration. To one accustomed to weigh scientific evidence the version of the world's origin resting solely on the authority of an ancient Hebrew Scripture must seem hardly entitled to the courtesy of a refutation, save for the sake of unenlightened hearers. The sentiment is easy to understand; and it is no less easy, we think, to understand the strong revulsion from it, as irreverent and irreligious, of those whose minds have been formed under church teachings of the stricter sort. It should always be remembered, by those to whom such sensitiveness appears at first mere bigotry and folly, that the idea of the infallibility of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures is to a very large class of minds inseparably connected with the ideas which to them are the supreme sanctions and incentives to morality, and the great sources of consolation and hope. What the infallible Church is to the devout Catholic, the infallible Bible is and has been for over three hundred years to the vast majority of devout orthodox Protestants. And what lends the almost tragic interest to the conflict between scientists and theologians is the fact that the philosophy for which the latter stands, however open to criticism on intellectual grounds, constitutes the basis on which the mass of our population have been trained in the obligations of morality. When the old foundation is cut away what is to take its place? And what room will the philosophy of science leave for such beliefs and hopes as under the name of religion have contributed to the elevation of humanity? Without attempting to answer these questions at large, we think some considerations may be presented which seem well founded and not devoid of encouragement.

Let us for a moment ask what positive contributions to morality—to morality of thought, if we may so say—the scientific habit of mind seems to furnish. It is apparent at once, we think, that it eminently contributes to what may be called the fundamental virtue of the intellect—supreme regard for truth. At every step of his progress the student of material nature is sternly disciplined in the sacrifice of prepossession, prejudice—the subtlest and strongest forms of self-love—to the evidence of truth. He must perpetually ask, not what is pleasant, but what *is*. Of the effect of this habit of supreme regard for fact upon intellectual tendencies and systems we do not here speak; we emphasize only the incalculable *moral* value of such a habit. And we may add that it develops a side of character which religious training has hitherto neglected, or even thwarted. In common religious speech "the truth" has come to mean "that system which we ourselves hold to be true." Regard for the ideal truth, readiness to give up one narrow vision for a wider vision, has in effect been frowned upon. And the characteristic crimes of religious bodies—the persecutions and tortures, physical or moral, for opinion's sake, which have been the opprobrium of the historical church—have sprung from this very vice of devotion to one's own belief as intrinsically sacred and rightfully dominant. The class of studies which pre-eminently foster the opposite virtue of love of truth for its own sake; which compel the student to hold his opinions and theories subject always to the possibility of new light, would seem to deserve gratitude as friendly to good morals. And it seems to us that thoughtful religious men, who desire above all else, as the basis of their religion, a true view of the universe—not merely a pleasant view—ought to be grateful to studies which by training the mind to truth-serving tend to clarify human vision and so to gain deeper insight into the great realities.

Moreover, perhaps the one definite contribution which scientific studies are especially making to what may be called our higher knowledge of the universe, is the idea which they so powerfully inculcate of unvarying order. Each new discovery emphasizes the fact of an all-pervading unity of plan. It must certainly be accounted a philosophical weakness of the historical forms of religion that they have so largely emphasized the opposite notion, and taught that it is in breaks of the habitual order, in interventions, alternations of defeat and retrieval both in the outer world and in man himself, that the Divine presence is especially manifested. The scientific conception of an unchanging order, a unity of plan in which all things perfectly combine, may well minister to our highest feelings of admiration and awe; may well consist with the worship of a God "in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning"; and with the calmest and most reassuring faith in

> "One God, one law, one element,
> And one far-off divine event
> To which the whole creation moves."

It is always to be remembered that the applications of scientific truth made by Huxley and Tyndall do not directly touch—as they would be the first to declare—a vast realm of human interests; do not lie in that world of emotion and purpose, of suffering and achievement, of which Shakspere mirrors a few glimpses, and which makes up so great a part of life. But even into that inner world some of the great leading principles of natural science may legitimately be carried. The law of observation and induction has here too its field. And of what service it may here render to religion we have an example in the talk of a moralist like Matthew Arnold, who insists, on the verifiable grounds of experience and observation, that "conduct is three-fourths of life"; and that life can have no business so important as the cultivation of fidelity, purity, unselfishness, and the other great elements of character.

But after all has been said of the practical contributions of science to morality, the query may be urged whether it throws any light on the great question of a beneficent Power exercising personal care over the individual as well as the race, and responding to the human emotions of gratitude and trust and love. It may well be that science throws no such light, and yet that the recognition and adoration of such a Power may rightfully belong to man in his highest development. All human beings, from a Newton to the child of an hour, hold to and live by many things of which science can give no account. It is hard to believe that it will ever be found irrational or impossible for man to rest in the sense that the course of things is ordered by something higher and better than his own will, and to feel that his true attitude towards the universe is that of trust and hope, as well as energetic activity.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XVII.

FRENCH ART.—II.

AMONG the most satisfactory and conscientious of the works sent from Paris are those of M. Luminais. His "Morvan" (96) is an intelligent effort to reconstruct history, or rather to tell with archaic accent an historical anecdote. The Breton chief listens with contemptuous fatigue while Witeher, the priestly envoy of Louis the Débonnaire, tries monotonously to extort tribute by argument. His pains are lost, for the blonde young wife of the warrior has stolen in, and, sitting on his knee, takes possession of one buckskin-covered arm and covers the hand with kisses. The sullen chieftain's eyes are closing—it is easy to see which persuader will win the day, the prelate or the beauty who inspires rebellion. Luminais' other

subject (71) takes us all the way back to those days of primitive Gaul in which he is so much at home. A group of wicked-looking Druid oaks make a dramatic effect by crooking their crabbed fingers against the sky, while, in a dell of deep grass beneath, the savages catch and climb upon their small, long-haired horses. The oaks and the landscape have the positive relief of Jacque, but are richer in color. Close by this picture hangs the contribution (73) of M. Pierre-Charles Comte, being his Salon-picture of 1869, "Bohemians causing pigs to dance before Louis XI. when sick," with the name of J. de Saint-Gelais for authority. The pigs in action look deliciously like a demure dowager and a fatuous gallant in the proudly-robed period of the Medici and Paul II., and for expression may be compared with the more earnest and bestial swine of Mr. Breton Rivière in the English department (151). The monks on their knees at the right are praying for dear life, but cannot prevent a glance of interest at the entertainment, the tribute of theology to the drama. At the bed's head, severe and black-gowned as the doctor in "Macbeth," Jacques Coictier permits the alterative remedy with haughty tolerance, while the vinegarish face of the sick king on the pillow is drawn all to one side with a reluctant smile. Meanwhile the Esmeralda at the bed-foot is training three other pigs to come forward in their turn. The picture is sarcastic, neatly composed, and quiet, like a well-bred jest recited in a club. M. Comte, in this caustic scene, has come unusually near to the territory of M. Vibert. Plassan, with his habitual skill, which must now be almost mechanical, shows in No. 51 his usual dame faithfully doing up that red-golden hair of hers before a Venice glass; as simple model-painting, it is a picture like a gourmand's last dish—a delicacy in color. Very different is Courbet's "Bather," a savage expression of the essentials of womanhood, for which we must seek Gallery 12 in the Annex, No. 810; a stout nymph, whose powerful back only is seen, seats herself on the banks of a stream, and allows a cascade from the rocks to splash through her lifted fingers. The study has the animal brutality of Courbet, with that sincerity and realism which make his copies valuable in their way, but never pleasant. His "Huntsman" (807) is only remarkable for the truth with which the horse's feet make wet, black holes through the lumpish snow. Of the two views of Chillon which the exile contributes, 809 is the best, with its beautiful shadowed grays in the style of Decamps; but the tone in both scenes is so low that it is like the examination of nature through smoked glass. In the same gallery we may note that the sheep's head of No. 790 is a good life-size study by Mlle. Bonheur; and that Léopold Robert's "Pilgrims" (784) is but a faulty representation of a genius to whom his fellow-citizens of Neufchâtel are now about to set up a Venetian monument; it is a classical, Vernet-like group of girls with wands and bundles winding by a lake-side to a town whose cathedral crowns the distant hill. The theatric pomp which Robert introduced into his four grand pages from Italian life, and which influences so many more recent careers, is hardly to be detected in his minor works; with him it was a grand fifth-act tableau, or nothing.

Merle's "Charity" is to be seen in Gallery Y of Memorial Hall, No. 1,296. Four life-size figures squeeze their persons with uncomfortable success into a frame much too small for them; yet with Merle's usual conscience and finish, heads and hands and all are capital in drawing, finish, and roundness. It is the curse of Messrs. Merle and Bouguereau that they never fail. They hold on so tenaciously to a certain line of picture-dealer's excellence that the public forget to pay any attention to them; meanwhile, far inferior works, with the stamp and sweat of effort upon them, come forward as sensations, and arouse the discussion and championship that turn into echo. In the next room, Gallery I, Feyen-Perrin measures himself with Rembrandt in a "Lesson of Anatomy" (No. 198); it is a faithful series of portraits, but its gray tone, of the silvery quality dear to the French, shows rather poor after the vital warmth of the Hollander. His other pictures, "Mother and Child" (34), "Antique Dance" (16), and "Melancholy" (8), are distinguished by punctilious exactness of study and cold elegance; in the first, a rustic wife tosses her baby by the sea-shore; in the second, a dozen girls are conducted through a lesson in attitude, and look as if just unwound from a Greek vase. A somewhat analogous composition, "St. Anthony's Day" by Dubouchet (103), is more striking in the relief of its clear silhouettes of youthful forms, and would make a popular engraving. Young lads, in the radical deshabille of the Mediterranean, are daring each other to balance on the bowsprit of a vessel, and make a pretty group of olive-skinned ephebi. Still higher in grade than this, however, is Eugène Feyen's "Regatta in the English Channel" (41), which strikes a really high notch of merit in the miniature style which De Nittis and Detaille have brought to such perfection; the snow-drift of white kerchiefs, or caps like kerchiefs, sloping up the shore, each with a fresh individual peasant face bundled up in it, the concentration of the peasant faces' interest on the few poor and work-day looking boats, and the damp and salty amphibiousness of the buildings in a French sea-side town, are touched to admiration. Not far off hangs a fair specimen of the popular sheep pictures of Schenck, a Holsteiner by birth, but best known as one of the fixtures of Ecouen; it is a small snow-storm effect, a piece of routine work for the painter, and a happy discovery for the crowd, all of whom can understand it. To see snow painted for the "impression" it makes, we must have recourse to the Annex, Gallery 35, and there behold from a proper distance Émile Breton's "Village in Winter" (353). It is a sketch, apparently as hasty and direct as an etching of Rembrandt's studied from the window. The damp weight of snow in melting weather, which is the only condition of snow the French are acquainted with, is rendered "without fear and without reproach." The trouble with an "impression" picture is, however, that it gives you as much of the artist as of his subject. We cannot look at this record without thinking most of all of the rustic landscapist of Courrières, and the bravura with which he makes certain spinning daubs of thick impasto tell, at a certain distance, the story of his admiration for winter-time as well as the story of his frosted fingers. M. Breton's other landscape, the "Canal at Courrières" (317), with the straight wedge of the embankment, straight slips of trees in file on either side, and straight bars of sunset cloud, is a weird, impressive, even a creepy sort of picture; only an artist of strong ability could give so subtle an impression with work physically so coarse. Renié, of two landscapes exhibited, is best in 58, in which the screens of trees, though relieved in flats against the sky, are, on examination, moulded in all their rotundity after the fashion of nature, whose blankest breadths when looked into prove to be full of gradation. Harpignies' robust and positive style is well seen in the "Landscape near Rénard" (80), through whose palisade of upright tree-stems we see the banks of a French stream winding in almost sculptural relief in a broad, fresh morning light. Bartholdi's "New California" (15) is a scene painted with artistic breadth, somewhat in the temper of Courbet, but a want of firm lines on which the eye may bring up gives it an air as if it would not wash. M. Busson's "Before the Rain" (177) renders the strange flash of trees against an indigo-black sky when a late ray of fiery light strikes them from out a storm-cloud. The cattle drinking so tranquilly at the pool which reflects these spectral appearances are not quite in harmony with the sentiment intended.

M. Edmond Morin, a designer who learned his sparkles and dots of black from Gilbert in London, tries his hand at painting, and gives us "The Flower Market at the Madeleine" (149), in which the clever, sketchy blotted figures seem to change places and dissolve into new combinations under the eye that watches them. It shows a kind of mastery, after all, to set down these current recollections of flying particles. In the "Model" (165), by Hirsch, in which a sculptor is represented copying in clay a girl who poses before him, there occurs some happy imitation of marble in painting, in the foreground group of Romeo and Juliet blocked out in a veined and faulty bit of stone. There is little to be said in praise of the pictures sent by Yvon, the well-known painter of the Malakoff. The "Cæsar" (298) represents Deaths with scythes, like a "danse macabre," marching in front of an impassive equestrian Julius Cæsar, through a great crowd; this slur upon the Crimean war, or else upon the literary venture of the late Emperor, is cold and hard and inexpressive to a hopeless degree. The smaller subject, with Napoleon I. and two pyramids and Egypt and a white Arab steed in the space of an octavo page (171), is somewhat happier. Pabst's "Alsatian Bride" (100) is a simply and solidly painted and satisfactory piece of character-grouping in seven figures, where a mother presents the bride to her laughing companions. In Louis Prion's "School for Young Satyrs" (75) we have a kind of antique bas-relief depicted with heavy Ribera lights and shades, a forcing of nature sure to be effective when the design, as here, is lively and striking; but there is nothing in the scene and time of day to cast such heavy shadows. "The Vegetable Stand" (230), by Villa, is completely without arrangement or pictorial effect, yet there is solid, fruity painting in the still-life, and the peasant spoons up her soup with a look of appetite and conviction.

The "Death of Cæsar" by Clément (63) is a large and fatiguing piece of classicism, painted at Rome, and coldly serving up the baked meats of David; to see the flat Italian Raphaelesque style successfully treated we must remove to the Spanish section, and regard a little while Vera's smooth but tender "Burial of St. Lawrence" (40). Another large Roman machine is the "Julia" (349) by Zier, representing, as we make out, the mother of Caracalla defending her other son Geta from the assassins sent by the emperor. It is distinguished by some conscientious flesh-painting, but has the look of a half-comprehended experiment.

The specimen sent from the Gobelins factory (51), woven by Gréliche

from D. Maillart's design, is very beautiful, and the subject, the tapestry of Penelope, is appropriate. Under a terminal bust of Ulysses the faithful wife is covering a large web with woven figures of warriors, while the blue Ionian sea stretches to the horizon. Her weariness and fidelity are well expressed.

Dumaresq, celebrated for modern historical scenes, sends three appropriate subjects to the exhibition—a "Surrender at Yorktown," a "Declaration of Independence," and a "Congress of Geneva," of which the last (98) is best, the others being too declamatory. In the "Geneva," Cockburn studies his book like the objective mood incarnate, Cushing looks astute and attentive, and Evarts analyzes with deep attention the face of Count Sclopis, who is speaking.

Cordier's ingenious ethnographic statues, made of bronze and colored marbles, are present in three or four instances, the best being the "Priestess of Isis" (234). Near this is a fine copy from Sèvres of Watteau's "Voyage to Cythera" on a large porcelain plaque. The best statue is Moulin's "Secret from on High" (312), in which Mercury confides to a terminal head of Silenus an instruction that makes the wicked old head laugh from ear to ear; even the breast breaks into a deep fissure and laughs too. The term will carry on the joke upon the next innocent maid who applies for an augury. Megrez's "Young David" (342) is a good study of a child with a sling, but not at all Biblical. Vasselot's colossal bust (154) of Dr. Auzoux, the inventor of the famous dissecting anatomic models, represents a very uncomely original with force and candor; the troubled, questioning face seems determined to wrest some lurking idea from the arcana of nature. The French etchers and artists in *fusain* make a varied and agreeable exhibit, better rewarding an hour of study perhaps than the larger works we have here hastily indexed. E. S.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA IN THE EASTERN QUESTION.

GERMANY, September 17, 1876.

"LA FRANCE" publishes a document purporting to be the preliminaries of an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Prussia with regard to the Eastern question, dated Berlin, June 11, 1876. A simultaneous despatch from Berlin to the Cologne *Gazette* announces that the higher military circles are deeply agitated by a rumor to the effect that we are on the very eve of a war between Russia and Turkey. "At all events, a great excitement is noticeable in the said circles, which, since yesterday, is shared in the highest degree by the diplomatists. Among these it is said that Germany has already promised strict neutrality."

Turkey having refused to grant an armistice without sufficient guaranties that it will lead to an acceptable peace, and considerable masses of troops having been concentrated on either side of the Turco-Russian frontier, the news does not look like a sensational fabrication. Yet, so long as Russia has not actually issued her declaration of war, it might be well to remember the German adage: "Nothing is eaten so hot as it is cooked." In this exceptional year the heavy rains of the fall had already commenced three weeks ago, and Russia can hardly have forgotten her former experience of the dangers of a war in those regions during the rainy season. Besides, the news is coming thick from every part of the Empire that the economical crisis under which the Western world has been laboring these last three years is now developing rapidly throughout its vast limits. Furthermore, so far as outsiders can judge, there is as yet no reason to despair of obtaining by diplomacy and by *threatening* war everything that Russia could possibly gain by a most successful war. And, finally, the influence of all the great Powers will be exercised to the last to preserve peace. Even if the alliance of June 11 should prove to be a fact, and if a war should ensue, the secret diplomatic history of the last few months, when it is once fully divulged, will undoubtedly show that Germany has been true to her promise that her weight in the scales of European politics shall ever be found on the side of peace. Though it is true that the bloody laurels of war do not exercise such a charm on us as they do on our neighbors on the other side of the Vosges, yet it is due far less to this than to our geographical situation and our political antecedents that the German Empire is the best guaranty the peace of Europe has ever had and can ever have. That promise does not rest on our moral superiority, but simply on our political interests. Since we have become united into a real body politic we have nothing whatever to gain by a war, while we may lose much, if not everything; and every war between any of the great Powers of Europe exposes us more or less to the danger of being drawn into it in spite of ourselves. And if it is true in general that all our interests compel us to do everything in our power to maintain the peace of the Continent, it is more especially so in this case. We have no direct interest whatever in the Eastern question; so far as we are concerned it derives its importance exclusively from its effects upon the relations of the other Powers of Europe; for us its centre is not in Constantinople but in St. Petersburg.

No candid critic, I trust, will controvert any of these propositions; and yet it is at least not absolutely impossible that events will force us into a position which apparently will not bear them out fully. In that case, the explanation would be simply that our abilities were not commensurate with our wishes. However much of idealism there may still be lurking in our political conceptions, we are realistic enough to know that, great as the power of Germany is, it is still far from sufficient to secure obedience to her veto under all circumstances. Whenever her exertions for the maintenance of peace are likely to be unavailing, the compass by which the policy of our government has to be guided must therefore, of course, be the desire to have the interests of the Empire as little as possible endangered by the war. If the present war-cloud should burst and Germany really assume the attitude indicated in the pretended treaty of June 11, the judgment of history will have to be formed according to the answers to the two following questions: Was she unable to prevent the war? and, if that be answered in the affirmative, Did her true interests demand that she should more or less cover the flanks of Russia by a friendly neutrality?

The danger is certainly great that Russia will declare war, though the above-mentioned reasons satisfy me that, whatever the Russian people may think, the Russian Government does not wish war, and I am convinced of that in spite of the undeniable support which Servia is receiving from it. The Cologne *Gazette* says, in a leading article: "Even if the revolution had broken out, it would not have lasted so long if it had not been supported, contrary to the precepts of the law of nations, by Servia and Montenegro—nay, also by Austria, Italy, and Russia." This is undeniable, but I cannot help agreeing with Professor von Treitschke that it is as cheap wisdom as the assertion that the tree would not grow if it did not receive nutriment from the soil and from the air. Everybody knows the fact, and no knowing of it can be of any practical consequence, because the other assertion of the *Gazette* is most certainly not true, that "the ultimate reason of the Eastern question is the intermeddling of the Powers with the internal concerns of Turkey." This constant intermeddling is, in the first place, itself a consequence, the natural and inevitable result of the fact that the existence of the Turkish Empire (as it is actually constituted) as a European state is an anomaly. It would have ceased to exist long ago if anybody had known what to put in its stead, and some time something will have to be put in its stead, no matter how great the crash may be which it may bring upon all Europe. Count Nesselrode wrote, in 1853, to Herr von Brunnow, with regard to the influence exercised by the court of St. Petersburg on the rayahs: "It will hardly be demanded that we should renounce this influence in order to quiet exaggerated apprehensions. And supposing the impossible case that we should be willing to do so, we could not." It has justly been said that he might have added: "And if we could do so, the rayahs would never believe that they could no longer count upon us." As long as the present Turkish Empire exists the rayahs will rise from time to time, and whenever they do rise Russia will and must step in for them, whether or no. Though Mr. Treitschke's comparison between the Panslavistic dreams and the struggle of Germany and Italy for political unification is rather unfortunate, yet even in this case the national idea is entitled to claim something, and there is strength enough to make good to some extent what it is pleased to claim. And if the Slavs are not, like the Germans and Italians, one nation, but only a family of kindred nations, they are, on the other hand, united by the ties of a common religion. It is well known that with them these ties are, in some respects, even stronger than those by which the Roman Catholic Church is held together; and besides, none of the Christian Powers can entirely disregard the claims raised by them on this head, because it is the Crescent that stands on the opposite side.

It is with these facts that our Government has to reckon, and not with the pious wish of the Cologne *Gazette:* "If only everybody would leave Turkey alone." And if these facts should lead to a war between Russia and Turkey, it is difficult to see what else Germany could do but back Russia so far that she obtain enough to satisfy her, and yet not a jot more than is absolutely necessary. We owe Russia much; and not only gratitude, but also interest, demands that we should do unto her as she has done to us. There is no natural sympathy between the Germans and the Russians; just the contrary. The latter cannot forgive us that we have to such an extent been their teachers, and we are loath to persuade ourselves that it won't do to look down upon them with the same air of superiority as we did fifty years ago. We will not forgive, and they will not forget, that there was a time when the Czar exercised a greater power over Germany than any of the German sovereigns. Yet nothing but an inordinate and to

the highest degree unreasoning ambition on either side could bring about a collision of vital interests between them. The only point of direct contact are their Polish possessions, and with regard to these either party has to wish for the other that the sins of the fathers be no longer visited upon the sons, for as it has shared the sins it may also have to share the punishment. As the two empires can render each other great services, so they may do each other infinite harm, but without any benefit from it to themselves. Emperor Alexander has given sufficient proof that he fully understands and appreciates this relation ; but whether this will be so with Alexander III. is another question. Of late years the "inspired" German press has repeatedly assured us that he is far from harboring any hostile feelings towards Germany. He may have changed his mind, but I can affirm from what I have learned from the most reliable sources during an extended sojourn in St. Petersburg that, ten years ago, he had a deep aversion towards everything German. Besides, his wife is a Danish princess, and the ultra-national party, which is anything but friendly towards Germany, is steadily gaining ground among the people. We have, therefore, every reason to wish that, as long as there is time for it, the teachings of solid facts should strengthen the *entente cordiale*, so that they may be able to withstand the shock when mere antipathies threaten to override the behests of political interest. Such an opportunity is offered by virtually assisting Russia to do now what, sooner or later, must inevitably happen. Nothing warrants the belief that Russia entertains the slightest idea of laying her hands on Constantinople, much as she would like to have it ; and it is unlikely that she contemplates any conquests or annexations whatever. The former would bring all Europe down upon her, and the latter even Germany could not view with indifference, because it would disturb the harmony and equipoise between Russia and Austria. But, under the circumstances, Germany can have no objection to seeing the emancipation of the rayahs pushed forward, though this would evidently lead to a considerable increase of Russian influence in the East. As long as the contrary is not shown by incontestable proofs, I trust we shall be safe in assuming that it is this, and nothing more, that has been promised by Bismarck to Gortchakoff.

In case the present danger of war has any effect at all on our internal affairs, it will, as long as the state of uncertainty lasts, probably work as a damper on the desire of the Government to bring about a change in the relation of parties. Thus far its indirect exertions seem to have fallen flat. In spite of Count Eulenburg's declaration the alliance between the National Liberals and the *Fortschrittspartei* is unbroken, and the chances of the new party, the German Conservatives, seem to be nearly zero.

Correspondence.

THE CENTENNIAL PAINTING AWARDS.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : I desire to make public the facts with regard to the awards which have been given to paintings by the Executive Committee of the Commission of the Centennial Exposition. A statement of this kind seems necessary because of inaccurate stories which have been told, and in justice to the judges of the Painting Committee, and especially to the foreign judges, who returned to their native countries with the confident belief that their report would be respected by the Exposition Commission. *The larger part of the awards in painting reported by the Exposition authorities were not recommended by the regular committee.*

The history of this business is as follows : In Group 27 there were some twenty-eight classes of objects. The judges selected to recommend awards to these classes numbered twenty gentlemen, a large proportion of whom were foreigners. When the group came together and was organized the work of recommending awards was assigned to committees ; there were nine judges chosen for painting, six for sculpture, three for photography, and so on. All of these were selected because of their special fitness for the tasks imposed. The nine judges who formed the Committee on Painting were a body of experts of high character and rare capacity for the delicate and arduous labors which belonged to that class. These judges were Messrs. Charles West Cope, R.A., of England ; Carl Schlesinger, Germany ; J. Emile Saintin, France ; Count of Donadio, Spain ; Frank Hill Smith, F. Wier, and Geo. Ward Nichols, United States ; Guglielmo de Sanctis, Italy ; Kruseman van Elten, who acted in place of F. E. Heemskerck von Beest, Netherlands. At the first meetings of the judges in Group 27 an attempt was made to fix the number of awards in the class of painting ; another subject of great importance was fully discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that the plan for making awards as proposed by the Commission could not altogether be put in practice in painting and sculpture. This plan was that one judge should write a full opinion of the picture or statue, and that a majority of the other judges should sign their approval. It was found that no two of the judges could agree in all respects in a criticism of a work of art, while it was not difficult to agree as to its *general artistic character*. Thus, a plan was adopted which divided the pictures in the following classification :

Religious, historical, etc. ;
Genre ;
Landscape ;
Portrait ;
Animal and still life.

In their recommendation for awards the only words used were : "For artistic excellence" in "Historical," "Genre," or whatever class to which the painting belonged. At the beginning of the sessions of this committee information was asked of the chief of the bureau "if the question of nationality was to be considered in recommending awards." The answer came that the merit of the work was to be the only consideration. In obedience to this rule, governed by this principle, for every day for nearly four weeks the judges were at work, sometimes holding two sessions each day, all the while examining, making notes, discussing, and deciding. These decisions were singularly free from national or personal bias. It was intended that, while the awards might be few in number compared with other expositions, they should be valued because they were deserved. In each case the award was made by a vote of the majority of the committee. On several occasions it was said, "We have given enough awards. If we pass beyond such and such a degree of merit, all distinctions will be lost and the awards will have as little value as those given at Vienna or Paris." Finally, by an almost unanimous vote, they did halt, and, although the effort was subsequently made by one or two members of the committee to reopen the lists, it was refused, and the committee made its final report to the entire group. This report was accepted, and the awards were signed by the individual judges and endorsed by the signatures of a majority—eleven—of the other judges of the group. Subsequently the other committees made their reports, which were also accepted. The group, having finished its work, asked the Commission to be discharged. They were told that they could have leave of absence, but that a final discharge could not be granted at that time. The group then made its final report, adjourned, and all its books and papers were formally placed in the office of the chief of the Bureau of Awards.

With the exception of two or three, whose duties as Commissioners kept them at Philadelphia, the judges separated and went to their homes—in Italy, France, England, or elsewhere. Several weeks after this the chief of the bureau, on behalf of the chairman of Group 27, issued a call to such of the judges as were in this country to meet at Philadelphia. The object of this call was to have more awards given to paintings. There was not, at that time, in the United States a quorum of the group, and several of the judges who were here refused to attend, recognizing only the authority of the Commission to reassemble them. At the meeting held in response to this call there were eight persons present. A committee from this body was informed by General Goshorn that "further recommendations for awards in painting would be considered." Whereupon a committee of three was appointed—not one of which had served on the regular painting committee—to make out a new list of awards in painting. Two of this committee were from the United States, one from the Netherlands, and two of them did not report presence until the very last meeting of the group. The only other two members of the regular painting committee present at the meeting refused to serve in this extraordinary scheme, and protested formally against it. In the case of the German judge this action was more significant, as he was one of the minority who had in his committee favored giving more awards. The committee appointed at the above-named meeting reported to the Commission some 128 names in addition to the 85 which had been regularly acted upon. The Commission confirmed the entire 128. The following is a list of the awards recommended by the regular painting committee :

France.—Daubigny (fils), George Becker, Harpignies, Schenck, P. C Comte, Castiglione, Perrault, Carolus, Duran, Yon, Pabst, Damaron, Zuber, Commerre, E. Sain, Luminais, Prion.

Germany.—Hiddemann, C. Lasch, Steffeck, Poschinger, A. Achenbach, Wagner, Serbel, Hertzel, Meissner, G. Richter.

United States.—F. Hill, Miss A. Lea, Shade, W. M. Hunt, Toby, Rosenthal, Key, Bridgman, Jervis McEntee, Eastman Johnson, James Hart, W. Whittredge, M. F. De Haas.

England.—Clarke, Stone, Perugini, Cole, F. Holl, Alma Tadema, Heywood Hardy, Fildes, Leighton, Geo. Boughton, Faed, Francis Grant, Graham, Colin Hunter.

AUSTRIA.—Kuntz, L. Parmentier, Probst, Von Anjeli, Hans Makart, Felix Graboski.

NETHERLANDS.—Mauve, Van Frigt, Nakken, M. Vos, Bischop, Hermann, F. C. Ten Kate.

SPAIN.—Lorenzo Valles, Carlos De Häas, Agrassot, Vera, Mercade, Antonio Gisbert.

BELGIUM—De Keyser, Van Luppen.

ITALY—Marchesi, Maccari, Camaran, Roberto Fontana.

SWEDEN—Wahlberg, Von Rosen.

NORWAY—Gude, Sinding, Grimelund.

The following table will show the distribution of awards relative to the different nations by the regular committee, which consisted of experts from all the great nations, and also the same distribution, so far as known to me, by the other committee, who were citizens of only two of these nations :

	First Award.	Supplementary.	T'l.
United States	13	28	41
France	17	19	36
England	14	10	24
Belgium	2	13	15
Netherlands	7	24	31
Spain	6	2	8
Germany	10	12	22
Austria	6	7	13
Italy	4	0	4
Sweden	2	0	2
Russia*	4	3	7
Norway	3	0	3
Mexico	0	2	2
Brazil	0	1	1

G. W. N.

CINCINNATI, October, 1876.

Notes.

NO small part of the activity of the publishers, in this dullest of dull years, consists in new editions of standard works. Hurd & Houghton are in this way issuing, from the plates lately disposed of by J. R. Osgood & Co., the works of Scott, De Quincey, and Dickens. To Dickens's novels Mr. E. P. Whipple contributes fresh introductions, while Mr. H. E. Scudder has entirely rearranged De Quincey, besides editing the series and adding to it a twelfth volume. Roberts Bros. have reprinted the first volume of Landor's 'Imaginary Conversations,' which two other volumes will complete. Scribner, Armstrong & Co. begin, with 'Christian Nurture,' a uniform republication of the late Dr. Bushnell's works.——We announce, for the sake of warning off purchasers, the 'Pedigree and History of the Washington Family,' to be published in this city by the author, Albert Welles, President of the self-styled American College of Heraldry and Genealogical Registry. The public should be content to know that the Founder of the Washington line was "'Torfin, the Dane,' nat. circa. [*sic*] A.D. 1000, whose ancestors were of Schloswig [*sic*], Denmark."——Some interesting correspondence in regard to the Chiswick Press has lately appeared in the *Athenæum* of Sept. 2, 9. To William Pickering "the Chiswick Press owes the first introduction of the typographical ornaments on which it prides itself. These titles, initial letters, borders, and ornaments were designed for Pickering by Stothard, Gerente, and Willement, and some of the best, *con amore*, by Mr. F. Montagu. To these W. Pickering added a large collection, copied from the best old designs of Geoffrey Tory, Pigouchet, and others." What American press has ever given such attention to the ornamental side of its art?——Parents with Christmas gifts before them will do well to look out for Mrs. Haweis's 'Key to Chaucer,' illustrated with colored pictures and numerous wood-cuts by the author. "Although ostensibly addressed to the child-public," says the *Academy*, "the greatest care has been taken to ensure an accurate text; and throughout the illustrations the strictest attention has been paid to the costumes, manners, and customs of the period."——The *American Library Journal* (monthly) makes a handsome appearance, barring some annoying typographical slips. It promises to have a more than professional interest, and we recommend all intending founders of town and village libraries to subscribe for it, and read it diligently. The *Journal* is edited in Boston by Melvil Dewey, and published in New York by F. Leypoldt.——The death in Germany is announced of J. L. Klein, the author of a seemingly interminable 'History of the Drama,' of which the twelfth volume was published shortly before he died.——Calmann Lévy has announced for publication on September 20, in Paris, the twenty-fourth and final volume of the complete edition of Balzac's works, containing his Correspondence, 1819–1850, with a portrait on steel by M. Gustave Lévy. The same house also announces 'Nouveaux Récits Californiens,' by Bret Harte, whose 'Gabriel Conroy' appears in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 1.——Mr. Christern has received the prospectus of the 'Inventaire Général des Richesses d'Art de la France,' a colossal enterprise already under way. The history, architectural details, and contents (of furniture, paintings, books, manuscripts, etc., etc.) of churches and other monuments are given with a particularity, method, and authority that must put all guide-books to the blush. Two volumes of 480 pp. each appear annually.

—We have received Mr. James B. Eads's report on the progress of his Mississippi jetties, addressed to the President of the South Pass Jetty Co., St. Louis, and dated New York, August 18. It is a controversial document—more so than any one could discover who had not read Major Comstock's report to Gen. Humphreys, bearing date of June 9. To lessen the weight of Major Comstock's statements (which are never specifically alluded to), reliance is placed on soundings made at Mr. Eads's request by Lieut. Marindin, of the U. S. Coast Survey, on April 29 and May 15, or just before and just after the Engineers had finished their soundings. This was done by permission of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, who says (in a letter to the Secretary of War, which Mr. Eads prints) "the observer . . . was recalled in consideration of the general impropriety of permitting continuous work, not only without authority of law, but in seeming rivalry with the officer of engineers who had been detailed by the Hon. Secretary of War for inspecting the progress and quality of the constructions and the effect of the projected improvement of the South Pass." He calls it, therefore, "the partial examination of 1876," as contrasted with "the careful survey of 1875," made in advance of Mr. Eads's operations, and says that it was "merely incidental, and not projected for comparison with the first survey, nor sufficient for such purpose." On this Mr. Eads remarks that "unless made for such comparison, it would have been without any object whatever, and would not fulfil the purpose I had in view" in requesting that soundings should be made, and in offering the use of a steam-launch for the occasion. We cannot go into the details of the difference between Mr. Eads and the Engineers, but must refer such of our readers as are interested in the question to both series of reports. Mr. Eads, referring to "the last survey, July 27," states that there is a channel extending down 11,800 feet from the upper end of the jetties to within only 250 feet of the deep waters of the Gulf, having an average width of about 350 feet, in which all the soundings are 20 feet or more in depth; that, August 14, there was a 20-foot channel across the bar, with a minimum width of 140 feet; that the Grand Bayou has been closed, and that the closing of the eastern inlet at the head of the South Pass has, somewhat tardily, followed; that the shoaling caused in the western inlet by this unintentional delay has been overcome; that deepening has taken place immediately in front of the jetties, and gives promise of sustaining Mr. Eads in his belief that when a depth of 30 feet shall have been reached, the necessity of extending the jetties "will not occur for many centuries." The charts accompanying this report deserve to be studied and kept for future reference.

—The powers now vested in city boards of health with regard to the registration of the fact and cause of death, as a preliminary to granting burial permits, ought to be made use of to shield the poor from the tender mercies of quack doctors. The "physician's" certificate as now accepted covers every degree of ignorance, incompetence, and even superstition, and gives it, as we may say, a standing which it could not otherwise hope to obtain. The Boston Board of Health in its last report cites the following certificate, to which a "doctress" affixed her mark :

"This certifies that A beby boy died on the *born*day of Febberiy, 1876. Cause of death, '*Bern.*'"

Other "physicians," of both sexes, we presume, enumerated among the causes of death "cancrum," "canker and spasms," "lack of vetallity," "lack of villality," "daeth barne," "canker humer," "swallowing," "lung diess [disease]," "canther of the bowels," "scharletena," and "chituses." Naturally, the City Physician had to be called upon to determine what was meant in these and similar cases. The Report continues :

"The question who is a physician within the meaning of Sect. 3 of Chap. 21 of the G. S., still comes back to us and ought to be settled. Is every person who holds himself or herself out as such, attending another in his last illness, a physician within the meaning of the statute? Are we to take the certificate of every *soi-disant* physician, and, upon that alone, give a permit for burial? Is he or she a physician who has no degree, no diploma; who has never studied medicine; who has had little or no experience; who cannot spell the name of a disease so that it can be read or understood, and who cannot write his or her name at all, but who simply makes a mark? If so, what weight shall we give to such certificates? Of what possible value are they?"

The urgency of making some discrimination is apparent when it is considered that even the acknowledged lights of the profession often differ in

*The Russian exhibit arriving late, the four awards to that nation were made by a special committee.

diagnosis, and that the diplomas of not a few of our medical schools are hardly more definite vouchers of training and capacity than the title of "physician" or "doctor" itself.

—The *Galaxy* for October contains no article specially noticeable, except perhaps a "Sketch," as the writer calls it, of Octavius Brooks Frothingham. He hopes that what he has to say "will serve to show that many notions current with respect to Octavius Brooks Frothingham are utterly superficial; that his reverential and judicial qualities are on a level with his acknowledged intellectual genius, and that he exerts in this community, and throughout the world of religious aspiration, a constant, earnest, and most potential force." Mr. Gideon Welles gives an account of the opening of Mr. Lincoln's administration, at that difficult period when it was still undecided whether Mr. Seward was Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State, or whether Mr. Lincoln was to be the Secretary's executive officer, when the question of reinforcing Fort Sumter was still open, and rebel emissaries in Washington were from day to day and hour to hour apprised of every move taken or even discussed by the Government. A posthumous number of General Custer's "War Memoirs" gives an account, from what we suppose may be considered the professional point of view, of McClellan's campaign against Richmond in the spring of 1862. General Custer considers the plan to have been well designed, and only frustrated by foolish interference from Washington. The withdrawal of Blenker's division numbering 10,000 men, of another 10,000 from Wool's force, as well as McDowell's corps (35,000 strong), left McClellan, in General Custer's opinion, practically helpless. "McClellan's plan of campaign was based upon the employment of an army consisting of fourteen divisions. At the last moment—the enemy had already been engaged—five of these fourteen divisions were swept from his command by Executive order, leaving only nine to perform the task originally allotted to fourteen, and of these nine one was scarcely stronger than a brigade. The flank movement by which McDowell's corps was to be thrown to the right and in rear of the enemy's position at Yorktown had to be abandoned, and the slower process of a siege necessarily followed."

—Mr. Hamerton's serial on Turner has been the attractive part of the *Portfolio* for months past. The merely lyrical treatment of this unique artist's genius to which we have heretofore been accustomed gives way in these papers to one a great deal less Pindaric and much more reasonable and analytic. In criticising the "Dolbadern Castle," which represents Turner at the Centennial Exhibition, the critic is half contemptuous "Turner's 'Dolbadern' is merely a brown picture of the Wilson class, with some feeling for the sublimity of an isolated tower amidst mountain scenery, but no delight in nor observation of the especial character of landscape around Llanberis." It was done like a prize poem, to fulfil the demand of the day for the classic, and without any of the modern consciousness that a landscapist must be a geologic authority. "Turner at Dolbadern was still in the spirit of the elder artists, to whom art seemed much more distinct from nature than it seems now to their successors. They looked upon the painted world on canvas as a world in itself." The landscape shows Turner still docile and pious at the feet of Poussin and Claude, without the slightest surmise that duty could ever demand of an artist the faithful representation of blue Welsh slate. Seymour Haden's etching of Purfleet, in the August number, is a good statement of an "effect." To the number for September M. Lalauze contributes a careful etching of Bronzino's "Portrait of a Lady," in the National Gallery, and the general artistic and literary matter is worthy the reputation of this best of English art-journals.

—Periodical literature nowadays abounds in articles based on various degrees of familiarity with Eastern Europe, and all serving to show how completely a foreign language written in non-Roman characters may do more even than misgovernment and a low civilization to make a country inaccessible and a perpetual mystery to outsiders. Capt. Hozier, in his essay on the military capacity of Europe, thought it not irrelevant to his argument to censure the use of Gothic characters in German print as being productive of national isolation. How much more serious this would be if, in addition to strange characters, there were no fixed rule for transliterating the names of persons and places. This, roughly speaking, is the case with all Europe east of the meridian of Berlin. Austria-Hungary is, from its mixed constitution, a source of the greatest confusion even to itself, as a recent writer in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* points out with some detail. In its official orthography of proper names it is sometimes purely German, as in the case of Austria proper, Salzburg, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, and Silesia; in Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Küstenland, and Dalmatia it retains the original spelling of the Italian names, and in Dalmatia sometimes preserves the Slavic orthography of Slavic names, sometimes spells them according to the German pronunciation; in Bohemia and Mähren its practice is the same towards the Czech; in Galicia it generally follows the Slavic orthography; in Bukowina, with its mixture of German, Slavic, and Rumanian elements, it has no recognizable system; but in Hungary, Slavonia, and on the Military Border it puts side by side the Magyar and the German orthography with sufficient uniformity. That the map of Turkey presents like and still greater difficulties need not be stated.

—Of the periodical articles already referred to, one may profitably read a series of papers begun in the *Geographical Magazine* for September by David Ker, under the general title, "Along the Turkish Border." Mr. Ker is a graphic writer, and is not always to be depended upon for his facts; but if this be borne in mind whenever he talks of matters that have not come under his observation, his readers may learn much more than they will need to unlearn. In his first paper he gives a forcible picture of the Bulgarian marshes and their inhabitants, and then takes a voyage up the Danube by the Sulina channel as far as Widin, making comments on Servia and Rumania as he passes. His political point of view appears to be anti-Russian rather than pro-Turkish, for if he allows himself to speak of Turkey's present antagonists as "the congregated jackals of the Danube," he, on the other hand, includes Turkey along with Persia, Rumania, Servia, and other Eastern nations in the general remark that "the very few educated and gentlemanly men whom they possess" are "sent abroad as envoys and accredited agents, while the tattered, filthy, bigoted, murderous savages that comprise the bulk of the population are kept snugly at home." "Lazy, dirty, ignorant, superstitious, half-beggar and half-brigand," he says again, referring to the "low-browed Bulgarian peasant." One would like to abate something from so sweeping a judgment, but the same thing is affirmed by a writer, John Oxenford, in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August. After saying that "the Bulgarian brigand, according to the lays of his own people, is a ruffian so thoroughly atrocious and ignoble that it would be hard to find his parallel," and that he would be pelted from the stage in a London transpontine theatre, he adds that "the explanation of his popularity at home is to the effect that, with all his faults, he is not very different in principle from the peasants who listen to records of his exploits." And yet, "he who could paint a Bulgarian robber more black than he is painted by a Bulgarian bard, must discover a pigment hitherto unknown." "A Lancashire 'rough,' vaunting how often he had stamped out the features of a fellow-man with a hob-nail shoe, might found a school of poetry akin to that of the robber-ballad of Bulgaria." A number of metrical extracts cited for the purpose by Mr. Oxenford only too well bear out this view. An English lady who spent five years (1867–72) as a governess in a harem in Constantinople, writes on "Turkish Ways and Turkish Women" in the September *Cornhill*. The harem in question "comprised some two hundred women, distributed amongst three households under three wives, five or six slave mothers having apartments in the houses of one or other of the wives, and being virtually under their supervision." The rest were merely slaves in various degrees. The etiquette and decorum of the harem, which the Pasha could not walk across without the attendance of a eunuch; the relative rank of wives, slave-mothers, and their offspring; the social intercourse of the wives; a dinner party; the education of girls; the isolation of the sexes and the utter subjection of the women—are some of the topics treated of in this interesting paper. We must not overlook the pleasing description of a Turkish family which is really a home, containing, it is needless to add, a single wife and mother. Such homes are rare, but they are, we are told, more numerous than might be supposed.

—Mr. Walter Besant, in his 'French Humorists,' having strangely omitted all mention of Piron, has supplied the omission in an article in a late number of *Temple Bar*. Alexis Piron was a writer of comedies and tragedies, a maker of verses and epigrams, the inventor of *opéra comique*, and—in his own day and in the estimation of his own friends—the rival of Voltaire. The competition was hardly fair; Voltaire was a courtly Parisian, Piron had the taint of the country; Voltaire's "Zaïre" was more successful even than Piron's 'Gustave Vasa,' which Mr. Besant calls a success on p. 500 and a failure on p. 502; and to cap the climax, although Piron lived to be eighty, Voltaire survived him. Few of Voltaire's many plays are alive now and all of Piron's, with one exception, are so dead that no attempt is ever made to revive them. "La Métromanie" alone is seen infrequently on the stage. It is also studied in some schools; how the scholars like it we have no means of knowing, but even for those who are accustomed to the French dramatic literature of the last century it is hard reading. To emphasize the contrast between Voltaire and Piron, the former was a member of the Academy, the latter was not; indeed,

Piron is probably only recalled by most general readers in connection with his epitaph on himself:

Ci-gît Piron, qui ne fut rien,
Pas même Académicien.

In the Academy he could only fill that Forty-first chair whose history M. Houssaye has given us; from the Forty he—like Théophile Gautier—was for ever excluded by one of the works of his youth, written apparently under the idea that the poet's license gave liberty to be licentious. But he revenged himself for his exclusion by a rattling shower of sharp-pointed jests, one of the best of which Mr. Besant omits. He suggested the substitution of simpler ceremonies for the *discours de réception;* the newly-elected member should say on taking his seat: "Messieurs, je vous remercie!" To which the Academicians, rising and bowing, would reply: "Monsieur, il n'y a pas de quoi."

DANIEL DERONDA.*

I.

'DANIEL DERONDA' has for months interested, excited—and disappointed all readers of English on either side the Atlantic. It were vain to analyze a story every turn of which has been the subject of constant conversation in every circle of educated persons throughout England and America. It is not, again, a critic's duty to give expression to mere individual sentiments of liking or dislike, and add another voice to the senseless babble of the ten thousand readers, each of whom repeats, with more or less variation, the unmeaning remarks, "How I hate Grandcourt!" "How I admire Mirah!" "Do you like Gwendolen?" or, "Are you not bored by Mordecai?" A reviewer's object should be to form some rational estimate of the merits no less than of the defects of the book, and explain the sentiment at once of admiration and of disappointment which it leaves on the minds of impartial readers.

The most important matter for an intelligent reviewer is to keep clearly before his mind the fact that 'Daniel Deronda,' "whatever its shortcomings," is a work of genius and originality such as no living English writer but its author could have produced. Had it been the work of an unknown novelist it would have made his reputation. Had it appeared say twenty or twenty-five years ago, it would have gained, if not the wide popularity, certainly the fame acquired by the writer of 'Adam Bede.' It possesses in a marked, one might perhaps say in an exaggerated, form the features which from the first have distinguished George Eliot's writings. The book is open to criticism, but its demerits, such as they are, become apparent only when it is tried, as it ought to be, by the high standard of its author's own best productions. The carping criticism which attempts to treat a defective work of genius as if it were a commonplace performance is completely disposed of by one fact: 'Daniel Deronda' has for nearly a year excited an interest such as no novelist but George Eliot now knows how to kindle. On this point the only appeal is to the experience of our readers. Is it not a fact that Gwendolen's character has been analyzed in every drawing-room with the care with which most persons weigh the characters only of their intimate associates? Was not her marriage as interesting to many persons as the wedding of a private friend? Have there not been hundreds of readers who have invented for themselves the catastrophe to which her marriage was to lead up? Is it not almost as certain that George Eliot must have been pestered by requests to break off the engagement between Gwendolen and Grandcourt as it is that Richardson was harassed by correspondents who prayed hard for the life of Clarissa? There can be but one answer to these questions, and this answer decides once and for all that 'Daniel Deronda,' whether you are satisfied with the book as a whole or not, is a work of first-rate power. It is not given to anything but genius to make the world thrill with interest over the fate of imaginary beings.

That George Eliot's last novel leaves in many minds a sense of disappointment is to us an undoubted fact; but this dissatisfaction certainly does not spring from the absence in it of the qualities which placed the author of 'Adam Bede' in the first rank of writers of fiction. The book betrays no want of power. The interview of Deronda with his mother, or Gwendolen's confession, has at least as much intensity as anything which has come from George Eliot's hands. The Meyrick family may stand side by side with the picture of Caleb Garth and his household as a sketch of home life. Sir Hugh, Lady Mallinger, and, above all, Klesmer and Miss Arrowpoint, are additions to the number of portraits with which George Eliot has enriched the literature of English romance. To Klesmer and his wife, indeed, particular attention should be directed. Their story is a mere fragmentary episode, not telling directly on the main plot of the novel. It is apparently introduced to set off, by way of contrast, the baseness committed by Gwendolen in accepting Grandcourt. But it is an episode which for humor and insight is comparable to the best thing in 'Middlemarch.' For if George Eliot disappoints her readers, it is not from any lack of the peculiar humor which they have been led to look for. There is not, indeed, the same superabundant overflow of wit which is to be found in the conversation of Mrs. Poyser, but a person who does not see the whole insight and sense of humor displayed in the description of Klesmer's call on the Meyricks will probably not greatly appreciate any part of George Eliot's writings. Nor, again, is the keen moral insight which gives half their impressiveness to our author's works wanting in her last production. The profound influence for good or bad of one character over another is in a sense the theme of the whole book. Deronda's mere glance checks Gwendolen's career at the gambling-table, and brings her conscience to life. Grandcourt's absolute selfishness depresses the moral nature of every person with whom he comes in contact. Mordecai inspires Deronda with his own enthusiasm. The crowning scene of the whole tale commemorates the triumph of the spirit of a dead father over the will of his living daughter. The seventh number of the book, which might well have been the last, describes the crisis in the life both of Daniel and of Gwendolen to which the whole story leads up, and the whole of this marvellous number contains nothing more wonderful than the art with which the reader is made to perceive that the Princess and her father shared, under all their opposition to each other, essentially the same character. The relentless will of the old Charisi reappears in the Princess, and the selfishness of the daughter casts back a light on the despotic imperiousness of her father. The interview between son and mother ought to be read and re-read by all who wish to enter into the characteristics of George Eliot's genius. Fragments detached from a perfect whole are always unsatisfactory, but the two following passages are fine specimens of our author's latest work.

The first contains the description given by the Princess herself of her own character:

"'But,' she added, in a deeper tone, 'I am not a loving woman. That is the truth. It is a talent to love—I lacked it. Others have loved me—and I have acted their love. I know very well what love makes of men and women—it is subjection. It takes another for a larger self, enclosing this one'—she pointed to her own bosom. 'I never was willingly subject to any man. Men have been subject to me.'"

In the second the same character is analyzed by George Eliot:

"The speech was in fact a piece of what may be called sincere acting: this woman's nature was one in which all feeling—and all the more when it was tragic as well as real—immediately became matter of conscious representation: experience immediately passed into drama, and she acted her own emotions. In a minor degree this is nothing uncommon, but in the Princess the acting had a rare perfection of physiognomy, voice, and gesture. It would not be true to say that she felt less because of this double consciousness: she felt—that is, her mind went through—all the more, but with a difference: each nucleus of pain or pleasure had a deep atmosphere of the excitement or spiritual intoxication which at once exalts and deadens."

Put side by side with this the sentences in which Gwendolen concludes her confession:

"'The rope!' he called out in a voice—not his own—I hear it now—and I stooped for the rope—I felt I must—I felt sure he could swim, and he would come back whether or not, and I dreaded him. That was in my mind—he would come back. But he was gone down again, and I had the rope in my hand—no, there he was again—his face above the water—and he cried again—and I held my hand, and my heart said, 'Die!'—and he sank; and I felt, 'It is done—I am wicked, I am lost!'—and I had the rope in my hand—I don't know what I thought—I was leaping away from myself—I would have saved him then. I was leaping from my crime, and there it was—close to me as I fell—there was the dead face—dead, dead. It can never be altered. That was what happened. That was what I did. You know it all. It can never be altered."

No one who reads these passages will dream for a moment that George Eliot's hand has lost its cunning or that those who devoured her last work need justify their admiration for it. The fact, however, that 'Daniel Deronda' has disappointed even those whom it has fascinated is apparent, if proof were wanted, from the constantly repeated assertion that it contains most striking passages; for to single out particular beauties for admiration is almost to imply that the beauty of a composition is doubtful. Some of the causes of disappointment are not hard to find. The very name of the book points to a misunderstanding between the readers and the author. They cared for Gwendolen Harleth. The writer's interest centred or was

* 'Dan el Deronda By George Eliot.' 2 vols. New York: Harper & Bros.

meant to centre on Daniel Deronda. George Eliot's readers were interested in the fate of Gwendolen, and not one in a hundred cared whether Daniel did or did not turn out to be a Jew and become inspired with Mordecai's enthusiasm. George Eliot's interests were evoked by the position of the Jews and the character of Daniel. An infinity of labor and skill has been expended in order to bring readers round to the writer's point of view, and to enlist their interest for Mordecai and Mordecai's dreams or principles. Judaism is first shown us embodied in all the grace and charm of Mirah. An introduction to the Cohens serves to set forth the marvellous contrast between the sordid details of actual life and the ideal visions of a prophetic nature. The Cohen family, moreover, give a touch of life and humor to what might otherwise seem an unsubstantial dream. The dialogue at the debating club sets Mordecai's principles in as clear a shape as any in which perhaps they can be exhibited. The reader, like Deronda himself, is thus with extraordinary art led up to a position from which he may look with sympathetic admiration on the prophet who dies satisfied with the conviction that he has found a disciple, and with the words on his lips, "Where thou goest, Daniel, I shall go. Is it not begun? Have I not breathed my soul into you? We shall live together." The skill with which George Eliot has labored to enlist the reader's sympathy for Mordecai is wonderful. It lacks nothing to excite our complete admiration but success. For, to speak the honest truth, the immense *tour de force* ends in failure. The pain of Gwendolen at parting from Deronda touches the feelings of a hundred readers for one who is moved by Mordecai's dreams of a new return of his race to Jerusalem. Is the fault here with George Eliot or with George Eliot's readers? We do not undertake to answer the question. To do so with any completeness would involve an investigation into difficult moral problems. That there is in George Eliot's mind a feeling if not a principle as to the sacredness of race, which at any rate does not necessarily approve itself to the moral judgment, is clear. It is further clear that this sentiment has, in the 'Spanish Gypsy' no less than in 'Daniel Deronda,' jarred on the feelings of those most susceptible to George Eliot's influence.

In one respect, at all events, the judgment of the public is clearly justifiable. Sufferings or difficulties exceptional in circumstances and in nature ought not to evoke the same interest as are aroused by miseries or perplexities which appeal to wide human experience. It is in this that 'Middlemarch' rises so much above 'Daniel Deronda.' The half-tragedy of Dorothea's life, and the complete intellectual ruin of Lydgate, each depend on causes of wide operation. The circumstances of each are peculiar, but there are hundreds of women who have made shipwreck of happiness because they have endowed some commonplace man with imaginary virtues; and in every town or county there must be found Lydgates who have missed their vocation through the combined unkindness of circumstances and weakness of their own will. The key-note of 'Middlemarch'—the misery of a missed career—is one to which many minds can respond but too easily. The same thing is true of all George Eliot's greater works. 'Romola,' it is true, deals with a distant time and past state of society, but the essence of 'Romola' is eternal. The selfishness of Tito, the nobility of his wife, the religious influence of a great teacher, are reproduced under varying forms in every age. The same holds good in a measure with regard to the fall and the awakening of Gwendolen, but does not apply to the difficulties of Deronda or the struggles of Mordecai. The novel, again, is deficient in any character which is at once alive and heroic. Daniel and Mordecai are no doubt meant to be of an heroic mould; but whoever puts Romola and Savonarola side by side with Deronda and Mordecai will see the difference between life-like painting and labored description, and admit that there is at any rate some reason for feeling that a work which would have made the reputation of any other writer is not on a level with the best creations of George Eliot's genius.

THE *NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW* FOR OCTOBER.

THAT the *Review* has been passing through a severe internal convulsion is proved by a notice from the publisher, under the table of contents, that "the editors have retired from the management on account of a difference of opinion with the proprietors as to the political character of this number," and that the proprietors, "to avoid indefinite delay in publication," have allowed the number to stand as it is, "without, however, committing the *Review* to the opinions expressed therein." This will probably whet the curiosity of the public as to "the political character of this number." It consists of an article on the "Southern Question," by Mr. William Henry Trescot, a well-known South Carolinian, based on Mr. Lamar's late speech in Congress, and Mr. Garfield's counter speech; another giving a history of Mr. Bristow's operations against the Whiskey Ring, by General H. V. Boynton, of Washington; a review of Von Holst's 'History of the United States,' by Messrs. Henry Adams and H. C. Lodge; a history of the closing period of the rising against the New York Ring, by Mr. Wingate; and, finally, an anonymous article, generally ascribed to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., on the position of "The Independents in the Canvass," and then there are the usual literary notices.

We confess that the number seems to us the most interesting which has appeared for some time, and that we see a peculiar fitness in devoting it in the Centennial year, and in the midst of the Presidential canvass, to the questions which are at this juncture of most importance, and in which the public is rightly most interested—political questions. That the literature or science of the United States, or of any country, can be separated permanently or indefinitely from its politics; that the culture of the country does not influence the Government and the Government influence the culture; that the considerations under which a man votes or refrains from voting do not powerfully affect his relations to all fields of human activity, and color his view of nearly everything that is of most moment in our social life, are notions which we trust are now generally confined to "Americans in Paris." If these notions are unfounded, it is most desirable that the one periodical in the country which has space for the purpose, and which has the needed hold on the public attention, should admit an educated and reasonable Southerner to say his say in its columns on the condition of the South, at present the most vexed problem of Northern politics. What Northern politicians think about it is tolerably well known. What men like Mr. Trescot—once, we believe, an extreme Secessionist—now think about it is not only interesting but very useful. And we make bold to say that if there be any duty specially incumbent on Northern editors at this crisis with regard to the selection of their contributors, it is the duty of encouraging Southern participation in the discussion of the general questions of the day on ground common to both sections. The South was for fifty years sacrificed both intellectually and morally to slavery. Its politics, its morals, its theology, its jurisprudence and philosophy, were all colored by slavery, until Southern men had almost forgotten how to argue about anything but the negro, or to think on any subject except in its relations to the negro; and finally it came to pass that Northerners and Englishmen and Frenchmen listened to Southern orators and read Southern books and magazines rather as curiosities than as serious contributions to the mental activity of the day. To draw Southern writers now into the common arena, and accustom them to reason on terms of equality with other civilized men, on the ordinary social postulates of the rest of Christendom, is to make a most valuable addition to the intellectual stores of the country, and help powerfully in that real reconstruction which we must all one day hope to see succeed "carpet-bag" reconstruction.

The article on Dr. Von Holst's book, which has been already reviewed in these columns, is a good résumé and criticism of the views of one of the ablest of foreign writers on American affairs as to the growth of the Constitution under the influence of State sovereignty and slavery. The articles on the Whiskey Ring and the "Episode in Municipal Government," on the other hand, are most valuable narratives of two successful assaults—in many respects the most interesting of recent political history—on systems of organized corruption carried on by or in collusion with the officers of the Government. Every American who aims at being useful to his country at this crisis ought to be familiar with both of them. About the "Independents in the Canvass," which has probably been the principal cause of the disagreement between the editors and publishers, we have spoken elsewhere.

If we cannot have the kind of quarterly review in which numbers like this can occasionally appear, and which has no official or "authorized" answer to give to political any more than to social or literary questions, in which criticism on all subjects is free, and in which the commercial interest of the proprietor will not outweigh the intellectual interest of the editor, it is highly desirable that this species of periodical should become extinct among us, though it would be a great misfortune for the country. The first and greatest of quarterly reviews, and, indeed, the father of them all, was made a power in the state, and a greater power even in politics than in literature, by the fact that it was wholly in the hands of the men who edited and wrote for it, and expressed their opinions and those of nobody else. It could not otherwise have borne the noble part which it did bear in correcting the enormous abuses which ravaged English government and society at the close of the last century—an age in which "jobbery and corruption, long supreme in the state, had even triumphed over the virtue of the Church." We have in the United States at this moment an abundance of literary periodicals, and plenty of literary and art critics,

good, bad, and indifferent. We have, too, a great many newspapers given up to political discussion. But there is not a single magazine of a high class in which a careful political article by a competent thinker and observer, treating the situation of the day in a purely scientific spirit and without reference to its effects on party fortunes, can find a place. The leading daily papers are now, almost without exception, commercial enterprises through which the pecuniary, if not the political, fortunes of the proprietor are linked to those of one or other of the great parties in the political field. An article rarely appears in them on political questions which has a purely intellectual motive. Everything which does appear is weighed and scrutinized as to its possible effect on the prospects of the political organization with which the proprietor has chosen to connect himself, and is rarely subjected to any other test. The effect of this, too, on the public mind has been debauching to a degree which nothing but long use prevents seeming hideous. A Presidential "campaign" like the one we are passing through seems to dissolve the moral bonds of the community almost as effectively as an actual war. Espionage, falsehood, ambuscade, and nearly all the other shifts of active military service are resorted to without shame or scruple by ordinarily honorable men. You must say, if possible, what will help the good side, even if you strain the truth a little; you must not say what will not help it or will hinder it, even if you have to suppress the truth. You have to affect a certain belief in the most outrageous falsehoods, and affect disbelief in undeniable truths, and, generally, for four or five months devote yourself to perusing and laying before your family a series of elaborate misrepresentations, evasions, glorifications and belittlings, and unfair suggestions, and pretending to swallow them under shelter of the belief that in this way some great public good will, at some time not fixed and in some place not designated, be brought about through the instrumentality of men, most of whom you would not trust in any commercial transaction.

We do not pretend that this deviltry can be stopped by one agency, or that the daily press is, on the whole, much worse than the public calls for. But we do think that the spirit which pervades the campaign operations might be bettered, and the taste of the public, and especially the younger portion of the public, improved, and the rôle of the professional politician as we now see him made more difficult, if there were somewhere in the country a magazine in which thoughtful men could say on questions of government *à la longue haleine* what they have to say, in as complete indifference to the possible effect of their writing on "practical politics" as the chemist when he writes for a scientific periodical. The *North American Review* has for some years furnished such a resource, though its publication in the midst of a small society has always somewhat impeded it in the discharge of the true functions of a quarterly. It has, in short, in some degree been doing for us the work which the *Fortnightly* and the *Contemporary Review* are doing for English society, and what the *Revue des Deux Mondes* does for the French, the value of which can hardly be overestimated. If it is, in consequence of the recent change, going to become more orthodox, and to consider more carefully the effect of its utterances on the fortunes of the candidate of the hour, it will be a great misfortune, and the better portion of the public will hardly be consoled by the knowledge that its politics have the approval of the estimable publishing firm which owns it.

Die ungedeckte Banknote und die Alternativ-Währung. Von Johann Phil. Schneider in Bremen. (Berlin: Carl Habel; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1876.)—That the United States will be compelled to arrive at specie payments through contraction in the volume of the currency is not questioned by those who know anything of the subject. But two preliminary questions of vital importance have hardly as yet been raised: by what arrangement can we not only bring gold to par, but keep it there with the least possible contraction and therefore disaster? and upon what system of currency do we propose to do business in future? It may safely be asserted that the West will never consent to go back to the State-bank system, and it behooves those who seek to wean that section from its beloved greenback to offer some well-digested plan for saving it from that "nether abyss" of which it retains such bitter remembrance. But this question is by no means confined to the United States. The depression in business which reigns in Europe as well as here, though partly owing to the fear of war, is very largely to be ascribed to uncertainties of currency, both in the relation of silver to gold and the regulation of paper issues. Russia, Austria, and Italy are contending with inconvertible paper; Germany has started a complex system as to the working of which only time can testify; Great Britain is laboring under an enormously inflated banking system; France, which might be supposed to be worst off, really seems to be the best, partly on account of the very limited development of banking properly so-called, and partly because its currency is in that happiest condition of human affairs under a practical despotism, in the hands of a man of unusual ability, integrity, and knowledge of his business.

The English currency is based upon what was asserted to be a scientific principle—viz, that it would operate exactly as if composed entirely of specie, or as if every pound-sterling note was backed by the same amount of specie. This currency has stood the test of the Crimean war and the Indian mutiny, of three severe financial crises, besides three considerable European wars in which Great Britain took no part. During this time the Issue Department has never held less than eight millions sterling of gold, open to the demands of anybody who could present a note, and there has never been a run or even a ripple at that department. The idea is imperfectly reflected in the German Imperial Bank law, and the real principle was either never arrived at or entirely missed. The result is that, besides the English attacks on the Act of 1844, the battle rages in Germany with all the virulence of which the subject is so prolific. Mr. Schneider is a bullionist *pur sang*, and, while he utterly condemns the German law, is equally eager to expose the fallacy of the English. It is well known that the English never do anything on pure theory: all their improvements must be engrafted upon existing practice; hence, unfortunately, the want of complete separation in name as well as in fact between the Issue and the Banking Departments of the Bank of England, which has led to all sorts of errors in confounding two institutions having, except as to common ownership, nothing more to do with each other than the Post-office and the Mint. Mr. Schneider, in common with Mr. Seyd, Prof. Price, and other economists, begins by considering the active circulation as including the notes of the Issue Department, minus the reserve in the Banking Department. But Lord Overstone pointed out—than which nothing can be more certain—that the notes in the Banking Department are the most active of all because they sustain the deposit system of the London banks. One might with much more reason deduct the notes in the vault of a country bank, or those in the pocket of a Smithfield drover, or of a passenger in an Atlantic steamer. The active circulation includes *all notes outside of the Issue Department*, and only on this basis can the Bank Act be intelligently discussed. That Act does not prevent panics or fluctuations in the rate of interest, but it does hold the currency firmly to a specie basis, and by virtue of that quality has upheld an amount of kite-flying in bank credit which without such an anchor would long since have landed Great Britain among the countries which are enjoying inconvertible paper. It is the more important that the principle of that Act should be understood here because, in the judgment of Englishmen who understand it (and who, by the way, care very little for the attacks upon it, being quite satisfied so long as it retains possession of the field), it offers the most available means for this country to return to specie payments and establish a sound and stable system of currency. The German bank law differs from the English, first, in allowing extra issues of uncovered notes by payment of five per cent. interest to the state, a rate which theorists think altogether too low to prevent excessive issues, though this point may be left to time to determine. The main difference, however, is in the failure to separate currency from banking, a measure of which we cannot now discuss the effects, but which is the foundation and essence of the English system. Feeling that the supply of gold is insufficient to allow every nation to cover all its note issues, Mr. Schneider is almost perforce a pronounced advocate of the double standard, and what he has to say on this subject may properly receive attention from the Congressional Commission now sitting.

**** *Publishers will confer a favor by always marking the price of their books on the wrapper.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Berkey (W. A.), The Money Question	(Grand Rapids, Mich.)
Capes (W. W.), Roman History: The Early Empire	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) $1 00
Creighton (Louise), Life of Edward, the Black Prince	(Rivingtons)
Creighton (M.), Life of Simon de Montfort	(Rivingtons)
De Vinne (T. L.), The Invention of Printing, Part IV., swd	(Francis Hart & Co.)
Dewey (Rev. O.), Sermons	(James Miller)
Dickens (C.), Our Mutual Friend: Condensed Classics	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 00
Dwight (Dr. T.), Anatomy of the Head	(Hurd & Houghton) 2 50
Farquharson (Martha), Elsie's Motherhood	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)
Freeman (E. A.), History and Conquests of the Saracens, 2d ed	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 75
Higgs (W. P.), Algebra Self-taught	(E. & F. N. Spon) 1 00
Huxley (T. H.), Elementary Biology, 2d ed	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Kriege (Matilda H.), Friedrich Froebel	(E. Steiger) 50
Littell's Living Age, July-Sept., 1876	(Littell & Gay)
Macleod (Rev. D.), Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D.	(R. Worthington)
Möhl (H.), Der Boden und seine Bestimmung, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)
Monroe (Mrs. L. B.), The Story of Our Country	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 50
Roe (Rev. E. P.), Near to Nature's Heart: a Tale	(Dodd, Mead & Co.) 1 75
Smith (A.), Reminiscences of the Texas Republic, swd	(Galveston)
Spear (Rev. S. T.), Religion and the State	(Dodd, Mead & Co.)
Tollin (Rev. H.), Charakterbild Michael Servet's, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1876.

The Week.

THE vote of the October States last Tuesday resulted as it had been generally expected to: West Virginia went Democratic by a heavy majority, Ohio Republican, and Indiana Democratic. The Ohio majority (about 9,000 on the general ticket, Col. Barnes, the nominee for Secretary of State, running behind the party vote) was not as great as the party leaders could have wished, and the same thing may be said of the Democratic majority (between five and six thousand) in Indiana. This is a considerable gain on the majority for Hendricks in 1872, but 1872 was a year which furnishes a poor basis for comparison. The Republicans still put Indiana down as doubtful, but this is probably a mistake. There will be nothing this year like the wholesale desertion of Greeley, and there is no conceivable reason why the vote in Indiana, just given, should be materially varied next month, unless perhaps by a slight change in favor of the Democrats, owing to Hendricks's popularity, the disheartening effect of the October election upon the Republicans, and the enthusiasm caused by it among the Democrats. The heavy Democratic majority in West Virginia, a State in which there are few negroes and no race conflict, shows that Mr. Hayes has little to hope for in the South, and we see no reason to make any changes in our campaign "arithmetic," which our daily contemporaries will do us the justice to observe has thus far been superior to theirs. We put down as certain to go for Tilden the entire South, except South Carolina, 131 votes, with the addition of Indiana, 15 votes. This gives him 146 votes, and makes it necessary for him to get 39 to carry the election. New York, with 35 votes, would not be enough for his purpose, and New Jersey, Connecticut, Oregon, California, and South Carolina may be set down as doubtful States, while Pennsylvania is generally considered sure for the Republicans.

The Republicans console themselves for the slight improvement in Tilden's prospects by the increase of their vote in the Congressional districts. They have gained several Congressmen, and if their gains continue in other States they hope to have a majority of the next House. The election of "Blue Jeans" Williams is, whatever one may think of national politics, to be regretted in itself, as his opponent was much the superior man of the two in every way, Williams being simply a very vulgar and ignorant demagogue. The issue between inflation and resumption is left pretty much where it was before. Among Congressmen, Holman and Landers are left at home, while General Ewing, one of the most dangerous of the Ohio Communists, goes to Washington, fortunately not this winter. General Force and Stanley Matthews are both beaten by small majorities. The Republicans maintain that the inflationists in Indiana generally voted the Democratic ticket, and that as they will have to support Peter Cooper in November the party vote will fall off. On the other hand, they maintained a week ago that the inflationists were mostly Republicans, and that the withdrawal of the inflationist candidate for governor would give them 10,000 votes. The total greenback vote, however, was very small, and is likely to be still further reduced next month.

One of the best results of the Western elections is the return to Congress of the Hon. J. D. Cox, who is elected in the Sixth Ohio District by a majority of nearly two thousand, which is the largest ever secured in that district by any candidate. Mr. Cox has been out of active public life for some years, and the reason has been that he made a really honest attempt, when he was General Grant's first Secretary of the Interior, to introduce civil-service reform into the administration of the Government. He was driven out by "Zach." Chandler, and now comes back to Congress as one of the next friends of Mr. Hayes, pledged to help him to carry out the promises of his letter of acceptance. He is an old opponent of "Grantism," and of the school of politics to which Morton, Cameron, Conkling, Butler & Co. belong, and is elected as a real reformer, who will be looked to by his constituents to do some reform work.

The President and Cabinet decided on Tuesday to comply with Governor Chamberlain's request for military protection. The President has, accordingly, issued his proclamation declaring, that it having been satisfactorily proved to him that "insurrection" and "domestic violence" exist in South Carolina, and that "certain combinations of men against law," known as "rifle clubs," are riding up and down by day and night, in arms, "murdering some peaceable citizens and intimidating others," and that they cannot be controlled by the ordinary course of justice; and inasmuch as the Legislature of South Carolina is not in session and cannot be convened in time to meet the present emergency, and the executive of the State has made due application for military protection, he now commands all persons engaged in unlawful and insurrectionary proceedings to disperse in three days. Of course, this is preparatory to a concentration of troops, and the Secretary of War has issued the necessary directions to General Sherman. He tells General Sherman that it is the "fixed purpose of the Government to carry out the spirit of the proclamation," and to sustain it by the army, and, "if necessary, by the militia of the various States." Troops had been already sent into the State, and the commanding officer, General Ruger, has promised both sides to maintain order. The troops have been received very good-humoredly by the whites, and it is evident that no resistance will be made to them. On some accounts their presence is a fortunate circumstance, and especially so for the reason that it takes away from Messrs. Morton, Logan, Cameron, Chandler, and Blaine all pretext for saying hereafter that the election has been carried by the Democrats by force or violence. When a government undertakes to use all its powers to secure a free election to an inferior race, and for this purpose, 1st, gives them the ballot; 2d, passes laws to prevent all interference with its free use by intimidation, conspiracy, fraud, or force; 3d, stations judges and marshals with full power among them to enforce these laws; 4th, requires all the local laws to be made to conform with these changes; and 5th, not satisfied with all this, sends down cavalry, infantry, and artillery to see that no one is interfered with in enforcing these laws, of one thing we may be pretty certain, that the government has exhausted its preventive and protective powers, and that for it to complain afterwards that the election was not fair is an absurdity.

We say this because, if the election should prove, as seems likely now, very close, it may easily turn upon the vote of a single Southern State, as, for instance, South Carolina, whether Mr. Tilden or Mr. Hayes is elected. The men who are carrying on the Republican canvass have not raised the "bloody-shirt" cry for nothing, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the Senate would, in such a case as we have suggested, undertake to throw out the vote of South Carolina, to secure Hayes's election, or the House to secure that of Tilden. It does not seem to be generally known that there is no provision, constitutional or legal, which disposes of questions connected with the electoral count. The Con-

stitution provides that when the votes of the separate States reach the President of the Senate, that officer "shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted." There is no law of Congress on the subject, and the matter has been governed for the last three presidential elections by the 22d joint rule, under which, when the two Houses assemble to count the vote, as soon as any objection is made to the vote of any State for informality or any other reason, the Houses separate to vote on the objection, each in its own chamber; and if either House objects to the counting of the vote, the vote of the State objected to is thrown out. This joint rule has been repealed by the Senate, and, in case of any disagreement about the electoral count, there is no tribunal at present constituted to decide the question. This fact was brought out very distinctly in the able debate in the Senate last spring on the bill introduced by Mr. Morton to remedy this omission. He proposed an act of Congress, according to which, in the case of a single disputed return from any State, the vote should not be thrown out unless by agreement of both Houses; while, in the case of double sets of returns, either House might reject the vote of the State. In the course of this debate it was suggested that, as there was no final arbiter, the country might one of these days find itself involved in a civil war on the question of who is elected President. We have no fear of civil war just now, but street riots and fighting in Southern cities are things which are by no means out of the question, and it is partly because we are exposed to these dangers through a very close election that we think everybody ought to keep cool and remember that the country will probably not go to the dogs in four years, no matter whether Tilden or Hayes is elected. Even eight years of Grant have not ruined it.

The Republicans of the Eighth Massachusetts District have nominated Mr. Claflin, the ex-governor, for Congress, and recommend him as sound on the currency question. He is a sufficiently prominent man in the party to make his views on this subject a matter of some interest. He set them forth in "a paper" read by him before some society and published in the Boston *Advertiser* of April 5, 1876, and certainly it would be hard to find anything stranger or more confused in the talk of the worst Democratic inflationist. He is in favor of resumption, but would not contract the volume of greenbacks. He thinks the Secretary ought to accumulate $140,000,000 in gold, and with this redeem any legal-tenders that might be offered; but he would have him issue them again, and is opposed to increasing our bonded debt for the purpose of funding them. Says he: "We do not wish to retire the legal tenders and increase our bonded debt three or four hundred millions" (in other words, he is opposed to the Resumption Act). He "does not admit the necessity of paying the notes some time," but, "conceding the point for the sake of argument," "there is no need of paying the legal tenders at present" (in other words, he agrees with Mr. Hendricks). "They were issued under pressure of the war and declared legal tender by the Supreme Court. They are popular with the people" (Hendricks again). . . . "Their withdrawal will increase national taxation $15,000,000 or $20,000,000 for interest to be paid annually *to foreigners who will soon hold the bonds*" (agrees with Ben Butler). We have reserved the choicest morsel for the last. Anticipating the objection that his $140,000,000 of gold might not without contraction be sufficient to meet the demands on the Treasury, he produces the following notable expedient: "An additional measure of importance should be enacted by Congress. The Secretary should have the power, by the concurrence of the President, *to suspend payment in whole or in part for sixty days* should there be a run on the Treasury from some panic or sudden commotion." Criticism of talk of this kind is happily now unnecessary, but what are we to say to the honesty of denouncing Hendricks and Butler, on the currency question, when the party puts up candidates for Congress who are so ignorant and thoughtless on financial questions as Mr. Claflin seems to be? The only excuse for the crazy suggestion that the Secretary and President should have power to suspend specie payments at discretion is, that another Massachusetts statesman, Mr. Boutwell, had proposed, with perfect impunity, that the Secretary of the Treasury should have power to issue irredeemable paper money at discretion.

We did Mr. Blaine great injustice, for which we are sincerely sorry, in our remarks on his attack on Mr. Adams. It is of no consequence now how we were misled. Mr. Blaine was right in saying that Mr. Adams presented the amendment in the Committee of Thirty-Three prohibiting any proposal to abolish slavery, by change in the Constitution, which did not emanate from a slave State, but it is still only technically correct that Mr. Adams was "the author of the proposition." Since the appearance of Mr. Blaine's reply to the Chicago *Times*, a friend of Mr. Adams's has published in the Boston *Advertiser* this gentleman's explanation of his course as given in a private letter, dated April 8, 1861, soon after the events to which it relates, in which he says: "In point of fact, the measures" (the above amendment and one settling the status of New Mexico) "were not mine. They were carefully examined by the Republican members of the committee at a time when some positive action had been demanded of them. . . . . Two-thirds of the Republicans agreed upon the two propositions. I had expressed my acquiescence in them as the only practical solution of the existing difficulty without essential sacrifice. The only thing left was to put them in the hands of some one to present them to the full committee. It was then that the chairman, Mr. Corwin, proposed my name as one which would have more effect in checking the panic at the South than any other. I was greatly surprised, and declined the responsibility at once." He then goes on to explain why he afterwards assumed it. Two-thirds of the Republicans of the committee voted for it.

Mr. Albert Hobbs, of Malone, Mr. Wheeler's lawyer, has written to several of the morning papers denying that Mr. Wheeler is a railroad "wrecker," stating that the only suit brought against Mr. Wheeler as trustee of a railroad was a *pro-forma* suit for the settlement of a foreclosure, in which he acted as one of the trustees of the mortgage. As rational men we have no doubt whatever that Mr. Wheeler is a very honorable and upright person, but looking at him with our campaign eye it is our painful duty to assure Mr. Hobbs that his client *is* a "railroad wrecker," and that the settlement of that affair by the court proves nothing. Mr. Wheeler "wrecked" the Ogdensburg and Champlain Railroad by foreclosing the mortgage and taking the road away from the stockholders because the interest was not paid, which was a gross abuse of power, and shows him to be a tricky fellow. It appears that he was discharged from his trust by a decree of the Supreme Court in 1870, and his accounts settled, we presume, by some hocus-pocus collusion with the judge, who is probably a shyster, and whose career we shall look into before long and set him before the public in his true colors. And now let us turn for a moment to Mr. Hobbs himself. We observe in his letter about Mr. Wheeler he carefully abstains from saying anything about himself. This affectation of modesty shall not save him. We should like to ask what is the condition of his private affairs? If they are all right, *why are they private?* Where is his income-tax return? Is he not in the daily receipt of money from persons merely for arguing their cases in courts of law? What does he do with it? A pretty fellow he is to come forward in defence of anybody's honesty.

The anti-Tammany politicians had a stormy meeting on Saturday, and failed to come to any agreement with Tammany. The Conference Committee reported that Tammany wanted too much—viz., a Mayor, a Sheriff, and a Surrogate—and suggested that it would be better to unite with somebody else. Mr. John Morrissey

thereupon made a minority report recommending the acceptance of the Tammany Hall proposition, and followed it by a speech in which he advised his hearers to let the anti-Tammany organization go where it liked, predicting that it would not get "one-quarter of the offer that had been made by Tammany"; while for himself, "no transfer of any kind to the Republicans would meet with his support." Morrissey was followed by "Jimmy" O'Brien, who declared that he was not a candidate for any office—a statement which was listened to in respectful silence—and that his only interest in the whole matter was the triumph of Tilden and the cause of reform; that he had been fighting Tammany honorably and faithfully for ten years, and he would leave it to Mr. Morrissey to say whether it was not "rotten from top to bottom." He declared that rather than adopt the minority report he would recommend the convention to adopt the Tammany nominations throughout. The noise and confusion pretty soon became very great, but Morrissey, whose experience in the ring evidently stands him in good stead in the political "arena," would not be put down, but observed to his fellow-delegates, in somewhat unparliamentary but strictly appropriate language, "You can hiss and holler as much as you please. You look like a mob, and if you had any gentlemanly instincts you would behave better." Finally, Mr. Ira Shafer took the floor, and declared that others might do as they please, but that he was "not going to step over the precipice to please John Kelly," for he had "got a future" too, as well as that gentleman. At the end of the meeting the minority report was voted down, and that made by the majority adopted.

We regret to see that the Silver Commission now in session in this city is attracting a good deal of ridicule, and we understand that Mr. Nourse, the Boston expert, has declined to serve, mainly because he does not believe that the enquiry will come to anything. We also hear that Mr. Alexander Delmar has, or has had, some connection with the Commission, we suppose as statistician—statistics being a field in which he is without a rival. A series of enquiries have been sent out to merchants, bankers, brokers, manufacturers, producers, and carriers, propounding to them a number of questions as to the recent changes in the relative value of silver and gold and the condition of trade throughout the country, and asking them to state, as to the first, "by what process of reasoning or deduction" they "arrive at the conclusion given." To these questions Mr. J. S. Moore publishes in the *Evening Post* some very impudent answers, in which, as he supposes, he shows that silver has declined from an excess in the supply, that silver has consequently fallen and gold not risen, and declares that the process by which he arrives at this conclusion is "very simple." The most painful part of Mr. Moore's letter is the tone in which it is couched. He evidently considers that all educated people are agreed on the subject, and that there was therefore no need of calling in the merchants, bankers, brokers, manufacturers, producers, and carriers to consult about it at all.

The war-cloud in Europe has at length disturbed the financial markets, and British consols have fallen during the week 2¼ per cent., while Russian securities have fallen off 7 per cent. The effect here was to advance the price of gold about three per cent., to stimulate the upward speculation in breadstuffs, and slightly to depress the price of cotton. At the Stock Exchange speculation in shares has been active. To check the upward tendency of prices resort was had to fraudulent despatches, which asserted that the trunk-line railroads had decided to reduce rates still further, and that Commodore Vanderbilt had died. The prices of all shares advanced rapidly after the falsity of the latter announcement became apparent. The foreign-trade figures of New York for September have been published during the week. They were more favorable than for any month of the year. The merchandise exports were $5,500,000 in excess of the total of September last year, and the specie exports were $154,000 less. The imports showed a falling off from the late large ratio of decrease, as the merchandise entries were only $980,000 below the total of September last year, while the specie imports were $630,000 more. The imports of gold have now been checked, although there is a considerable amount on the way here. In the money market there has been no important change, except that the net reserve has been reduced $3,000,000, chiefly because of currency shipments to the West, where the movement of grain is active and largely in excess of last year. The gold value of the one-dollar United States legal-tender note has ranged during the week between $0.9184 and $0.8833. Silver continues comparatively steady, closing in London at 52¼d. to 52⅛d. per oz., English standard. The gold value of the old silver dollar at the close of the week would have been $0.8894. The Government bought silver during the week at $1 15 per oz., 1,000 fine, equivalent to $1 03½ per oz. standard fineness.

All the accounts from Europe agree in admitting that war, at least between Turkey and Russia, is more than probable. The only point about which there is much question is the attitude of Austria and Germany, and with regard to them some people count on the recent alliance concluded at Warsaw between the three Powers as a guarantee of peace, though little seems to have leaked out as to what the alliance aimed at or was based on. But the public in Europe seems to be fast settling down to the conclusions that Russia will intervene directly in the conflict between Servia and Turkey, either now or in the spring; that the Turks, if driven to the wall, will resist desperately; that Austria, if it does not act in unison with Russia, will oppose either the extension of Russian dominion in the direction of Constantinople or the creation of a powerful Slavic state on the Lower Danube; that if the two Powers act in unison, Austria's share in the coercion applied to Turkey will be the occupation of Servia and Bosnia; that if they do not act in unison, there will be a great war. About Germany's action there seems no settled opinion whatever. On general principles, there appears to be no doubt that Germany will not permit Russia to aggrandize herself along the Lower Danube; that if she permits any Power to do it, it will be Austria, and will only permit her in the hope of getting her out of Germany. But then, if Germany means to interfere at all, why is she not stirring? Why does she not say something? Why is Bismarck rusticating at Varzin? To this the most probable answer is that Germany does not mean to interfere until the fighting has begun, and if she has to attack Austria, will only do so after the latter has exhausted herself a little with the Turks. And then it is not unlikely that any sign of warlike activity in Germany, as against Russia, would bring France into the field; so that the situation is one of exceeding delicacy.

In the meantime the Turks are doing their best to give satisfaction. They have offered an armistice of six months to give time for prolonged negotiation, but Servia and Montenegro have refused this, or any armistice longer than a month or six weeks, and Prince Gortchakoff has issued a circular openly avowing that Russia has advised them to this course, and is willing to stand by them in it. But Turkey has to all intents and purposes put herself in the hands of the Powers, and it is a little difficult to see how England, if Russia throws off the rôle of a mediator completely, can avoid standing by the Sultan. Austria is said to agree to the long armistice, and there appears to be something like a war panic in the London press. The Greeks, too, begin to stir themselves and make military preparations, in the belief that they may in some way profit by the scrimmage. The only consolation that can be extracted from the prospect of war lies in the fact that the problem is one which goes too deep to be finally settled by anything but force, and that even if peace is made now it could only be temporary. The fate of the European provinces of Turkey is something that no negotiation can decide. Neither Turks nor Christians would accept anything as decisive from which there was any appeal whatever.

THE NATURAL SELECTION OF BUTLER.

ABOUT two years ago the New York *Tribune*, which did not at that time think nearly so well of the Republican party as it does now, published a very amusing article describing the attempt which was then pending to make a party scapegoat of Butler. It depicted the goat as having been carefully loaded with all the party sins—the corruption, the moieties, the defalcations, the civil-service abuses, the Southern abuses, and so on—and then led to the city gate and requested to start for the wilderness. The animal, however, not only refused to stir, but turned around and visibly winked at the high-priest and the people, as much as to say that "he was not that kind of goat." We are now witnessing the repetition of the same process. The party press is again endeavoring to pile all the evil deeds of the party on the now well-known goat, Ben, and to get him to go forth with them into the desert. We have an invoice before us, in the columns of a Republican organ, containing a list of all the bad things which have been packed on the beast's back. It includes the back pay; the Jayne and Sanborn law; all the notoriously bad appointments in the civil service; the influence of the bad Republicans; opposition to specie payments and to civil-service reform, and any odds and ends of wickedness with which the Republicans have been charged. He has again been led to the city gate and earnestly invited to depart; but he again refuses, and insists on coming back to play with the children and eat the "garden-sass," and is indulging in a series of "buck-jumps" which threaten to rid him of his load before very long, and is butting the priests and people in a shameful and disorderly manner. In fact, we greatly fear that he cannot be made to serve as a scapegoat at all, and the worst of it is that the failure is not due solely to the animal's own waywardness and obstinacy. On the contrary, it now appears that there is a large body of influential sinners earnestly urging him not to go. In the first place, he has got the regular nomination of the District Convention. In the next, we have the admission of the Boston *Advertiser*—a strong party paper—(Oct. 11) that Judge Hoar, who is running against Butler in the interest of reform, "is confronted at the outset by all the party machinery in operation in that district in the interest of the Republican candidates, from the President down." And the same journal adds: "Long ago the Republican State Committee was beset to give its open endorsement to Butler's nomination, and to discountenance all attempts to prevent his election. The silence of the committee has given his friends confidence, and they now count it on their side. The Republican National Committee is in the same condition. Of course it could take no part as a committee in a contest of this nature, but it is steadily quoted in the Butler interest." Mr. Chandler, we believe, has denied that he used certain language favorable to Butler attributed to him by Butler's friends, but it was a neat, careful denial, and did not go one step farther than was necessary.

Now, it may be allowed to us, who have made a prolonged study of Butler, and who began in 1867 to say of him the very things which the Republican reformers are now saying, and utter the warnings about him which they are now uttering, to improve the present trying occasion by a few appropriate remarks. We honor Judge Hoar for his willingness to run against him, and we wish him all possible success, but we are unable to say that the struggle is a very important or inspiring one. The mischief Butler can do is done. Whether he goes back to Congress now, or stays at home, has to us little moment beyond the fact that, if he goes, there will probably be a Republican vote the more. We say probably, because we are inclined to believe that if Tilden is elected Butler will support his Administration, and make what he can out of it. That some such idea is running in his mind already is pretty plain from the eulogistic manner in which he speaks of the Democratic candidate at his meetings, and we presume no one who knows him seriously believes that he would now stay long in a party which had no offices to distribute. We are, therefore, not greatly concerned whether he is elected or not. We *were* concerned in 1867, when he first began to preach the payment of the bonds in greenbacks, and afterwards when Mr. Dana ran against him. We then warned the party that the man was an unprincipled rascal, that if it bolstered him up he would become an influence, create a following among the ignorant and corrupt and young, and become a thorn in the side of friends of good government. We believe all this at the time was somewhat amusing to the Massachusetts Republicans, and not one man of prominence in the party in that State could be induced to say a word or give a dollar to defeat him. He has since then steadily grown in power. He has given away the two United States senatorships, has had one of the senators stumping his district for him only two years ago, has controlled the Federal patronage, and has obtained a large body of devoted followers, whom the story of his rascalities simply amuses, and whose enthusiasm is aroused by his very brass and blackguardism, and especially by the impudence with which he, a regular Republican candidate, opposes and derides every significant plank in the national platform.

This is all as it should be. It is in this way that the lessons of political wisdom are taught. If men like Butler when they went into politics often proved faithful, honest, discreet reformers, character would soon lose its value for political purposes, and politics become as completely dissociated from morals as fishing or singing. It would be very unfortunate, also, if good people found they could use men like Butler for any great length of time for good purposes only. If you go into partnership with a thief, even as a dealer in religious books, the moral government of the world is helped by his speedily going off with your bank balance and your watch. The experience sharpens your moral sense, makes you more careful about the company you keep and the persons you trust, and thus makes the way of the knaves harder. But there is another and not less valuable lesson in Butler's career, which is this — that politicians, as a general rule, are in their principal traits of character what Darwinists say animals are, the products of their environment; that is, they are shaped by the state of things around them. A politician who has been trained in war-time is not likely to prove a good reconstructor or pacificator; the hero of an irredeemable paper period is not likely to be very wise on the subject of sound currency. Nor is the statesman of a corrupt civil-service era likely to be of much use in reforming it. They adapt themselves to their *milieu*, just as the elephant wears hair at the north and goes naked in the tropics. Butler, like many other chiefs of the party, is the natural product of the politics of the last ten years. If he were scrupulous, law-respecting, clean-handed, a lover of exactness, of punctuality, and honesty in public affairs, eager to see honor and morality fostered by the Administration, he would be an abnormal growth. To hold him responsible for the civil-service abuses, the Jayne and Sanborn frauds, and the inflationist notions of the party, is like holding the tiger responsible for the jungle, or the buzzard for the carrion on the plains.

Considering what "the main question" of the party has been during the last ten years, the wonder is that there are not more men in the party like him. For the preservation of political purity among public men, it is essential that "soundness on the main question" should involve distinct responsibility of some kind. From this most important guarantee our Republican politicians have been until now completely released. Party orthodoxy has not, since 1866 until this year, called for the advocacy of any particular policy with regard either to the finances or the civil service or the taxes. In fact, it has not required a man to open his lips on any subject on which he might be called on to act. It has simply required of him hostility to or distrust of the South. And, be it remembered, it has not required that he should govern the South, or have any definite ideas with regard to the manner in which the South should be governed; for—and here has been the root of the evil—the relations of the States to the central Government have been such that, when things went wrong down there, no matter how much the Federal Government had meddled, it was easy to lay the blame, and with a strong show of reason, on the in-

habitants or the State governments. The result has been that all a Washington politician needed to do to keep his good and regular standing was to express fear and dislike of the "ex-rebels," and warn the country against ever letting them into power again. This slight duty performed every now and then, he was free to propose a fresh issue of irredeemable paper, or the substitution of leather medals for coin, or get collectorships for his henchmen, or deride civil-service reform on the stump or in Congress, or pass Sanborn acts, or "engineer" salary grabs or land-grants, or, in fact, engage in any mischief that seemed to promise profit or amusement. A more demoralizing state of things could hardly be imagined. A party cannot continue pure that has no creed to which its members are held, and that does not submit its statesmen to the supreme test of *action*. The Republican party has for ten years had no such creed and no such test, and to this we owe Butler and ever so many more.

THE CANVASS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

WE have great confidence in Judge Taft's legal attainments and in his honesty of purpose, and if it is possible for a man in his position in Washington to retain his balance and his independence we have no doubt he will do so. The experience of the country with regard to General Grant's cabinet officers, however, has not been reassuring. The two last Attorney-Generals have shown extraordinary subservience to the President's caprices and prejudices, and have not scrupled to strain or pervert the law to gratify him. It is not surprising then that many people look on the party building, and especially the administration wing of it, as an old hospital whose very walls are so infected that not only can the sick not get well in it, but the well are likely to fall sick when they enter it. The judge is now placed in a position with regard to the South which will need all his virtue and all his judicial-mindedness, and for this reason we were sorry to see him on the stump in Ohio during the late canvass. If ever a man needed not only to be impartial but above suspicion of partisan motives or bias, it is the man who directs the military interference for the protection of voters during the present canvass in the Southern States. It is not necessary at this stage in the history of constitutional government to go over the objections to the use of troops in or about elections in a free country. In a country in which there is a large standing armed force at the disposal of the government they are overwhelming—a fact which was recognized in the earliest days of parliamentary law. Locke puts down among an executive magistrate's breaches of trust "his employing the force, treasure, and offices of the society to corrupt the representatives, or openly pre-engage the electors, or prescribe what manner of persons shall be elected. For, thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new-model ways of election, what is it but to cut up government by the roots, and poison the very fountains of security?" And there is an old and famous resolution of the House of Commons which declares "that it is highly criminal in any minister of the Crown directly or indirectly to use the power of office to influence the election of representatives, and any attempt at such influence will always be resented by this House as aimed at its own honor, dignity, and independence, as an infringement of the dearest rights of every subject throughout the empire, and tending to sap the basis of this free and happy constitution." Another expression of this valuable jealousy is found in the British statute which requires that as soon as the time and place of election, either in counties or boroughs, are fixed, soldiers quartered in the place are to remove the day before the election to a distance of at least two miles, and not to return until the day after the election. Their mere presence in the immediate vicinity of the polls was held not to be tolerable.

There has never been this jealousy of executive interference in elections in this country, because the executive magistrate has been too dependent on the people, and his means of mischief too small. There has been no standing army, or not enough of it to make its use dangerous. But this very confidence has had much to do with the enormous departure from the sound principles of constitutional government which is involved in the conversion of all the civil officers of the government into electioneering agents, headed of late by the President and members of the Cabinet.

We are now so familiar with this extraordinary spectacle that it no longer shocks us. When Mr. Chandler went a step further than any of his forerunners, and became the head of a party electioneering organization while presiding over the Department of the Interior, it excited hardly any comment. In fact, so far are we from the earlier views of Anglo-Saxon politicians on this subject, that executive interference in elections is not only not looked on as criminal, but is considered by a large part of the community one of the Chief Magistrate's high and solemn duties. Hitherto, however, it is only the civil servants of the Government who have been used for purposes of interference. The Southern troubles have carried us one step further, and we now use troops in and about the polls, and in preparing for elections, almost as freely as they would be used in France in imperial days. Judge Taft, who has framed the rules and regulations under which they are to be used at the present election, is a prominent member of the party organization, and has himself been taking an active part in the campaign, and has a strong personal as well as political interest in the result of the contest. The marshals, to whom he has committed the power of using soldiers as a posse, are themselves political partisans, whose places depend on the result of the election, and on whom usage has now imposed electioneering as one of their duties. In short, the soldiers of the regular army who are now making arrests for "intimidation" in South Carolina, and who are to preserve order at the polls on election day, are really an armed force in the service, and acting under the orders of, one of the parties to the political contest. Governor Chamberlain, who has called for them and who supplies the reasons for using them, is himself one of the candidates. The United States District-Attorney who superintends their operations is, of course, also a partisan, who will lose his place if Hayes is not elected. The force, too, in its marchings and countermarchings, is not looked on by either side as a mere minister of the law. The negroes think it has been sent down by their Republican friends in Washington to help them to win; the whites, that it has come to assist in their defeat. It is now going through South Carolina arresting men (we do not say unjustly), but for an offence ("intimidation") which has never been defined, and which is, in its nature, incapable of definition, and which places everybody's liberty at the mercy of an ill-disposed neighbor, because when a man swears that you frightened him in reference to his vote you cannot convict him of perjury without knowing the secrets of his heart. We have no doubt there are negroes in South Carolina who are "intimidated" by any white man's speaking to them about politics. There may be in the state of things a good reason for this; but consider what vast and far-reaching powers over people's liberty such a charge puts in the hands of political opponents who have the soldiers and law officers on their side. We do not say that the use of troops in South Carolina is not necessary, or that the condition of the South does not call for exceptional measures; but we do sincerely believe that their use in a canvass by an Executive which is taking an active partisan part in the canvass, and some of whose members are actually candidates for election, and the control of the troops by men who are acting as electioneering agents of one of the parties in the field, form a step of great gravity which we may all live to deplore. For we are among the number of those whose greatest fear about the return of the South and the Democrats to power is not that they will strip the Treasury for the satisfaction of war claims, but that they will follow Republican precedents in the unscrupulous use of power for partisan purposes.

When one is asked what the Government should now do, of course an answer is very difficult. That the whites in South Carolina are fearfully excited, and are bent by fair means or foul on ridding themselves of the degraded government of the last ten years, and that the negroes are unable to protect themselves, admits, we suppose, of no question. Under these circumstances the

only advice anybody can offer Judge Taft and the President is to be as careful as possible; and if they leave the use of the troops completely to the discretion of the one non-partisan person down there, General Ruger, the commanding officer, we dare say there will be no avoidable cause of complaint. But there never was a better illustration than the state of things in South Carolina of the way in which the momentum of wrong-doing increases as it is protected. There were two stages in the work of reconstruction. In the first the suffrage was given the blacks simply for purposes of self-protection. Had that idea been adhered to by General Grant's Administration; had the Federal officers been men of respectability, who would have counselled the blacks to industry, order, and friendliness with their white neighbors, and who would have sought by patience, forbearance, and sympathy to reconcile the whites to the new order of things, and to present the Government to them as a restorer and not as a conquering partisan, there is little doubt that the Republican party would have secured a firm foothold among the whites of the young generation at all events, and our political system would have been spared the prodigious shock given to it by the creation of the disgraceful caricatures of political society which were subsequently set up in the Southern States. In the second stage the idea was conceived of establishing a political party at the South, composed entirely of ignorant blacks, led by white scamps, some official and some non-official, sent down from the North to run the machine, and thus furnish the Republicans with the aid of a solid and unchangeable brute-vote which would give them an indefinite lease of power. This plan took immensely at Washington, and has been tried to its utmost capacity. We are witnessing the last stage of the experiment; and when a Republican politician of the Blaine or Morton school asks us what had better be done, we can only say to him what we would say to a criminal haunted by remorse and flying from justice: "We are glad you are sorry; if you could begin your life over again, and be honest, we should by all means advise you to do it. As this is impossible, your next best course is to give yourself up to the police, and take your punishment like a man."

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XVIII.

THE UNITED STATES EXHIBIT.

PHILADELPHIA, October 14.

WERE any one to assert that the Government Building contains, in proportion to its size, a more interesting collection of objects than any other in the Centennial grounds, he would, in my opinion, be neither extravagant nor absurd. In the summer, however, when visitors were comparatively few, a remark like this would more readily have passed unchallenged than now when the throng is so great that getting about is difficult and tedious, and when consequently the arrangement appears more cramped and (if I may say so) "mussy" than it really is. The space is certainly too small for the adequate display even of the articles brought together; they would be vastly more effective if disposed with something of the liberality which makes the promenade of Machinery or Agricultural Hall so little fatiguing and so thoroughly instructive. But we all know how much the Government was restricted by the Congressional appropriation, and that it was condemned, as no other government has been in similar circumstances, to a very imperfect and unsatisfactory representation of itself. One feels the result of this niggardliness perhaps nowhere more keenly than in the case of the lay-figures which show the United States common soldier and marine at various periods and in various uniforms. Unfortunately, in the Swedish exhibit there happen to be most artistic wax groups not only of the peasantry but of the military, and to one who comes fresh from these types of national physiognomy and character, posed with easy fidelity to nature, and seeming to be lookers-on rather than a part of the show, the stiff, wholesale-clothier aspect of these American dummies is not only grotesque but mortifying. Some of the masks which with the proper stuffing do duty for faces have so little, I will not say of American but of human semblance, that they must have been the only available remainder of a toy-dealer's stock, and to label them "American" is a travesty which we ought to have been spared.

And yet one of the most interesting features of the Government exhibit is the ethnographical display—meagre and unsystematic though it be. In the western corner of the nave Professor Hayden and Major Powell have photographed on glass (which forms a part of one side of the building) some of the most striking landscapes of the Yellowstone region, of Colorado and Arizona, in which, when the subject is, for example, the interior of a Moqui town, the inhabitants themselves are shown and may be studied very well. Along the adjoining wall are hung silver prints from some of which engravings have already been made for Major Powell's reports. They represent, singly and in groups of two or three, on a large scale, savages of both sexes, on foot and mounted, in natural and in photographic attitudes, and are exceedingly curious in spite of rather fanciful descriptive legends ("The Empty Cradle," "At the Spring," "Two Old Boys," etc.), and, what is of more consequence, in spite of their having been too much touched up with India ink. Not far off, in the Educational department, there are portraits of several of the Modoc chiefs, and groups of Indian school children, with half-breeds, etc. The whole collection, however, is the merest fragment of the material in the Government's possession. The Photographic Annex itself would not more than contain the pictures of the aborigines amassed by the four great exploring expeditions during the last ten years.

It were greatly to be wished that the present Exhibition, classified as it is primarily by nationalities and not by lines of production, might another year be shaken up as in a kaleidoscope, with the result of bringing together kindred objects now found scattered through half a dozen buildings. Thus, to these photographs of American aborigines would be added from Queensland several good-sized photographs of the Australian blacks; from Van Diemen's Land, portraits of the last of the Tasmanians; from Spain, a number of Chinese character pieces; from India and Egypt, types of their numerous populations; and the specially labelled ethnographical studies in the German section of the Photographic Annex. Such a gallery would furnish endless entertainment and much information concerning the races of mankind, besides throwing light upon the problem of their origin and order of differentiation. (I recall one portrait, of an Australian native, which might easily have passed for that of a gorilla.) In like manner the specimens of woods now divided between the Main Building and Agricultural Hall would together constitute a really splendid group, Brazil leading off in point of bulk, but having as powerful rivals Portugal and her colonies, New South Wales (whose magnificent polished slabs of eucalyptus woods, in great variety, deserve special notice, and should be placed near the products which the chemistry of New Zealand, I believe, derives from the blue-gum), Queensland, and Japan. Japan, indeed, merits a prize for neatness of display. Each sample shows in a small compass the long grain of the wood, polished and unpolished, a cross cut (also polished and unpolished), a portion of the circumference with the bark, and the leaf of the tree; and in a single frame are exhibited the veneers corresponding to the samples. Several of the State displays of woods in Agricultural Hall are very creditable, New Jersey being conspicuous for scientific arrangement, and some of the Western States for bulk, though two enormous butts from Delaware are provocative of mingled admiration and incredulity, as if so small a territory could hardly afford room for such a lusty growth.

The Smithsonian Institution—to return to the Government Building—"draws" at least as well as any other contributing department. The Patent-Office's long cases of models attract here and there an inquisitive observer, while hundreds flock to see the operation of the machine for making postal envelopes, or of those employed in the manufacture of fixed ammunition, or of the presses which turn out the daily weather-maps of the Signal Service. Besides its prehistoric relics of flint and pottery, its Indian and Eskimo costumes, its wigwam, its Alaskan idols and canoe, its ores and meteoric stones, the Smithsonian offers a choice collection of stuffed animals and an unparalleled exhibit of food fishes. One wall of the western nave is covered for nearly half its length with photographs, after nature, of fishes, but more striking than these is the framed series of plaster casts colored to the life and absolutely life-like, so that while to some they appear to be carved in wood, to others they seem an achievement of the most skilful taxidermy. The size and high relief of some of these specimens make a great impression on all who look at them, and it was pleasant to see that they did not lack appreciative beholders.

The Interior Department is represented by the Educational Bureau, the Department of Agriculture, the Census Reports and statistical wall-maps, and doubtless in other ways that have escaped me. The Light-house Board exhibits some fine reflecting apparatus. The Engineers show dredging, sounding, and submarine drilling contrivances, including a model of the works at Hell Gate before the late explosion. The Navy and the Ordnance Bureau cover a good deal of space with models of ships of war, tackle, boilers, projectiles, arms, equipments, etc., etc. No department is seen at its best

nor under the most favorable circumstances, which is all the more a pity since one cannot help thinking that popular insight into the doings of each branch of the Government will end in greater respect for science and greater readiness on the part of Congress to make the necessary appropriations, and in knocking the bottom out of the demagogue's pretence that "the people" demand retrenchment in just those departments which are the least subject to political influence, and have ever been the most economically and purely administered.

A word in passing may be given to the decorations of the Government Building, or rather to the portraits of American heads of departments and other officials, both of recent and remoter times, which help to relieve the nakedness of a rather cheerless structure. Foreigners would have scrutinized with real interest a numerous array of these portraits, properly hung and massed and discriminated; and Americans themselves could hardly have looked with indifference on the faces of the men who for better or worse have guided the Republic in its hundred years of stormy development. Except, however, for busts of Washington and Lincoln, with which foreign artists especially have sought to flatter us, and a few oil portraits in the Art Annex, this incidental exhibit in the Government Building is all that the Centennial has to show of American worthies in the century of independence. No, I forget; somewhere in the Main Building I joined the crowd surrounding a table on which mechanical toys were from time to time wound up and set in motion. In one of the walking dolls, whose rheumatic shuffle indicated an internal conflict of some sort—a perpetual doubt as to which of two paths to follow, or which of two districts to run for Congress in—I could not mistake the bald head, the oblique vision, the fierce moustache of the last and greatest of Essex statesmen. Nor was I alone in taking it for Butler. L. N.

A PARISIAN TAPESTRY SHOW.

PARIS, September 22.

THE ugly and huge building erected in the Champs Elysées during the Empire for an exhibition has at least one merit—it is in constant use. Every year the great exhibition of living artists takes place in it; but there are many other exhibitions in the intervals, and constant pains are taken to present new sights and amusements to the public. There are things which positively gain by being put together. I am not very partial myself to exhibitions, and I believe that the fashion of them has been allowed to run to excess. I did not resist, however, the temptation of looking at the latest exhibition in the Champs Elysées. It is really unique of its kind; it is an exhibition of tapestries, and I knew that it must have great interest, not only from an artistic but also from an historical point of view.

During the middle ages the art of tapestry had its centre in Flanders. Innumerable pictures in wool, for so they may be called, were made in Arras, Lille, Bruges, Ghent, Tournay, Audenarde. The Italians still call *arazzi* the tapestries of Flanders. Many fine specimens of that time were sent to the court of the great Dukes of Burgundy. The great patrons of art in Italy, in Florence, in Mantua, in Ferrara, tried to create manufactures of tapestry with the help of Flemish workmen. The beginnings of tapestry in France are somewhat obscure. Beauvais is not far from Flanders, and very early tried to imitate the examples given in the sixteenth century by Brussels, Tournay, and Audenarde. Francis I. ordered Primatticcio, the great decorator of the palace of Fontainebleau, to organize tapestry works in that place; but the attempt failed. The Valois had all a great love of art; under Henri II. two manufactures of tapestry were founded in Paris, one in the Rue Saint Antoine, the other in the Rue St. Denis. Henri IV. established a third, which became the world-famous establishment of the Gobelins. Under Louis XIV. the Gobelins, thanks to Colbert, became a great state institution, and nothing can exceed the beauty of the tapestries which reproduce the great paintings of Lebrun, of Yvart, of De Sève, of Testelin, of Van der Meulen. The tapestries, in fact, are in these cases superior to the pictures. Most of the pictures of Lebrun which are to be seen in our royal palaces have become very sombre with age; the colors of the tapestry have faded, but the lines, the costumes, the groups, are very fine and interesting. Nothing can be more harmonious in tone, for instance, than the huge tapestries which represent the audience given by Louis XIV. at Fontainebleau to the cardinal legate Chigi, nephew and *legatus a latere* of Pope Alexander VII., in 1664; the siege of Douai, and so many others. The whole *grand siècle* shines in its glory in the beautiful scene of the baptism of the Dauphin by Cardinal Barberini, the grand almoner of France, with the numerous assistance of princes and ladies, and the tribunes full of people. The gilt frame of the oil pictures is replaced in all these tapestries by a broad *bordure*, which is covered with the most beautiful designs, with crowns, royal arms, monograms. Time has, in my opinion, much improved these works of art—for they really deserve the name.

The Gobelins even now execute always very exact copies of the works of the great masters. Nothing can be more curious than to see the men at work behind a great vertical loom at the back of the woollen picture; you see the work progress under their fingers as slowly as the tapestry work of a girl. The choice of wools is most difficult; the shades of color must be almost as imperceptible as in a real picture, where the hand of the artist can imitate nature itself. The eye of the man who sits at his loom must choose among hundreds, I think I may say thousands, of kinds of wools dyed in every possible shade. The picture slowly comes out of his hands, mechanically, by a sort of material miracle. At a short distance the colors seem to combine and to run into each other, as they do in an oil picture; but they may possibly be somewhat too brilliant and glaring, since allowance is always made for the natural degradation of the tones as the effect of long exposure to the light. I must confess that I have not much sympathy for these *tours de force;* I don't like pictures in wool any more than pictures on porcelain; that is to say, a picture on porcelain, in my opinion, ought to be very different in kind from an oil painting, and the same holds true for a carpet or a curtain. The artist ought to decorate a vase, a plate, a carpet, or a curtain as well as he may with flowers, with figures of all sorts; he ought not to attempt to rival the great masters. If you paint the head of the Virgin Mary on a china plate, you make an absurdity. The great Gobelin hangings are fixed against walls; they are made to take the place of pictures, like the great mosaics you see in Italy; but tapestry work or mosaic work, as it is understood now in the school of the Vatican, is after all nothing better than a servile imitation, and real art disdains imitation.

The ideal tapestry is an original work, with original designs and combinations of color, and there are some of this kind. The artist has not attempted to paint battles or sieges; he has simply followed the inspirations of his fancy—thrown all sorts of figures with a certain sort of elegant symmetry on the canvas. The same may be said of mosaics. The fine mosaics are not the elaborate copies of Raphael or Fra Bartolomeo, which, after all, always preserve a shiny, glossy, stony coldness; they are the old mosaics of the Byzantine school—the huge and odd figures of the Old Testament, the great traditional and sacerdotal images such as you will find at St. Mark, at Monreale in Sicily. These mosaics are, so to speak, the Bible in stone; they are full of originality; they are works of art, in so far as they represent a certain epoch in the history of the human mind, a certain expression of the religious sentiment, unlike what was seen before or what came afterwards. My criticisms will explain why old Gobelins look more artistic than new ones: they look less pretentious, they do not offend the imagination so much by odious comparisons. Time gives them something more unreal, more poetical; they appear like dreams of a distant past; the human figures seem like shadows of history—they are no longer copies, they become monuments.

After the tapestries of the Gobelins, the finest are manufactured in the state establishment at Beauvais. They are generally of a kind which suits better the theory of tapestries I have just set forth; there are generally in the centre small compositions with personages, but they are never life-sized—they are merely a part of the decoration. The fables of La Fontaine, after Oudry, have all been reproduced at Beauvais, as well as many pictures of Desportes's, with animals, flowers, vases, etc. Beauvais has a specialty in its admirable small tapestries for chairs, arm-chairs, screens, and canopies.

Among the oldest tapestries which are now exhibited are those of the ancient manufactures of Paris, which no longer exist. Many of them were made for Marie de Médicis. There was a manufactory in the Rue St. Denis. Four tapestries made there represented incidents in the life of Saint Crispin and Saint Crispian. Three were burned in 1871; there remains only one, and on its border can be read this: "In the reign of Louis XIII., King of France and Navarre, these four pieces of tapestry, representing the life and martyrdom of Saint Crispin and Saint Crispian, were executed in 1634 and 1635 for the master shoemakers, to help decorate the chapel they founded in Notre Dame de Paris." I noticed also large tapestries after Julio Romano made in the Rue St. Denis. Charles I. established tapestry-works at Mortlake, in England, and ordered the reproduction of the great cartoons of Raphael which were so long preserved at Hampton Court, and which may now be admired at the Kensington Museum. The borders are covered with figures of children, and were probably designed by one of the best scholars of Rubens. These tapestries are much damaged, but are very remarkable for the perfection and beauty of their tissue. They

have the mark of "P. S." in a monogram, and bear the arms of England, as well as the words, "*Car. re. reg. mort.*"

Among the old Flemish works I noticed some tapestries belonging to a series of fourteen executed in 1501 for a church at Salins, and representing the miracles of Saint Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople and son of a king of Scotland. These tapestries were made at Bruges; some others are compositions after Mantegna, with magnificent borders and a golden ground, many hunting scenes, pictures after Lucas of Leyden, Albert Dürer, etc. There is in many of these compositions a sort of archaic simplicity and stiffness, very suitable for the style of art which can find its expression in tapestry.

This beautiful collection fills all the upper rooms of the exhibition building, and many hours could be spent in them before one's curiosity would be exhausted. The attraction of the exhibition has, however, been enhanced by two collections of an entirely different character, namely, a series of drawings, pictures, and engravings reproducing sites of old Paris, which can only be well enjoyed by Parisians, and which can hardly be described; and a second series of designs of all the historical monuments of France. I give this name to all the churches, abbeys, towers, palaces, and even private houses which are under the supervision of the State Commission of Historical Monuments. This last series deserves much attention, and I may some day recur to it, as it will give most valuable information to those enterprising travellers (and there are many among your countrymen) who, for the love of art, would like to search out in our provinces, sometimes in very remote places, the best specimens of old architecture, with better indications than those which are furnished by Murray's Guide-book.

THE WAGNER PERFORMANCES.

III.

Bayreuth, September, 1876.

WITH "Die Walküre" the trilogy makes, so to speak, "a false start." The hero who had been destined by *Wotan* to avert the ruin of the gods by restoring the cursed ring to its rightful owners, falls a sacrifice to *Fricka*, the injured defender of marital rights, before he has taken any steps to accomplish the god's great purpose. With "Siegfried" the action makes a new beginning. The incidents of this drama take place some twenty years after those of "Die Walküre." The wretched *Sieglinde*, following the advice of the Walküren, had fled for safety to the wood in which *Fafner* lay guarding his treasure. In order to be near that important possession, the dwarf, *Mime*, had moved his smithy to the same neighborhood, and in his cavern *Sieglinde* found shelter. She died in childbirth, and left the infant *Siegfried* with the fragments of his father's sword, "Nothung," to *Mime's* care. Knowing the child's descent, the dwarf hoped to make use of his strength in overcoming the dragon, and was not loath to give him all necessary protection. The drama opens when *Siegfried* has attained manhood. It discloses characteristics in the composer of which the earlier part of the trilogy had given scarcely the faintest premonition. In "Die Walküre" sustained emotion and dramatic power left no doubt as to Herr Wagner's genius for tragic expression; but they awakened no expectation of the humor and unbounded joyousness of "Siegfried." No composer, one may say with all deliberation, has ever expressed such delight in nature as marks the third drama of the "Ring des Nibelungen."

The opening scene is in *Mime's* cave. On one side, the narrow entrance looks out on the forest; on the other, stands a forge from which the smoke escapes through a natural outlet in the roof; at an anvil near by, the dwarf sits hammering. He hopes to finish a sword that will satisfy the strength of the young hero, who has hitherto snapped in two each sword that was made as though it were a toy. In the midst of his work *Siegfried* rushes in from the forest, driving a bear before him and shouting: "Ask for the sword, Bruin." The terrified *Mime* says it is ready, and the bear is driven out; but with a single blow *Siegfried* breaks the new sword to pieces on the anvil. Maddened by repeated disappointment, *Siegfried* abuses *Mime* for his inefficiency, and ends by venting his anger in threats of violence. The dwarf tries to appease him by offering him his dinner, but *Siegfried* rejects it. *Mime* upbraids him thereupon for his ingratitude, and, with a most amusing expression of his grief at the treatment he has received, recounts all the multifarious duties of nurse, tailor, toy-maker, and teacher which he has performed for *Siegfried's* sake. In spite of all this, the youth confesses that his protector has always been an object of loathing to him; he cannot understand what induces him ever to return to *Mime's* cave. As the young bird, explains *Mime*, longs for the nest of its parents whom it loves, so *Siegfried* loves, so must he love, his *Mime*. Young birds and foxes, objects *Siegfried*, find a father and a mother to attract them to their homes. This trivial objection the dwarf removes by professing to be both father and mother in one; whereupon *Siegfried*, who takes more delight in strength than in dialectics, and never troubles himself with keeping the two separate in use, seizes *Mime* by the neck and gives him a vigorous shaking; the young resemble their parents, but *Mime* and he are no more alike than a fish and a toad. The dwarf confesses that he had claimed really more than nature had bestowed, and proceeds to tell *Siegfried* of his mother's coming and death. When the youth hears that *Mime* still has the fragments of "Nothung," he insists that they shall be welded into the sword he wants. Adding to this injunction that he will soon return to take the sword and leave the dwarf for ever, *Siegfried* rushes forth into the forest. *Mime* has tried too often to forge anew the broken sword not to know that it is useless to make another attempt, and in despair he falls down by his anvil. At this moment a figure, enveloped in a blue mantle, and with his face half hidden by a broad-brimmed hat, enters the cave. It is *Wotan*, who now walks the earth as a wanderer. *Mime* is not inclined to be hospitable, but the Wanderer overcomes his distrust by the assurance that he is not altogether ignorant, and that his wisdom may be of some service to the dwarf. At the forfeit of his head, he will answer any three questions put to him. Instead of asking by what means he might forge a sword which a hero's strength could not break, *Mime* enquires what races live respectively in the depths of the earth, on its mountains, and in the cloudy heights. The Wanderer tells him no more than what both he and the spectators already know when he describes the dwarfs, the giants, and the gods. Then *Mime* in his turn is also questioned, and exhibits equal descriptive power in dilating on the facts that *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde*, whose offspring is *Siegfried*, were the dearest hope of their father *Wotan*, and that "Nothung," which also has a history of its own, is the sword by which *Fafner* shall die. In other words, a synopsis is given, as in *Wotan's* monologue in "Die Walküre," of the preceding action. The action ceases to be retrospective, however, when the Wanderer asks his last question. *Mime* is unable to answer who shall forge anew the sword "Nothung," and is terrified at the thought that his own head must now pay forfeit to the Wanderer. It shall fall to him who forges the sword, says the Wanderer, and this will be no other than he who has never learned fear. As this last sentence is uttered, *Siegfried's* motive is heard for a moment in the orchestra. The Wanderer leaves the dwarf half-dead with terror, and *Siegfried*, coming back impatient for the sword, discovers him trembling and crouching by the side of the anvil. *Mime* explains that he had been suddenly overcome by the recollection that he had omitted in *Siegfried's* education the important knowledge of fear. He tries now to teach it to him; but the youth has never felt any of those shudders by which *Mime* vividly describes its nature. The dwarf proposes, consequently, that they shall get a fine experience of it by visiting *Fafner's* cave. *Siegfried* is willing, but must have the sword. Finding that *Mime* is unable to forge it, he sets to work himself, and begins to file the fragments of "Nothung" into small bits and melt them over the fire. Fearful of what the result of this novel method may be, *Mime* thinks it is high time to guard against decapitation, and he proceeds to brew a drink by which *Siegfried* may be put into a state of helpless torpor. Meanwhile, the molten metal has been gotten into shape, and *Siegfried* hammers on the red-hot bar, or makes it seethe and steam in the water near him, or thrusts it for new heat into the coals, which glow and brighten into flames as the young hero works the bellows, and shouts for joy at having his "Nothung! Nothung! neidliches Schwert!" *Mime's* broth also makes progress, and soon the labors of both are ended. *Siegfried* is glad at getting his sword; *Mime* is glad that his head has found protection; the orchestra is glad because here, as at all the supreme moments of the trilogy, it sympathizes with the predominant feeling; and with a tremendous burst of gladness, as *Siegfried* lifts the sword and splits in two the anvil on which it was made, the act closes.

These opening scenes of "Siegfried" were a revelation of the possibility of the union between music and drama. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the recurrence of the past motives which in the scene between *Mime* and the Wanderer accompanied their mutual cross-examination. As a single instance of the use of a Leitmotive, I will mention the beautiful effect produced when *Siegfried* compels *Mime* to tell him of his parents. At the mention of his mother's death, the never-forgetful orchestra recalls the touching motive which added so much tenderness to the first meeting of *Siegmund* and *Sieglinde*. Its effect on the spectators is to supplement completely the sad perplexity in which *Siegfried* stands with regard to all his mother's life except its end. At each enquiry which he makes for some

new detail the same motive returns. But the self-absorbed *Mime* gives a curt answer to his questions, and hurries on to the part which he has himself taken in *Siegfried's* existence, repeating again the list of services performed. Thus, in spite of mutual interruption, the predominant feeling of each is sustained; and, as the prolonged tenderness of the motive from "Die Walküre" recurs again and again, the effect of the contrast with *Mime's* description is indescribable. But the chief interest of the act attaches to the wonderful musical delineation of the three characters. It is impossible, perhaps, to conceive a more perfect harmony than that between these characters and the musical motives identified with them. The cunning of *Mime* is wise in little things, but his infinite prudence brings him no reward. *Siegfried*, on the other hand, full of exuberant energy and rashness, always finds success. Herr Wagner's manner of carrying out this distinction musically is one of the greatest exhibitions of his genius. When *Mime* hammers on the sword, the music makes one feel that by some subterfuge or other he means to get the better of the iron's resistance; but when *Siegfried* breaks up the fragments of "Nothung" into yet smaller bits, one knows that the possibility of being unable to make a sword of them never enters his head. The work of the one is a careful tinkering, but by the lusty blows of the other the iron is wrought and welded. All this, and far more, in the contrast between these two characters, the music makes one feel. Equally characteristic of the Wanderer's divine nature is the expression of sublimity by the grand motive that accompanies him; and the beginning of the scene with *Mime* must be added to what has been already mentioned as evidence, entirely without precedent, of the possibility of the musical individualization of dramatic characters. That such evidence should seem more conclusive than that which many other parts of the trilogy afforded is due almost entirely to the masterly interpretation of *Mime* by Herr Schlosser. If all the artists had shown the same powers, the erection of a special theatre for the purpose of establishing new stage traditions would have been proved superfluous. Every word that Herr Schlosser uttered was intelligible. In passages of the quaintest humor he seemed to extract, by his intonation, the very essence of the music, with which at all times his acting was in perfect harmony. His example even proved contagious; and Herr Unger, as *Siegfried*, was far more distinct in his enunciation than at any subsequent time. I have given this detailed description because the first act of "Siegfried" seemed to me to be the most complete vindication which the performances afforded of much that Herr Wagner claims for his art. In dramatic delineation the characters of the act stand in the strongest contrast; in musical expression their individuality is equally marked; and it needed only an interpretation which should maintain both individualities, without a sacrifice of either, in order to make the act an assurance that Herr Wagner's aim was achieved. Such an interpretation the drama found; and its success acquires a wider importance than an equal rendering of other parts of the trilogy might have warranted when one considers that the presence of no more than two persons on the stage at any one time during nearly an hour and a half gave additional severity to the test.

The description of the remainder of the drama must be confined to very narrow limits. The forest in front of the mouth of *Fafner's* cave is the scene of the second act. While *Alberich* is watching for some chance opportunity to regain the ring, the Wanderer appears. Recognizing in him his old enemy, the Niebelung, with ferocious expression, accuses him of all manner of knavery, taunts him with his inability to take what he has paid in fulfilment of a contract, and threatens him and his Walhalla with speedy destruction when the ring falls again into its maker's hands. As soon as this outburst of venom permits, the Wanderer calmly explains that he has no intention of taking the ring, but that *Mime* is coming with a hero who, though ignorant of the treasure, will kill the dragon. If *Alberich* gives the dragon seasonable warning of this danger, he may, perhaps, obtain the ring in reward. The dwarf adopts the suggestion; but *Fafner* is angry at being disturbed—the young hero will make a nice morsel, and he prefers to sleep till his coming. The Wanderer laughs and departs. *Alberich* has barely time to conceal himself when *Mime* and *Siegfried* appear. The youth has come to learn fear, and his guide points to the dark cave that descends abruptly. The description of the dragon rouses all *Siegfried's* impatience to let the beast feel the touch of "Nothung," and he insists that *Mime* shall leave him. Seated alone under a tree, *Siegfried* tries to imagine the appearance of the parents of whom he has lately heard, but his meditations are interrupted by a bird singing above him. He seizes a reed, and, hoping to understand the bird, tries to imitate its song with an improvised whistle. Failing in this, he blows his horn. The answer is the appearance of the awakened *Fafner*. He is glad that somebody has been rash enough to offer himself as a breakfast. *Siegfried*, however, fails to see in this talking dragon those fearful qualities which had been described, and the fight begins. *Fafner* is killed. Some drops of his blood fall on *Siegfried's* hand, which burns like fire. He puts it involuntarily to his mouth, and by the taste of the blood he becomes able to understand the language of birds. Hearing a bird near by tell him of the treasures in the cave, he descends into it. At this moment, *Alberich* and *Mime*, creeping stealthily from opposite sides, encounter one another. A most animated and amusing altercation follows, in which the two Nibelungs advance their respective claims to the ring and Tarnhelm. The return of *Siegfried* drives them to a hasty concealment. As the hero stands in front of the cave, holding the ring and the Tarnhelm, which he concludes to keep as pretty souvenirs of the fight, the bird's voice warns him to beware of *Mime*, whose real intentions the power acquired through tasting the dragon's blood will enable him to understand. Then follows a scene of delightful originality. Under pretence of refreshing *Siegfried* after his fight, *Mime* brings the potion he had brewed. To indicate *Siegfried's* understanding of the dwarf's intentions, Herr Wagner makes *Mime* express by his words the real feeling, and by his music the pretended feeling, which he bears toward the hero. In music indicative of the deepest affection the dwarf declares that he has always hated *Siegfried*, that he means now to get him out of the way, that for this purpose he has brewed a sleep-producing drink. *Siegfried* comments upon each of these declarations. The dwarf is enraged to think that he should be misunderstood and thought capable of the diabolical intentions which *Siegfried* imputes to him; but he continues in the same manner to unveil his secrets. When, finally, in the tenderest tones, he explains that, having put *Siegfried* to sleep, he means then to cut off his head and take the ring, the young hero, with a blow of "Nothung," strikes him dead. Once more, in the solitude of the forest, *Siegfried* is left to his meditations; but as he rests under a tree the bird sings to him again. It tells him that it knows where a beautiful maid, *Brünnhilde*, lies asleep. Flames surround her, but through them *Siegfried* can pass, since he does not know fear. This important knowledge is his aim. Although *Fafner* failed to impart it, he thinks that he may yet learn it from *Brünnhilde;* and he follows the flight of the bird as it guides him to the fiery rock.

The music of this act furnishes the most striking instance in the trilogy of a characteristic in the composer which I have as yet hardly noticed. Not only human characters but also scenes in nature are employed by Herr Wagner as the means to give definiteness to musical expression. Even in "Rheingold," in which the definition of musical motives by their association with certain characters is the primary aim, instances occur in which, with no detriment to dramatic sequence, the musical expression of the emotion connected with the scene in nature that is present prevails over everything else. This is permissible, either when nature is manifestly the source of the emotion of the characters, so that the *expression* of emotion would be the same for both, or when the characters yield altogether to the influences of nature and become, equally with the audience, spectators of its changes or states. An instance in which the emotion of the characters is determined by their surroundings is the "Ride of the Valkyries," in which the maidens take delight in sharing the wildness of the tempest. But in the "Magic Fire Scene," long after *Wotan* has taken farewell of *Brünnhilde*, he remains affected like the spectators by the sight of the surrounding flames, which are there the objects in nature to which the music attaches. Not only is it important, therefore, for the music of the trilogy, that Herr Wagner should have good artists to represent his characters, but he must also have a *mise-en-scène* of the highest order, since the scenery ceases at times to be a mere setting for the action by becoming the chief object of musical expression. At no time was this demand of the composer more imperative, as well as more completely satisfied by the scenic artist, than in the second act of "Siegfried." The act begins in the darkness of night. Towards daylight *Siegfried* appears, and soon, beyond the extremity of the wall of rock which rises above *Fafner's* cave and casts its shadow over the whole foreground, one sees the forest lighted by the first rays of the sun. As the day advances, the sunlight strikes the tops of the highest rocks in front of the cave; and finally, when the sun has reached the zenith, its rays, glancing down through the leaves of the trees, cast their shimmer on the ground. The picture of *Siegfried* alone in this sunshine is most beautiful, and what the orchestra expresses passes description. Its music is the utterance of a man who loves nature; and when one hears the pure notes of the high soprano voice which, with a nightingale's "full-throated ease," sings the bird-songs, the joyousness of the scene is complete, and one feels a happiness which the gladness of nature alone can give. *Siegfried* follows the bird, which leads him to the fiery mountain. The Wanderer stands in his way, but *Siegfried* with a blow of

"Nothung" severs the interposed spear of the father of gods and men. The clouds which surround the top of the mountain roll away, and the magnificent scene of the fire streaming down its sides is disclosed. The wild motive of the fire-scene returns, and clouds of smoke, lighted up by the glare of flames, fill the whole stage. When they have gradually disappeared, the spectators behold the ethereal purity of an elevated mountain-top. This transformation from the frantic ending of the fire-scene to a perfect calm, such as the gods of Epicurus alone enjoyed, was a masterpiece of scenic achievement. *Brünnhilde*, covered with her shield, still lies sleeping ; but again the composer subordinates everything to the picture of Nature. The orchestra is hushed ; the violins alone express the holy purity which Nature discloses, as, taken unawares, she stands before a gaze which it seems shameful intrusion to prolong. *Siegfried* approaches, and *Brünnhilde* is awakened ; but, from his coming till the end of the act, nothing detracts from the unalloyed purity which makes this love-scene, with all its passionate delight, such a creation of genius as almost precludes the possibility of praise becoming extravagance.

Correspondence.

RELATION OF THE RECENT INCOME-TAX DECISION TO REAL-ESTATE TITLES.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : It is well known that, according to a recent decision of the United States Circuit Court, all persons who have ever been subject to an income tax are held to be permanently liable to the Government for any deficit in the assessment of such tax, even though they fully discharged all assessments which the assessor at the time was empowered and compelled to make against them arbitrarily, together with an additional tax of fifty per cent., prescribed as a penalty for neglect or refusal to submit a complete and detailed account of income in the first instance. It is also known that subsequent to and in conformity with this decision a circular has been issued by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, empowering and requiring United States officials to institute measures in all cases where the recovery of such unassessed taxes is deemed possible.

Some of the abuses likely to follow the exercise of such arbitrary power on the part of the Federal Government as against taxpayers in respect to the recovery of unassessed income as a debt due from the period provided for the levying of the tax, and after a long lapse of time, when proofs on this subject have become defective and uncertain, have been already pointed out by the press generally ; but there are some other consequences far more serious, contingent on this decision, to which it is important that the attention of the public should be directed. Thus, it is evident that if a liability as a debt due exists against a person who has not made a return, but against whom an assessor has made an assessment, this same tax or debt is a lien on whatever property the delinquent or debtor may have been possessed of at the time the debt became due to the Government, as the following section of the Internal Revenue law will establish :

"If any person liable to pay any tax neglects or refuses to pay the same after demand, the amount shall be a lien in favor of the United States, from the *time it was due*, until paid, with interest, penalties, and costs that may accrue in addition thereto, upon all property and rights to property belonging to such person.'—*Present Revised Statutes of the United States*, § 3,186; *the same being an exact copy of the U. S. Internal-Revenue law previously in force.*

It therefore follows that an internal-revenue tax, from the day it became due or the cause of action accrued against the taxpayer, becomes a lien on all his property, and if not placed on the assessment roll, and not recorded as a judgment, is, moreover, a secret lien against all real estate or other property by him then owned, whether such property be now in possession of the delinquent or has by him been since conveyed to other innocent holders.

Procedure under this construction of law would, therefore, introduce the greatest confusion in titles, and render it impossible for the most astute lawyer to give any satisfactory assurance of title to any piece of real estate in the United States. In illustration of this take the case recently decided against Mr. Hazard in Rhode Island. The decision of the court was that, by reason of his failure to make a detailed return of income, and the assessor's failing, acting as agent of the Government, to assess him sufficiently, Mr. Hazard, notwithstanding he paid the assessment made against him in full, and also the penalty prescribed by law for neglect or omission, is still liable to the Government, as a delinquent, to the extent of some $17,000. Suppose further that Mr. Hazard, by reason of business misfortunes, is not now a possessor of any property against which the tax can be recovered. The lien, nevertheless, continues unimpaired upon all the property he owned at the time the tax became due or imposable, and can now be enforced against the same in whosoever's hands it may now be found. Anybody, therefore, who since this time has acquired real estate through Mr. Hazard holds such property to-day by a title defective to the extent of the Government encumbrance. Judgment having been rendered against Mr. Hazard, such encumbrance on real estate conveyed by him is now known and recognized ; but in the case of the hundreds and thousands who acted precisely as Mr. Hazard did, and with the full assent at the time by the Government, such encumbrances are secret, but nevertheless valid until paid, and liable at any time to be enforced against property to serve the purpose of any informer, moiety-hunter, or personal enemy, although the property in question may now be in possession or ownership of persons from whom no tax whatsoever is due, while the person from whom the tax is due may be a bankrupt and entirely indifferent whether a judgment entailing confiscation against his former property is obtained against him or not.

Somewhat familiar with the revenue laws of other countries, I venture the assertion that there is no other government calling itself civilized which would even so much as propose to work the iniquity which the enforcement of this secret lien against the property of its country would unquestionably entail.

David A. Wells.

Norwich, Conn., Oct. 14.

A GOOD POINT.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : I am not a constant reader of the *Nation*, which may possibly account for my not having seen in it any mention of one advantage to the cause of civil-service reform from the election of Mr. Hayes, with a corresponding disadvantage resulting from the election of Mr. Tilden.

I thoroughly agree with recent remarks of the *Nation*, and have indeed felt all along that we cannot, being now sunk so low, expect to be suddenly lifted into spotless purity in the civil service. All that we can justly hope for is that the next President will make a gallant fight, and so carry it on as to force the disagreement between him and the line politicians prominently on the notice of the people.

In order to this issue between purity and party policy being made clear to the people generally, it is essential that it should not be obscured by other quarrels, real or apparent. Now, it is conceded that the Senate will remain Republican for two years to come. If Mr. Tilden be in the White House, disagreements between the appointing and confirming powers will be referred by the party press to mere political bias, which, in truth, *will* enter largely into such disputes. If, on the contrary, Mr. Hayes be the President, and have the nerve, moral and physical (both will be needed), to seek efficiency in his appointments rather than the pleasure of the party politicians, the nation at large will understand the difficulty, and in time the issue will be placed squarely before it.

We don't know much about Mr. Hayes in the East, but I hear that in his own State his pluck and endurance are thought to equal his honesty.

Respectfully, A. T. M.

Elizabeth, New Jersey, October 6, 1876.

THE *NATION* IN THE CANVASS.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : A month ago I considered myself certain to vote for Hayes. Since that time I have hardly seen a newspaper which has not favored his election, and yet I find myself now reconsidering my decision, and, in fact, strongly inclined to reverse it. The financial issue, which was so prominent in the summer, seems now to have dropped out of view ; and I am far from feeling as certain as I did then that Hayes is preferable on the great question of Reform. The difference between the two candidates is simply this : Hayes, we are sure, *desires* reform—the question is, "Has he the power ?" Tilden, we know, has the power—the question is, "Has he the will ?"

Now, put in this way, I must confess I feel more sure of Tilden's "will" than Hayes's "can." The Republican party appears to have chosen Butler and Blaine as its leaders ; Schurz and Bristow are never heard of. And after all the assurances we hear that Hayes is not a negative man, what likelihood have we that he will be able to make himself master of the situation when borne into office by the efforts of such men as are now conducting the campaign ? On the other hand, Tilden *is* master already. He has made himself a name all over the world as an able executive officer and a

foe of corruption ; leaving higher motives out of view, it will be clearly for his interest to carry his reputation with him into the higher office and make his administration an era in our history. MARCEL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION :

SIR : Having so frequently felt under obligations to you for instruction makes me more free to express my discontent ; and this not with your criticisms of Messrs. Blaine, Carpenter, etc., or of any of the numerous faults of the Republican party, but because, although you on one occasion announced yourself as expecting to vote for Mr. Hayes, the general tenor of the articles in the *Nation* has been far more favorable to Mr. Tilden. And, as far as I can see, Mr. Tilden has had in his party papers no such effective support as that received from you. I do not desire that you should speak otherwise than fully and fairly of him when unjustly attacked, but unless you occasionally give reasons for your intended support of Mr. Hayes, and in this way some encouragement to the much-perplexed "Republican" Independent, you seem to be wearing the badge of one while fighting for his opponent. We may be in fault, but to myself and some friends your later numbers read more like an able Democratic campaign journal than even a fairly-balanced Independent.

With great respect, yours, etc.,

Z. E. C.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 14, 1876.

[Many of our readers will recognize the signature to the first of the foregoing letters as that of one of the most thoughtful men in the country. We print it, however, mainly because it furnishes a partial answer to the second. The *Nation* has pursued in this canvass the course it has always pursued. It has no special language or policy for Presidential campaigns. Its opinions about the Republican party and its leading managers have been frequently, and we trust clearly, expressed during the last seven years. They have not changed in consequence of anything that occurred at Cincinnati. Nor can we now *pretend* that they have been changed, by preserving silence on its policy and acts, or, in other words, by suggestion of falsehood either to help Hayes or for any other object. The one good thing that occurred at Cincinnati was Hayes's nomination, for which the party would have been entitled to credit if Blaine had not been its first choice, and the choice of Wheeler had not been the accident of an accident. We have been ready and willing from the beginning to avail ourselves of all honest occasions of speaking in support of him, but few or none have been afforded us. Not one speaker has appeared in the canvass who can be said to represent specially either him or his ideas. His hand has nowhere been felt or seen in it. Mr. Schurz and Mr. Curtis have come nearer representing him than anybody else, but we happen to know that Mr. Schurz thought poorly of him before the nomination, and we believe Mr. Curtis has no more personal knowledge of him than the bulk of newspaper readers at the East. No one has ventured to go to the country on Mr. Hayes's letter pure and simple. What has been furnished us to comment on and back up has been the speeches and arrangements of half-a-dozen of the old Machinists, headed by Mr. Chandler, who wrought the ruin of Gen. Grant's Administration and are themselves "part of the thing to be reformed." About the opinions of the *Nation* on these men and their works and ways, we trust there is no mistake. We try to prevent any mistake, at all events. We cannot listen respectfully to their talk about the South, in view of the present condition of that region, for three-fourths of which they are themselves responsible ; we cannot listen respectfully to their talk about civil-service reform, in view of their broken pledges of 1872 and the ridicule they have ever since heaped on the idea. We cannot patiently hear them discourse about specie payments with their inflation bill (Chandler and Conkling are not open to this censure) of 1874 fresh in our memory, or about the sanctity of the Resumption Act, remembering, as we do, that they passed it simply to get rid for the present of a troublesome question which threatened to split the party, and without any intention of carrying it out, and that they actually voted down a resolution endorsing it at the Cincinnati Convention. Nor can we sit by in silence when we see them day by day trying to turn public attention away from their own miserable history by abuse of Tilden and others. They are on trial at this election, and we are determined, as far as our small influence goes, they shall plead at the bar as defendants, and not get off by personating the district-attorney. But we none the less believe that Hayes would probably fight them, sooner or later ; that he would not permit the tremendous revolution in the civil service which we fear from Tilden ; and that he would end the grosser Southern abuses without exciting false hopes among Southern hot-heads. But, then, nobody must look in our columns for campaign "work," either in the way of silence or speech. We stand where we have always stood. If what we say on current topics now helps Tilden, so much the better for Tilden ; if it helps Hayes, so much the better for Hayes. Any one who wants to see his paper steadily "throwing its influence" for his favorite candidate, can enjoy a full treat of this kind every day at a news-stand for about ten cents. He must not seek it here.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

AN Index to the Catalogue of the Ordnance Collection in the United States Government Building at the Centennial Exhibition has been prepared by Lieut. Henry Metcalfe as a substitute for the catalogue itself, which has been delayed. The number of objects mentioned is very great—greater than the casual visitor at the Ordnance Section would be likely to suspect. — We have received from the publishers, John R. Nagle & Co, Philadelphia, the revised edition of their Official Catalogue of the United States International Exhibition, in one volume. It relates to the contents of five buildings only—the Exhibition proper, viz., the Main Building, and Machinery, Art, Agricultural, and Horticultural Halls. ——Bulletin No. 2 of the American Geographical Society is rendered interesting by several addresses at the special meeting held July 10 for the reception of Dom Pedro, Dr. August Petermann, Prof. Nordenskjöld, and Dr. C. H. Berendt. Dr. Petermann's was full of admiration for what he had seen in this country ; and for the benefit of the numerous tourists whom the Centennial has set moving in all directions we note that the finest view the eminent geographer had seen here (and one which he even preferred to Venice from the Campanile) was that from the summit of Chelsea Highlands near Boston. The Bulletin closes with a paper on Burmah, by Mr. Frank Vincent, jr.——Those who have watched and are still watching the progress of the Protestant Church in France, may like to know of a new paper, *La Paix de l'Eglise*, just started to further the reconciliation now seemingly begun between the Liberal and the Orthodox wings. This paper will be non-partisan, and will be published weekly at Lyons. Subscriptions should be sent to Sandoz & Fischbacher, 33, rue de Seine, Paris.

—'The Whole Booke of Psalmes' was sold by auction in Boston last week, Mr. Rider, a bookseller of Providence, R. I, becoming its purchaser at the cost of $1,025. The modest printer, Stephen Daye, had not put his name upon the title-page of the volume, but the evidence is unquestioned that it was the work of his hand and the first book printed in this country. Among antiquaries it is known as the Bay Psalm Book, and was printed "at our Cambridge" in the year 1640. This particular copy had once belonged to Richard Mather, one of its translators from the Hebrew into the English metre ; from the Mather family it went into the possession of Thomas Prince, the founder of the New England Library ; Prince bequeathed it to the Old South Church, and in the steeple-chamber of that meeting-house it rested for nearly one hundred years ; the deacons of the Old South gave it to the late Dr. Shurtleff ; and now (after a law-suit instituted to settle the question of ownership) it has passed from the auctioneer into the hands of the highest bidder. Except the Eliot Bible—which at the Bruce sale brought $1,130, and at the Rice sale $1,050—we remember no instance of an American printed book fetching at public sale so high a price as this Bay Psalm Book.

—A sub-committee of the Women's Centennial Executive Committee began late (*i. e.*, just a year ago) a work which they designed to have ready for the Exhibition To gather, arrange, and digest information from all parts of the world "concerning the various forms of religious, philan-

thropic, and patriotic work organized or conducted by women," required a much larger force than three persons, and a much longer time than seven, or twelve, or even twenty-four months. The information came in too slowly, in formidable shape for editing, in many languages. The best that could be done with it for Centennial purposes was to classify it and keep it for inspection in the Women's Department, and meantime to print a bare catalogue, with tabulated data, which should give "a bird's-eye view of women's charitable work." This still laborious task has been accomplished in a very praiseworthy manner by Mrs. Mary Rose Smith, chairman of the Committee on Charities, and the result lies before us—a handsomely-printed pamphlet of a round hundred pages. American charities occupy a little more than sixty pages, classified geographically from Maine to Utah; England, Wales, and Ireland come next; Germany, Russia, Denmark, and Italy complete the record, which is still manifestly incomplete. It is to be observed of all the societies or institutions here catalogued that they had their origin, with very rare exceptions, in the present century, and that a very large number of them sprung up in war-times, when an unusual amount of distress, coupled with patriotic longing on the part of the women not to be inactive while their husbands and brothers were risking their lives in the trenches, invited widespread co-operation and united effort. The years 1812, 1853, 1861, 1866, 1870 show plenty of instances in point. The noticeable difference in the organizations of the two hemispheres is that in Europe so much is accomplished by patronage, by the initiative of royalty or the nobility, while here nearly everything is done by private effort, sustained by a liberal public spirit. To the same cause is due the comparative absence among us of institutions intended for reduced "gentlewomen," or for their orphan children. We have a corresponding class in all but the English sense of "class"; yet the chances of maintaining or recovering respectability are so much greater here than in England that charities of this sort would find even less encouragement than they do were it not that denominational interest can be enlisted in them. As it is, the word "gentlewoman" is carefully eschewed, or any designation more suggestive of "caste" than "destitute female." In England, again, we find such special provision as is indicated by the names "Clergy Ladies' Home," "Institution for the Education of the Daughters of Missionaries," "Royal Naval Female School," "Royal School for Daughters of Officers of the Army," etc., etc. Equally unfamiliar to us are the institutions for the training of girls for domestic service—a service relegated with us for the most part to the untrained foreign immigrant. In Germany we can only refer to the high organization and wide scope of charities like the "Woman's Association of the Red Cross," of Berlin, and the "Women's Benevolent Association," of Baden. In Russia we meet with another Red Cross society, and with a "Ladies' Infirmary Committee," whose object is to establish hospital barracks on the best sanitary principles and to train female medical practitioners. In taking leave of this valuable catalogue, we express the hope that it may be instrumental in promoting the consolidation of organizations which it shows to have common or not inconsistent aims. Charitable work, like all other, profits by concentration.

—One of our leading newspapers forewarned Prof. Huxley that in his lectures he was expected to meet two notable obstacles as to Darwinism, failing to remove which his "proof of evolution" must be unconvincing. Both difficulties, if we mistake not, were raised by Mr. Wallace. One is, that the brains of the earliest known men were larger than such barbarians needed; the other, that natural selection is impotent to explain how the human animal, in his ascent from the simian type, got rid of a hairy coating to his back. As the lecturer gave no heed to the warning, our contemporary complained that the difficulties were shirked, probably because they were insurmountable. But that does not follow. Indeed, there is some reason to suspect that the two objections—unconnected and independent as they seem to be—may be correlated in a common explanation. In the first place—as the late Chauncey Wright has intimated—no one is entitled to pronounce *à priori* how large a brain the gift or acquisition of language demands. Next, Prof. Dana—returning to and (in a recent number of the *American Journal of Science*) completing his essays on cephalization—teaches us that in animals, and all the more in the higher animals, the leading means of change in species must needs be the action of surrounding influences on the brain; that upon the nervous system, which dominates all action and growth, natural selection would largely act in the higher animals; and "that wonderful strengthening growth in the brain since Eocene times may have come from use." In the second place, here comes in that acknowledged principle of "Economy of nutrition, or Balancement of growth," which was enunciated by Aristotle, but is most clearly stated by Goethe in the phrase: "Nature, in order to spend on one side, is forced to economize on the other." The largely increased amount of phosphatic and albuminous matter which goes to the enlarging brain calls for retrenchment somewhere else, and the hairy covering of the skin would seem to furnish the supply which natural selection might seize upon most readily, and so the naked skin be a natural consequence of the ample brain. This idea, we believe, originates with Mr. Lowne, in an essay on 'The Philosophy of Evolution,' which we have never seen. Conversely, the faculties which come with the larger brain would soon lead the pristine man of a tropical clime to comprehend and secure the advantages, over a fixed hairy covering, of artificial clothing or other protection, to be used or disused at need. Let no wiseacre hereupon jump to the conclusion that in man brains and hair are now essentially antithetical. For, as the improved brain would command adequate external supply of appropriate nourishment, there would be plenty for both wherever hairiness gave advantage. The Ainos of Japan, along with hairy bodies, have passable but not first-class brains.

—No professional school in the United States is more often referred to for the number of its graduates who have made distinguished names for themselves in active life than the Harvard Law School at Cambridge. Few people are aware, however, of the great changes which have taken place in the curriculum or the management of the school since the war, and how little there now remains of the old *régime*. The school has recently invited criticism by what we suppose is the final step in the new direction by giving notice that hereafter applicants for admission will be required, except in certain specified cases, to pass an examination. At the beginning of the academic year 1877–78 candidates who are not graduates of colleges will be required to be able to translate, "without the aid of grammar or dictionary," as the prospectus wisely warns the thoughtful applicant, passages selected from Cæsar's commentaries, Cicero's orations, or the 'Æneid,' and to pass a satisfactory examination in Blackstone, exclusive of editors' notes. French, however, will do instead of Latin, and the faculty may, in their discretion, allow some other language to be substituted for Latin or French. The examinations are to be in writing. Graduates of colleges are to be admitted without examination, and the faculty will accept the degree of Bachelor of Science, "or other degree of similar import," when "satisfied that it represents an amount of linguistic training equal to that required of those who offer themselves for examination." As the school now gives no degrees without final examination at the end of the course, we suppose the curriculum is the most severe in the United States. That the prosperity of law schools does not depend upon the laxity of their requirements is shown by the fact that this school was never so full as it is now, though only a few years ago there were no examinations of any kind, and even attendance at lectures was not required, the student receiving his degree after a fixed period of residence in Cambridge and payment of his term-bills. We notice that the Faculty has been strengthened by the addition of Charles S. Bradley (formerly chief-justice of Rhode Island), who will, we suppose, lecture on equity, a subject with which he has the reputation in the profession of being specially conversant. The place he takes is that made vacant by the resignation of Professor Washburn, to whose long service in the school is due much of its present efficiency.

—In spite of its Barnumese advertisements, the New York Aquarium, which opened last week, is likely to prove an efficient factor in popular education, especially if too many concessions are not made to the Philistines in the way of "orchestral bands" and "promenade concerts." The Aquarium is in a two-story brick building, and has an exhibition area of about fifteen thousand square feet, or about the same as that of the new aquarium at Great Yarmouth, England. There is a rockery at one end with a pond for the sea-lion, spanned by a neat rustic bridge from which a good view is had of a large circular tank, thirty feet in diameter, and rising about eight feet from the floor. In this—pending the arrival of an octopus, the devil-fish of M. Victor Hugo, which, since the 'Toilers of the Sea,' has been the great attraction of most European aquaria—there is now a young "white whale," about fourteen feet long. He seems to have taken kindly to his confined quarters, but will probably not live long, as disease has already been detected in his lungs. Sunk in the main floor, near this, is the seal pond, now inhabited by three lively specimens. At the end of the hall, opposite the rockery, there is a sea-water tank six feet deep, twelve feet wide, and more than sixty feet long—a length surpassed in but one aquarium in Europe. This is likely to be the most interesting and instructive exhibit of all, as its size adapts it for the largest fish. Its longest occupant at present is a shark of about seven feet, but it is hoped that in due time a "man-eater" of twice this length will be added. Stretching along the wall from this tank towards the rockery is a row of sixteen tanks, twelve with a superficial area of about four by six feet, and four with an area of about ten by twelve feet. There is also a trout tank with a series of trout-hatching troughs. In all there are nineteen tanks, the same number as in the aquaria of Syden-

ham and Great Yarmouth. Nearly all are filled with sea-water, leaving only one-third of the 160,000 gallons in the dark reservoirs. This is much less than Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Saville-Kent, the leading English authorities, think essential to success; the latter holds that only one-half of the total supply should be in the show-tanks, the former only one-quarter. At the Crystal Palace the amount is only one-sixth. There are also eight small and twenty-five large fresh-water table-tanks, in one of which is a pair of alligators. Much annoyance has been caused by the bursting or blowing-out of the glass fronts of the tanks, which might probably be prevented by the use of the new toughened glass. The catalogue is not yet ready, but a pleasant reading-room has been fitted up for the free use of students, and a "workshop" is also promised for their benefit.

DANIEL DERONDA.*

II.

THE sense of dissatisfaction with the result of 'Daniel Deronda' has its source in something deeper than any of the peculiarities of the story. The reader feels that there is something disappointing in the development of George Eliot's own genius. The power, the humor, and the deep moral insight which were revealed to the public in 'Adam Bede' and 'Scenes of Clerical Life' are all to be found in 'Deronda.' The genius is still there, but the proportions of the qualities which make up the genius have, it is felt, gradually changed. Reflection prevails over description, and the moral purpose always discernible in George Eliot's works threatens to throw into the shade the author's creative power. For observation and painting are substituted analysis and reflection, and instead of the action of a drama telling its own tale, you have the reflective comment of a chorus of moralists.

The predominance of what may be fairly termed the chorus is the main characteristic by which George Eliot's earlier and later works are distinguished from one another. This chorus, it is true, is a feature of every novel which George Eliot has produced. The author at times directly, at times through the mouths of villagers or artisans, constantly reflects on the progress of the drama, notes the development of the character of heroes or heroines, and points the moral of their conduct. To object to this is futile, for to object is in effect to admit that you do not appreciate George Eliot's whole mode of thought and writing. That Mr. Main should, apparently with the author's sanction, collect together "wise, witty, and tender sayings" from George Eliot's writings may be open to remark, and certainly suggests that George Eliot thinks more of the duties of a teacher than of the reputation of an author. But any one who does not appreciate the wisdom and wit to be found in all the novels published by the author of 'Adam Bede' had better at once lay these novels aside. What we note is not the moral aim of the works but the mode in which the moral instruction they contain is now enforced. In George Eliot's earlier works the chorus kept in the background, the tale told its own moral. In 'Middlemarch,' and still more in 'Daniel Deronda,' the chorus becomes obtrusive. The aphorisms which head the chapters are long, though often impressive, texts, suggestive of a sermon, and the chorus is not kept outside the narrative, but delays the action of the piece to press home truths which intelligent readers might in many cases discover for themselves. Occasionally the result of superfluous moralizing is to produce a painful jar. Compare the following two passages from the works of the same writer, each of which deals with a somewhat similar situation.

The first describes Gwendolen's arrival at her husband's home, and the sudden revulsion of feeling produced by Mrs. Glasher's letter:

"Grandcourt entered, dressed for dinner. The sight of him brought a new nervous shock, and Gwendolen screamed again and again with hysterical violence. He had expected to see her dressed and smiling, ready to be led down. He saw her pallid, shrieking, as it seemed with terror, the jewels scattered around her on the floor. Was it a fit of madness?

"In some form or other the Furies had crossed his threshold."

The second describes the shock to Arthur Donnithorne when he returned home elated with the sense of actual heirship and future good intentions to find the letter announcing: "Hetty Sorrell is in prison, and will be tried on Friday for the crime of child-murder."

"Arthur read no more. He started from his chair, and stood for a single minute with a sense of violent convulsion in his whole frame, as if the life were going out of him with horrible throbs. But the next minute he rushed out of the room, still clutching the letter. He was hurrying along the corridor and down the stairs into the hall. Mills was still there, but Arthur did not see him as he passed like a hunted man across the hall and out along the gravel. . . . When Mills got to the stables the horse was being saddled, and Arthur was forcing himself to read the remaining words of the letter. . . .

"'Tell them I'm gone—gone to Stoniton,' he said, in a muffled tone of agitation, sprang into the saddle and set off at a gallop."

Who can read the passages side by side without seeing that in each case the horror of the situation tells its own tale, that all moralizing is out of place, and that the misplaced reference to the "Furies" risks the descent from the height of tragedy to the bathos of a sermon?

The remarks, further, of the chorus, though often striking, are sometimes more strained than impressive. A long passage which contrasts the pettiness of Gwendolen's hopes and fears with the greatness of the issues and interests raised by the war of Secession, supposed to be waged at the time of Grandcourt's courtship, concludes in these words: "What, in the midst of that mighty drama, are girls and their blind visions? They are the Yea and Nay of that good for which men are enduring and fighting. In these delicate vessels is borne onward through the ages the treasure of human affections." Here one may legitimately ponder over the precise meaning of an enigmatic sentence. When we are told that Deronda's mind "glanced over the girl tragedies that are going on in the world hidden, unheeded, like the tragedies of the copse or the hedgerow, where the helpless drag wounded wings forsakenly and streak the shadowed moss with the red moment-hand of their own death," we know well enough what is meant, and that the meaning is only too weighty; but we may reasonably suspect that the desire to give force to the author's meaning is gradually overreaching itself, and leading George Eliot to pass from the eloquence of simplicity to the affectation of conceits. The narrative of Hetty Sorrell's tragedy contains no reference to "red moment-hands."

The impression of a want of simplicity is increased by a study of the mottoes which adorn or deface each chapter. They are often effective: a stanza which forms the motto of the second volume compresses into seven striking lines the moral of the whole book. But any one who doubts that the long-winded reflections taken from the commonplace-book or the unpublished works of George Eliot afford examples of the way in which a statement that has a meaning may be overloaded by the conceits in which it is expressed, should examine carefully the motto to the first chapter, and consider honestly whether a rather commonplace sentiment is not beaten out into an inordinate number of words.

But to criticise the minor defects of a great writer is poor work, and it would not be worth while to notice strained expressions did they not afford a sign of the transition from description to analysis, which is the characteristic and, in our judgment, the defect of our author's later works. The tendency to over-analysis produces its most disastrous effect when George Eliot places before the reader a character such as that of Deronda, on which has been expended an infinity of thought and labor. There is something absolutely painful in the kind of vivisection to which his physical and moral qualities are subjected. Of his eyes, his voice, his complexion, the expressiveness of his countenance, and his perfect beauty we hear more than enough. The unravelling of his moral nature gives rise, no doubt, to suggestions which are in themselves full of instruction. "His plenteous, flexible sympathy had ended by falling into one current with that reflective analysis which tends to neutralize sympathy. Few men were able to keep themselves clearer of vices than he, yet he hated vices mildly, being used to think of them less in the abstract than as a part of mixed human natures which it was the bent of his mind to trace with understanding and pity." In these sentences is contained a profound explanation of that strange combination, which in modern days is often found to exist, of moral purity with the absence of indignation at vice. If you seek for an explanation of the fact that men who are virtuous and love virtue yet scarcely know the feeling which theologians call an abhorrence of sin, you cannot do better than study the passage we have quoted. But as page after page is filled with reflection of a similar kind, the reader feels that he is studying an instructive essay on human nature, but is not obtaining a picture of Deronda. The author, too, is dissatisfied, and, returning again and again to the hero's character, retouches a portrait which the very painter seems hardly to consider a likeness. When dealing with minor characters or carried away by the stress of the drama, George Eliot falls back on artistic instinct and paints with a bold hand. Hence Sir Hugh, Klesmer, Miss Arrowpoint, the Princess, and Joseph Kalonymos are full of life, whilst Deronda, and even to a certain extent Gwendolen, are bundles of qualities.

The deficiency, however, in the portrait of Gwendolen is only an indirect result of George Eliot's passion for reflection and analysis. Her character is rather incomplete than indistinct. The author has expended so much space on the elucidation of the play of varying motive and senti-

* 'Daniel Deronda. By George Eliot.' 2 vols. New York: Harper & Bros.

ment which decides Deronda's conduct, that she seems to have wanted the space needed to fill in the outlines even of her most important characters. Gwendolen's selfishness, waywardness, and caprice are made clearly apparent. Why a girl so selfish should have felt as many much better women would not have felt the wrong done to Mrs. Glasher, is never made really clear. The process of her "conversion," for no other term describes the awakening of her conscience, is itself rather hinted at than explained. The horror of something like the guilt of murder is intelligible enough. The sensitiveness of conscience which kept Gwendolen miserable in the midst of prosperity, before the commission of what the world would have held a great crime, needs more explanation than it receives. The grandest tale George Eliot has written has for its theme a woman's salvation from sin and misery under the influence of a man better than herself. No one ever felt they needed further explanation either of the repentance of Janet or of the influence of Mr. Tryan. Gwendolen's conversion will always remain a but half-explained enigma. Something the same may be said of Grandcourt's character. A motto to one of the chapters hints that Grandcourt exhibited the complete development of selfishness. His soul had morally died before his physical death. Such things may be, but one feels that some of the reflections lavished on the character of Deronda might have been well employed in drawing out with more clearness the steps by which Grandcourt had sunk from a man into a mere incarnation of joyless selfishness.

Another result of George Eliot's habit of analysis is that there exists occasionally a great difference between the portrait of a hero which George Eliot presents to the public and the effect which the hero's character makes on the author's own mind. This was conspicuously apparent in the case of Will Ladislaw. The same thing is true of Deronda. We can scarcely be mistaken in supposing that Daniel is meant to portray a character coming near to human perfection, in which all the strength and energy of a man are blended with the sensitive tenderness and keen personal sympathies of a woman. It is at bottom his perfect goodness which appears to have roused the conscience of Gwendolen. His exquisitely sensitive conscience enabled him to save Gwendolen when many men in his position would have been false to her or to themselves. Yet, despite the art used to make Deronda's virtues apparent to the reader, it may well be doubted whether the man, as actually drawn, will kindle much admiration even amongst those who most highly admire George Eliot's genius. He is incurably weak. He is at every stage of his life a slave to circumstances. He never ventures to ask Sir Hugh whether he is the baronet's son, and through life was thus oppressed by an unfounded belief in his own illegitimacy. He can determine on no career till fate or the influence of Mordecai forces him to take up a pursuit in life. A question from his mother reveals to him that he is in love. A question from a stranger determines him to devote himself to the service of his countrymen. Accident and the suggestion of a friend lead him to propose to Mirah. No doubt he is full of kindliness and sympathy, but his character has a painful touch of what may fairly be called "priestly," though not in the worst sense of that word. He has a genuine concern for the souls of his neighbors, especially when these neighbors are pretty women. He sermonizes and flirts at the same time, though both the flirtation and the sermonizing are unconscious. His mixed weakness and sympathy lead, as is natural, to cruelty. He puts off revealing to Gwendolen his marriage and his plans till that revelation becomes the hardest of blows to the woman whom his influence had aroused to goodness. He has, it is true, a charm. His mother calls him a "beautiful creature," and throughout the whole description of the interview between son and mother you feel it difficult to think she is not addressing a daughter. The interview is perfectly true to nature. Here as elsewhere George Eliot's drawing is truer than George Eliot's reflections on the character drawn. Daniel remains morally as well as physically a "beautiful creature." It is not of such stuff that reformers are made. When Deronda wanders off to the East we feel sure that he will travel about year after year doing deeds of kindness and cherishing noble aspirations, but further removed than even a passionate dreamer like Mordecai from working out any deliverance either for his people or for mankind. George Eliot might urge that our estimate of Deronda is unjust. We doubt not that in a sense this is so. Our very point is that from some cause or other Deronda is so drawn as not to produce the intended impression on the reader. That this failure to ensure an intended effect is closely connected with George Eliot's increasing tendency to analysis is at least highly probable. This tendency is at any rate the real cause of all the legitimate dissatisfaction which many of those who most keenly appreciate 'Adam Bede,' 'Romola,' 'Silas Marner,' or 'Middlemarch' feel with regard to 'Daniel Deronda.' The book is a marvellous production. It exhibits all and perhaps more than all the power of George Eliot's earlier works, but as you read it you feel that throughout reflection predominates over spontaneous creation, and that the chorus usurps the place of the actors. Admiration for the result of labor and meditation cannot banish regret for the abundant life of 'Adam Bede' or the unbroken harmony of 'Silas Marner.'

Wiener Spaziergänge. Von D. Spitzer. (Vienna: L. Rosner; New York: E. Steiger.)—The French *feuilleton*, never successfully transplanted into English soil, has found a more congenial home in Germany, whose leading journals assiduously cultivate the tender foreign plant. Pre-eminent among them stand the journals of Vienna, and notably the *Neue Freie Presse*, whose literary excellence is perhaps most conspicuous in its *rez-de-chaussée*—the cozy department, at the bottom of the first page, to which the reader may turn for relaxation from the weighty leader above. The corps of feuilletonists attached to this journal includes at least one writer—the musical critic Hanslick—who to the elegance of his French prototypes joins the solidity of the German scholar, and the influence of whose criticism recalls the autocratic sway of Jules Janin, the famous dramatic *lundiste* of the *Journal des Débats*. While musical criticism, as such, barely falls within the limits of that not easily definable term "feuilleton," we may regard as typical of their kind the weekly rambles ("Wiener Spaziergänge") of Herr Spitzer, which were first published in the *Presse* and *Deutsche Zeitung*, and have now become a characteristic feature of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Perhaps no European metropolis offers so fruitful a field to the satirical observer as the gay capital of the "country of impossibilities," and the collection before us shows that their author has turned his opportunities to good account. He has a keen eye for the political and social incongruities of the complex society around him, and his peculiar wit, the affected naïveté of his humor, render this collection of feuilletons entertaining long after their fleeting subjects have ceased to be talked about. And in Austria the political topics of the day change rapidly, the history of only a few years displaying a bewildering variety. The constitutional Austro-Hungarian of to-day, safe under Auersperg-Andrássy, recalls with a smile the Czech proclivities of the government in 1871, when Herr Spitzer wrote of the "truly Austrian ministry Jirecek-Habietinek":

"What wonderful progress the world has made! What was least esteemed, most insignificant, and utterly valueless passes into notice and assumes importance and value. Sweepings are turned into gold, perfumes are obtained from the most unæsthetic substances, and the most insignificant men become ministers. Must we not bow our heads in humility when we see that in nature the smallest grain of dust and the most Czech of aulic councillors play an important part? . . . . . The *Wiener-Zeitung* has published a commentary on the new ministry, for our ministers, like a ballet, cannot be clearly understood without a programme. When the prima-ballerina elevates herself upon the toes of her right foot, and points the left at the boxes, then the programme acquaints us that this means, in the flowery language of the feet, that the struggle between love and duty rages fiercely in the breast of Fatima. And when new ministers make their début, whom nobody knows, because until now they have reposed in silence, then the ministerial programme tells us that this means that the new ministry is a 'truly Austrian ministry.' In my opinion, it will only tend to augment the existing confusion of ideas if we call the new ministry with two unknown quantities, as the mathematicians would say, a truly Austrian one. . . . . As from now on we are to have a truly Austrian government, it seems we have until now enjoyed only apparently Austrian governments."

When, in the House of Peers, Schmerling, the Austrian chief-justice, defended Windischgrätz against the epithets of "tyrant" and "egoist" bestowed on him by the *Neue Freie Presse*, and remarked that by Windischgrätz's orders only two or three prominent men, besides a few others, had been executed, Herr Spitzer wrote:

"And, indeed, for so little blood, in which a well-proportioned tyrant could hardly wade up to his breast, one of our generals is denounced as an egoist! Vienna likes to take on the airs of a large city; but if, as befits such a one, two or three prominent men, besides a ridiculously small number of insignificant ones, are shot, the whole city talks about it, and years afterwards journalists again dish up the stale gossip. 'What else could Windischgrätz have done?' asked the eulogist of the valorous general. The answer to this difficult question which occurs to us is so simple that we venture to write it down only with the greatest diffidence. We are of opinion that the prince, who had his unhappy victims shot, might, among other things, perhaps not have had them shot. But the prince was probably so preoccupied with important affairs that he did not hit upon this simple expedient; and this is the less surprising as his apologist, who has had more time for reflection, did not think of it either."

This humor, it will be seen, is not of the genial kind; it is strongly subjective, and not particular as to the means of its effectiveness. So able a writer as Alfred Meissner has called Herr Spitzer one of the wittiest minds Germany has produced since the days of Heine; unfortunately, the "Spaziergänge," too, are occasionally tainted by the coarseness which is the besetting sin of wits.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1876.

The Week.

THE President's South Carolina proclamation has called out a good deal of bitter denunciation from the Democrats. Their argument on the subject is that, as the use of troops is made to rest upon the clause in the Constitution authorizing the national Government to "protect" any State against "domestic violence," on application of the Legislature "or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened)," apart from the question whether anything like what is called "domestic violence" does or not exist in South Carolina, the case contemplated by the Constitution is one in which the *State government* is seriously imperilled. In such a case it is obviously proper that if neither branch of it can enforce the law the United States should interfere. But Governor Chamberlain has made no effort to enforce the law, and he might perfectly well have called together the Legislature. On the other hand, who is to be the judge in such a matter? If the governor of a State solemnly protests that he cannot convene the Legislature (there may be a great many reasons for his inability to do so), and he convinces the President of this fact, as well as of the existence of "domestic violence," it may fairly be said that it is a matter of discretion whether troops shall be sent or not. Whether this view is sound or not, there is certainly no show of resistance in South Carolina to the United States. The troops already in the State before the proclamation was issued had been received with entire good-will. The campaign orators have talked themselves into such a fury over the "rebel spirit," and "outrages," and the "Confederate House," that they almost believe there is going to be another war; but in this they are mistaken. The Southerners may intimidate the negro, but the submissive spirit they show the moment they see a file of soldiers is the best proof we could have that military interference at the South must soon come to an end.

The only legislation on this subject that we know of is contained in Sec. 5,297 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that "in case of an insurrection in any State against the government thereof, it shall be lawful for the President, on application of the Legislature of such State, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, to call forth such number of the militia of any other State or States which may be applied for as he deems sufficient to suppress such insurrection; or, on like application, to employ for the same purposes such part of the land or naval forces as he deems necessary." This covers only "insurrection," and we suppose the word is to be taken as a synonym of the "domestic violence" coupled with it in the Constitution. Sec. 5,299 does, to be sure, provide that the President may employ the militia or the regular forces, or take such "other means as he may deem necessary," in a number of cases of "insurrection," "domestic violence," "unlawful combinations," or "conspiracies," the statute itself making these acts a denial of the "equal protection of the laws" under the Fourteenth Amendment. But the proclamation does not refer to this provision, and the words "insurrection and domestic violence" were probably used because both occur in the Constitution, and on the supposition that the statute covers both.

The Republicans have been for some time devoting themselves industriously to creating an impression that one of the great dangers from the accession of the Democrats to power would be the payment of the "Southern claims"—*i.e.*, the rebel debt, claims for losses of slaves, and claims for loss or damage incurred by rebels arising out of the war. Mr. Hewitt has now published a letter from Mr. Tilden fully disposing of these charges. He says that the first two classes of claims are provided against by the Fourteenth Amendment which has been "repeatedly approved and agreed to" by Southern Democratic conventions, and formally adopted as a part of the St. Louis platform, and that his own position on this subject has been previously declared on many occasions. The third class of claims, whether covered or not by the Fourteenth Amendment, he looks upon in the same way, and declares that, should he be elected President, so far as depends on him "no rebel debt will be assumed or paid," "no claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave will be allowed," and "no claim for any loss or damage incurred by disloyal persons arising from the late war, whether covered by the Fourteenth Amendment or not, will be recognized or paid." Further than this, "the cotton tax will not be refunded," but Mr. Tilden says he will deem it his duty to "veto every bill" looking to the payment of such claims. He then goes on to state that in his opinion the real danger to the Treasury is not from the rebel but from the "loyal" Southern claims—*i.e*, claims arising out of acts caused by the operations of war. Such claims are, he says, "disowned by the public law of civilized nations," condemned by decisions of the Supreme Court, and have no standing except by specific acts of Congress. They are often tainted with fraud, and should always be "scrutinized with jealous care."

The outcry raised in the newspapers at the supposed determination of Boss Kelly to put up Mr. Augustus Schell for Mayor has apparently induced the Boss to relent, and he has substituted Mr. Smith Ely, jr., in Mr. Schell's place. This is a much better nomination. Mr. Ely is a merchant of unblemished character, who has the advantage of a great deal of political experience of a trying kind. He was in the old Board of Supervisors, voted against all of Tweed's fraudulent schemes, and, when he became convinced of Tweed's villany, dropped his acquaintance and refused to speak to him. This is spoken of as much in Mr. Ely's favor, and indeed it is the only instance that we know of on record in the late history of the city of a politician's dropping a Boss's acquaintance on the score of character. The rest of the ticket might be better than it is, but the person on it who is most violently abused just at present is the candidate for Surrogate, Mr. Delano C. Calvin. Mr. Calvin was nominated last year, and was beaten by the combination of Republicans and Anti-Tammany, but was afterwards made Surrogate by appointment to fill a vacancy. The charge against him is that, as referee, he allowed a claim against the city for legal services which was on its face excessive and fraudulent. The services covered a period of several years, and the amount of the award was nearly four hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Calvin's answer is that the allowance was fair, and made in accordance with common rules applicable to the case. There seems to be no proof of fraudulent motive, and the counsel for the city in the reference entirely acquits Mr. Calvin of any improper intention. It is also to be noticed that the case was appealable, so the decision did not settle it. At the same time, the case has subjected Mr. Calvin to a good deal of suspicion, and the nomination, under the circumstances, is rather a proof of the Boss's goodness of heart and staunchness in friendship than of far-seeing statesmanship. In the same way, we should have preferred not to see Mr. Richard Croker nominated for coroner. Mr. Croker is principally known as having been unfortunately "mixed up" in a row at the polls, a year ago, in which a man named McKenna was killed, and had the further bad luck to fall under suspicion of having killed him. Of this he was acquitted; but being acquitted of a charge of murder does not of itself constitute a high recommendation to office. Nominations like these, however, are among the inseparable consequences of Boss-government, which, even when tempered by reform editorials, is not perfect.

Ex-Governor Claflin's letter accepting the Republican nomination for Congress in Massachusetts has been published as a reply to those who assailed his nomination on account of his financial views as expressed in his address last April. In it he strongly condemns any repeal of the Resumption Act as likely to prove disastrous in its effects on business, but this is all he says about finance. He makes no correction of his wild views about the propriety of keeping all the greenbacks afloat, and in fact making the Government a permanent issuer of paper currency, or about "the importance" of giving the Secretary the power of suspending specie payments at his discretion. He is, therefore, still an unsafe man to send to Congress. He cannot since last April have reached firm financial ground, and he does not pretend that he has. That address, which was a deliberate and elaborate essay, showed that he had not reflected carefully on financial matters, and was not familiar with the history of finance, and had his head filled with the loose and crude notions that one hears in bar-rooms and street-cars. The proposal about suspension, in fact, revealed complete mental confusion about the very foundations of government, both in its relations to finance and executive responsibility. Such men as he cannot be trusted in Congress at this crisis on the strength of a regulation letter accepting a platform. No one can tell what muddle he would get into in the next Congress, or what crotchet he would become enamored of. If we are to have "reform within the party," worthy citizens like Mr. Claflin must be left at home in their counting-houses, where they will do most good and least harm, and the party creed must be sharply and clearly defined, and candidates sternly and strictly held to it. Vague concurrence in "tendencies" or "impulses" or "views" will not do any longer.

A curious case of "intimidation" in Secretary Chandler's Department has recently been made public. It appears that Mr. W. A. Babcock, an employee of the Patent-Office, had been promoted by rigid competitive examinations to the post of first assistant-examiner, and had given every evidence of capacity and fidelity in the discharge of his duties. Last spring, as Mr. Babcock is a Connecticut man, the Republican Committee of that State called upon him to vote their ticket, or to contribute something to the expenses of the canvass. This was a very moderate request, because commonly the practice is to demand both the vote and the pay, the voter in addition bearing his own expenses to and from Washington. But Mr. Babcock preferred to consider himself abstracted from politics, and disregarded the application as well as the threats of dismissal which accompanied it. The committee then had recourse to a higher power, and the examiner was speedily informed that charges had been preferred against him before Secretary Chandler on the ground of his refusal either to vote or pay money for political purposes, and that the Secretary desired a "report" on these two points. Mr. Babcock's report was that of a man of principle, but also, perhaps, that of a subordinate not duly mindful of the respect due his superior; and almost immediately after the spring election he was discharged, certainly to the detriment of the public service in the Patent-Office. Mr. Babcock's complaint, however, that because he is not a negro laborer and Chandler is not a Southern planter, he cannot invoke an act of Congress to punish the latter for "intimidation" and interference with the freedom of the ballot in his case, excites our astonishment. Has he never read in our columns the axiom laid down by Mr. George Bliss, that "an active interest in public affairs is and should be a recommendation to office, just as inattention to them should be a disqualification"?

The success of the Exhibition at Philadelphia has induced the Park Commissioners to permit the Main Building to remain permanently, subject to a right of terminating the permission at two years' notice, and the use of the hall for the purposes of an exhibition "for the pleasure and instruction of the public," at a low price of admission. As the Centennial draws to an end, it is becoming more and more clear that, from a pecuniary point of view, the show, if not a success, will come further from being a failure than almost any of its predecessors—a result for which the managers ought to thank devoutly the newspapers, which by their hostile criticism prevented the enterprise, in its earlier stages, from being saddled upon the Government. The energy and business sagacity which they have since shown would probably have been completely paralyzed, if those connected with it had once got the idea that the Treasury was going to help them over all their difficulties. The number of admissions has far exceeded expectation. The small size of the population drawn upon as compared with Europe made it seem likely that Philadelphia would fare badly; but though the influx of foreigners has not been great, this country has made up for the deficiency, and the devices for attracting crowds on days devoted to particular States have drawn out unexpected numbers, until the calculations now made show a probability of not less than eight or nine million admissions at the close of the fair.

The home and foreign financial markets were agitated during the week by news relating to Turkish affairs. The tenor of this news changed from day to day, but at the close of the week the conclusion in the various markets was, that while war is among the possibilities of the not-distant future, it is not imminent. Gold, which bounded up to 113¼ when war was first reported, settled down before the close of the week to 109⅝ and 110. In London, Consols, which fell from 96⅛ to 93⅝ on the same news, recovered to 94⅞ and 95. Sterling exchange here, which in the first flurry advanced to 4.86½ for demand bills, fell to 4.85½, the rise in gold having made possible a large increase in the supply of commercial bills. In the markets for breadstuffs and provisions there was a great advance early in the week and the markets had a decidedly strong tone; a good part of the advance in prices was subsequently lost, and the tone was, at the close, the reverse of strong. Naturally, the commotion in the foreign markets interfered with the sale abroad of new U. S. 4½ per cent. bonds, and by unsettling the price of gold here had the same effect in this market. Silver in London has advanced to 53*d.* per ounce English standard. Our Government is buying at $1 15 per ounce, 1,000 fine, and the home market is not much above that price, which would make the gold value of the old silver dollar $0.8894. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between $0.8988 and $0.9122.

One of the latest "campaign stories" has been that "letters received in Washington" from London stated that the Syndicate would not make any further subscription to the new four and a half per cent loan until after the election, and that if Tilden should be elected no more bonds would be taken for fear lest the Democrats should issue more paper money, and wipe out the Resumption Act. Mr. Belmont has written to the papers stoutly denying this, he being the agent of the Rothschilds, the principal founders of the Syndicate, and saying, with much show of reason, that if there was any such feeling he would undoubtedly have heard of it. The *Evening Post* was the author of the note, and being thus assailed, it produced Mr. Morrill in corroboration, who says in substance that it is only too true. We have, as supporters of Hayes, done our very best to believe it, but have had to give up the attempt, because people who take these loans in Europe are usually guided by the opinions of the bankers who place them, and these bankers, of course, know perfectly well that the Republicans will have a majority in the Senate, and at least an equality in the House for two years, at the shortest, of the next Presidential term, and that, therefore, there is no danger (supposing them to trust the Republicans, as they are said to do), of any measure of repudiation. In fact, we

think there was a good deal of winking in "headquarters" and "editorial sanctums" when this story was started. Of course, the charge in the Democratic platform that a change was needed in order to restore the credit of the Government was mere verbiage. The credit of the Government *is* good—considering the performances of Congress during the last ten years, wonderfully good—but its goodness is not due to wise legislation or prudent management, or to anything else for which a party can take credit. It is due to the fact that an enormous load of taxation, imposed with little or no care or skill or knowledge, has been patiently and bravely met by an industrious and honest people, and that the officers of the Government, instead of running off with the money or dividing it among themselves, have used a part of it to pay the interest on the public debt. This is all there is in the Republican share in restoring the public credit. Which of the two parties has tried most to damage the public credit by their bills and acts and resolutions and platforms and public speeches we should find it very hard to decide positively, but we think that, on the whole, considering the smallness of their opportunities, the Democrats are entitled to the palm. The most serious blow ever struck at the public credit was the Inflation Act of 1874, which the President vetoed, and for this both parties were responsible: the Republicans were divided, and the Democrats turned the scale.

It may be laid down as one of the first principles of national finance that the credit of a country is composed of all the contingencies that arise out of its political system. That is to say, when capitalists lend to a constitutional government they do not lend on the hypothesis that one party will remain in power; they take into account the possibility that the other party may get into power, and if the other party be unmistakably repudiationist, the fact shows itself in the rate of interest. The notion that the United States could borrow at four and a half per cent. if lenders really believed that the Democrats—a party comprising very nearly one-half the voting population, and only beaten by 9,000 or 10,000 in constituencies of 500,000—would repudiate if they succeeded in a Presidential contest or secured a majority in Congress, may therefore be pronounced absurd. A country situated as some Republican papers try to make foreigners believe the United States is, could not borrow at ten per cent., or even twelve. Our Government paid twelve in 1860, because it was well known that trouble was brewing and that an attempt at disruption might occur at any time. It only pays four and a half now, not because foreigners believe the Republican party to be a holy party and always sure of office, but because they believe the majority of the people of the Union are honest, intelligent, industrious, and patriotic, and careful of the national honor, and will remain so whatever party may be in power, and that the Government rests on solid and enduring foundations.

We have discussed elsewhere the present condition of the Turco-Servian quarrel. The way in which Russia reached her present advanced position appears to have been this: Austria, which has all along been made timid and suspicious by the growth of the Herzegovinian insurrection into a Slavic "movement," and which dreads either the rise of a Slavic power on her border or a Slavic addition to her own population, got completely out of patience over the elevation of Prince Milan to a kingship by the Servian army, and sent strong messages of disapproval to Belgrade. This was, of course, reported to St. Petersburg, and drew forth an autograph letter from the Czar to the Emperor, which was sent to Vienna by special messenger; it proposed the occupation of Bulgaria by Russia, and of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, and the strict definition of the term "autonomy" for these provinces used in the English proposals of accommodation, so as to make it mean quasi-independence, like that of Servia. In the meantime the Porte was struggling with Sir Henry Elliott, who was bullying it under instructions from home, and adroitly met his plan of reform for the revolted provinces by offering to spread "reform" over the whole Empire through a Grand Council, and a number of local councils, containing representatives of both creeds, which is, of course, mere trifling. The reply of Austria has apparently either not proved satisfactory, or has satisfied the Czar that he has nothing to fear from her in the way of positive opposition. He has accordingly announced his intention of occupying Bulgaria, but it seems likely that it will not be carried out at once, and that there is time for further negotiation. The latest accounts seem to indicate that the British Government does not expect war, but will probably treat any hostile advance in the direction of Constantinople as justifying precautions of some kind on its own part.

A second Russian messenger to Vienna has not, it appears, brought Austria to terms; but, on the other hand, neither Austria nor any other Power has supported the Turkish proposal of a six months' armistice as against the Servo-Russian one of a six weeks' armistice, and there has been, within a week, a meeting of the diplomatists at the Russian Embassy at Constantinople; General Ignatieff, the Minister, having returned from Livadia, the Czar's country-house in the Crimea, doubtless fully charged with the Imperial views. The main point of difference between England and Russia now is as to the degree of interference with the internal administration of Turkey which must take place. Russia would exercise foreign military supervision over the execution of the reforms, while England would trust more to mere foreign civil supervision, or the more active and complete participation of the Christians in the local government, while Turkey would like to put aside the whole matter by means of a grand scheme of general reform. Turkey, in short, desires "reform within the party," while the Powers want to put in a few outsiders to see what is going on, and make sure that the agreement is kept. In fact, there is no wrong-doer in the world who, if he has to reform, does not prefer "reform within the party"—that is, to be allowed to reform himself at his own time and in his own way—and who cannot always give you a dozen reasons why self-reform is likely to be far safer and more efficacious than reform imposed by external pressure. Austria, it is now announced, is willing to go into the joint occupation, if requested to do so by the Six Signatory Powers (of the treaty of Paris), but in that case she will operate against Servia and compel the break up of the Russo-Servian force. Hostilities have been resumed between the Turks and Servians, and the Turks appear to have turned the right wing of the position at Alexinatz.

The Russian threat that it will occupy Armenia as well as Bulgaria is due to the increasing complaints of "atrocities" and acts of oppression which come in from that quarter, and which have been published at Constantinople by a leading Armenian merchant in that city. The province is remote and rarely reached by travellers, and the unfortunate Armenians are in contact with the Kurds, the most barbarous of the Turkish hordes, who pillage and murder them, and carry off their women, and forcibly convert them to Mohammedanism, with great frequency. The only organs of communication with the Government which the Christians possess are their own bishops, but even these have been cowed into silence. The old Derelegs too, or former feudal lords of the region, who lost their privileges years ago by the Tanzimat, or body of reformatory legislation growing out of the declaration of principles called the Khatti Sherif of Gulhani, issued in 1839, have nevertheless ever since tried to compensate themselves for the loss of their dues by open plunder. These evils are, of course, aggravated just at present by the religious excitement of the Mohammedan population; so that Russia will be able to supply plenty of justification on paper for any overt acts of interference to which she may now choose to proceed.

THE POLITICAL RETROSPECT.

FIVE months ago there was no one who did not concede that the great contest between the Republican and Democratic parties was to be essentially a personal one. Had it been otherwise—had the two parties been sharply contrasted by fixed lines of policy rigidly enforced within the party ranks; had they not, in fact, been divided and tolerant of division on almost all the leading questions of the day—the interest in the nominations at St. Louis and Cincinnati would have been quite different from what it actually was. There was, it is not too much to say, a general agreement that, in respect of consistency of purpose and title to assume the reins of government, the parties were equal. If, on the one hand, the Democratic leaders still showed Bourbonish instincts, and the Democratic rank-and-file still included the lowest elements of our population, it was felt that a strong and able man like Tilden might infuse new ideas into the one and keep in check the other. If, on the other hand, the Republican leaders were hopelessly wedded to the corrupt practices of men who wish to retain themselves at all hazards in power, and incapable of initiating reform within the party, it was hoped that Hayes might resist, and, if not overcome them, at least expose them in their true light to a party on the whole favorable to good government and not desirous of being led by knaves. In short, party discipline, by drying up the springs of independent action, had reduced both constituencies to a nonentity, and the country practically to the condition of Russia, in which reform can proceed from the Czar alone—from above, and not from below.

In this state of things, when the revival of the Democratic South and the growth of Republican dissatisfaction at the North made the election certain to be a close one, what was the proper policy of the Republican politicians, whether editors of newspapers or stump orators? Their natural course as politicians was to accept and even to insist upon the personal issue. Not only, however, as we have shown, did this involve the fatal concession of a practical equality between the parties, but it may safely be said that no Presidential election within the memory of the younger generation has been determined by campaign charges directed against a candidate. Such charges would not be so frequent as they are if the utterers of them ever supposed they would pass current without discount, and in practice men make so much allowance for them that no newspaper's character for veracity is ever judged by its "campaign supplement." But there is still another ground on which the policy of personal detraction seems ill-advised. When a party which has never depended on personal leadership for its cohesion begins to go to pieces, it is not to be saved by attacking the opposite leader. This is all the more true of the Republican party the more you admit that they are controlled by moral motives. So long as it is not Grant but "Grantism"—*i.e.*, the Senatorial administration of the country for the past ten years—which disturbs the minds of the conscientious, and prepares them for the desperate step of quitting the party ranks, the appeal is misdirected which consists in blackening any individual on the other side. To hold them in place, to recover their allegiance, to re-cement the half-detached fragments of the party, it is necessary to awaken enthusiasm for a principle whose very advocacy will have the desired purifying and elevating effect. It seemed for a moment as if the folly which nominated Hendricks at St. Louis had furnished the means of consolidating the Republican party, by making the financial question the paramount interest of the campaign. A statesman of high aims could have asked no better opportunity of conducting the canvass so that at the end, no matter who was elected, his party would have acquired at least one shibboleth, and received valuable instruction in the science of political economy.

Civil-service reform was, of course, the alternative text from which to derive the duty of standing by the Republican party. But in this case the task was harder, because decency would have required the temporary shelving of leaders whose "record" was hostile or unpromising, and there were many more of such than there were of repudiationists and inflationists. Still, the attempt was worth making, especially because professions of ability to bring about reform within the party could hardly be tested in any other way. On every other question public opinion can sooner or later make itself felt and have its way; on this it has hitherto been impotent and is still at the mercy of the Machinists. Both parties having been compelled to declare civil-service reform an article of their creed, the rôle of whichever was in earnest about it was to state clearly what steps it meant to take to carry out the reform. One good result of this would have been to draw out a rival programme, and then, whether Hayes or Tilden got the Presidency, we should have had an administration pledged to do something definite towards the separation of politics and office-holding. It is needless to say that here again the Republicans, with rare exceptions, shirked a public duty, and lost a chance that may not recur in four years to educate the people on the most vital point in the conduct of any government. The canvass is nearly at an end, and it cannot be pretended that during any part of it "the schoolmaster was abroad." If voters have learned anything at all; if they are prepared to select their representatives with more care, or to discern paper-money fallacies that lately imposed on them, or to favor measures directed against Congressional patronage, they owe it to accident and not to any concert on the part of Republican orators. It is significant that in a State like Massachusetts, not closely contested, the regular Republican nominations for Congress are mostly of a low and in part of the lowest order, and will either neutralize the influence of the State or cast it in favor of a dishonest currency, a corrupt civil service, and an irrational treatment of the South.

A campaign of reason may have seemed hopeless to the National Executive Committee, headed by Secretary Chandler. A campaign of feeling was easy and familiar. The war-chord has for ten years been struck on every occasion, and it has not yet snapt. The Republicans deliberately made all other questions subordinate to the Southern question; it has been everywhere given prominence in the canvass, and it has culminated in the apotheosis of Blaine. We have their word for it, therefore, that the South will be the chief occupation of the incoming administration, and they have narrowed the debate for the independent voter to the one query: Will the Southern problem be soonest and most effectually disposed of, with the greatest benefit to the country, by Hayes or by Tilden? Such a narrowing can hardly be thought politic. The independent voter might better have been allowed to weigh the candidates and the parties on half a dozen grounds—on as many as ingenuity could suggest. Suppose we were told that the decision turned upon the superior Puritan ancestry of Hayes or Tilden; or upon the one being married and the other a bachelor; or upon the one having served in the army and the other having always been a civilian; or upon the one having been a criminal lawyer and the other a civil lawyer. This would make voting easy, but it might not help the side that imposed so restricted a choice. So in the case of the two parties, a voter might feel safer with the Republicans on financial and civil-service grounds, while, looking simply at the South, he would see more hope in a thorough change of administration. Those who have always thought the condition of the South the main question, or who now take the party's word for it that it is so, are at once confronted with the results of Republican attempts to grapple with it. A candid study of these results, it must be frankly said even by an intending supporter of Hayes, would not be favorable to the party's pretensions. It would not appear that they have any claims to further indulgence in experiment with so delicate and fundamental a problem. The capacity they have shown for *not* settling it is all the capacity that can be inferred from their recent history, and if they demand to be tried on this issue alone the verdict is already made up.

We do not say that in our opinion the election of Tilden would be of happier omen, at once for the South and for the whole country, than Hayes's. As in so many of the points of difference between them, we can calculate with tolerable certainty what will happen if Tilden succeeds, while we can only hope in the case of Hayes.

But the hope we cherish with regard to the South is one which does honor to the Republican party—we mean the men who compose it, not the men who "run" it. That Mr. Hayes will be neither arbitrary, nor unconstitutional, nor prone to interfere, like his predecessor, we are willing to believe; and we confess that if he could become the exponent of the real sentiment of the North towards the South, which is not one of oppressiveness nor even unfriendliness, we should consider it a surer guaranty of lasting peace and reconciliation than a sudden turn-about by a Democratic *deus ex machinâ*. As we intimated last week, it would be a positive misfortune to excite any illusions in the breasts of Southern Hotspurs. An administration firmly holding to the constitutional results of the war, but recognizing the errors of carpet-bag reconstruction, and able to convince the South of its sincerity, seems to us likely to obliterate more speedily the traces of war than an administration which the South itself has had a hand in electing. We advance this opinion for what it is worth. Our only concern is to point out that the stress laid upon the Southern question as overshadowing every other may prove to have been all that was needed to decide the wavering to vote against Hayes, when a larger liberty to weigh the merits of the two parties might have ended in striking a balance in his favor.

THE TURKISH CRISIS.

THE crisis in European politics brought about by the Turkish war gains in interest and presents new phases every week. The excitement over the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, indeed, promises to furnish one of the most curious episodes in recent political history. The British public was clearly thrown off its balance by the horrors to which it was treated, and the fury against the Turks rose with tremendous rapidity under the influence of Lord Beaconsfield's flippancy and Mr. Gladstone's burning rhetoric. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone forms the oddest figure in the fray. He has always had an ocean of rhetoric in him with which he would long ago have deluged the country if he had not been held in check by the *convenances* of official life; and the liberty to pour it forth in and out of season which his retirement from official life brought him, was probably more than compensation for the loss of power. Having disposed of the Pope, he was perhaps looking around for a new foe, when the Turk appeared on the scene with his dripping sabre, and received a glowing pamphlet full in the face, calling for the expulsion of the whole Mohammedan population from Europe, and otherwise "waving the bloody shirt," as we should say, in a frantic manner. He was backed up by a wonderful popular uprising, in which the distrust of Russia on Turkish matters was talked of as an antiquated superstition, and the Ministry was called on to do something decisive to the Turkish Empire. The news of this, of course, spread rapidly in the East, and produced its effect in hardening the Servians in their resistance, which was probably what was expected; but it was probably not foreseen that it would precipitate Russian action, and this is nevertheless what has happened. The scene has completely changed since England's refusal to co-operate and her sending the fleet to Besika Bay, which killed the Berlin Memorandum. Under the news of the English anti-Turkish agitation the Servians have risen from despondency and timidity into obstinacy and arrogance; the Russian volunteers have poured into Tchernaieff's camp in greater numbers than ever; and Tchernaieff himself, as if feeling the importance of keeping the pot boiling, has begun telegraphing accounts of "atrocities" to the London *Daily News*, just as Governor Chamberlain or Senator Spencer might send on stories of "outrages" to the New York *Times* during this canvass. The general Continental opinion, in fact, appears to be that the popular excitement in England has paralyzed the Ministry and effectually prevented it from taking any decided action on the Turkish side, and this impression speedily led to Russia's abruptly separating herself from the other mediators and announcing her intention of occupying Bulgaria and portions of Armenia in the interest of humanity, or, in other words, declaring war.

In the meantime a sobering process has begun in England, and Russia's action has doubtless greatly hastened it. The complexity of the Turkish problem was not plain during the excitement over the massacres, but it is now very plain indeed. Lord Derby's question, "What do you want us to do?" is producing visible embarrassment among those who have been loudest in their denunciations of him. Suppose Russia should invade Turkey in great force, and Germany should refrain from interfering, and Austria be afraid to interfere, and Turkey were to collapse suddenly, as she probably would, i England to allow Constantinople to be occupied? If she does, is she to take no fresh precautions for the security of her Indian communications, and if so, what? These are weighty questions, and they cannot be answered at public meetings, and many of the agitators apparently feel on hearing them as if a bucket of cold water had been discharged on their heads. Russia has evidently taken it for granted that the agitation will have a master influence on English policy, and has acted accordingly. She will probably now begin hostilities at her leisure, and English opinion is veering toward a course of armed observation, to be turned into armed intervention if necessary, but strictly with an eye to her own interests and without regard to the fate of the Christian population of Turkey, which, as is plain to be seen, must be decided by the three great military powers.

The difficulties of military co-operation in an enterprise in which all the parties are not equally interested, or rather equally disinterested, have been many times exemplified of late, and notably in the Austro-Prussian operations against Denmark and in the French expedition to Mexico. One or other of the allies is almost sure to find himself carried further than he intended to go, or involved in responsibilities which he never anticipated. A joint interference of England and Russia in Turkey would not be undertaken with the same motives, or aims, or even with the same instruments. It would inevitably consist, on Russia's part, in the unimpeded entrance of a large Russian force into the heart of Turkey, and on England's of the entrance of the fleet into the Bosphorus, and possibly the landing of a small body of troops. That differences would speedily arise as to the nature and object and proper termination of the enterprise there can be little doubt, and when they arose England's sole remedy would be to withdraw. She could not expel Russia from Turkey if she were once fairly planted in it, and no power in Europe could now, except Germany. That the resistance of the Turks will amount to much is a mere chimera. The inferences that so thoughtful a paper as the London *Economist* draws from the siege of Silistria in 1854 as to what the Turks might do if pushed to the wall, are drawn in forgetfulness of the fact that during that siege the allies held the Black Sea and were in considerable force at Varna. Had the Russians been in possession of the sea, and had there been no European troops on the road to Constantinople, they would doubtless have done what General von Moltke suggested they would do in his Memoir on the war of 1829—have masked Silistria and Shumla, and gone straight down along the coast. Moreover, the desperation of the Mussulman population is undoubtedly a mere bugbear. This is to be feared as against the Christian population before the arrival of a conquering force, but no invader has anything to dread from it. The Turk, as well as other people, more readily than many people, is cowed by big battalions or any other manifestation of overwhelming strength. He does not know much about law or justice or humanity, but he knows what the order of a general of division means, and he heeds it.

The last Russian proposition is said to be the occupation of Bulgaria and Servia by her own forces, and that of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. That Austria will refuse or hesitate is almost certain, from the fact that any serious additions to the Empire of Slavic population or influence would threaten its dissolution. The Empire is now substantially administered by Magyars and Germans, ruling a large and discontented mass of Slavs; and if once drawn into the tide of Slavic aspiration on the side of Turkey, it would be difficult to say what would come of it. An occupation of Herzegovina by Austria alone was talked of in the early days of the insurrection, and was at one time among the probabilities; but it would

have been undertaken in the sincere desire to restore order and quiet on the frontier and prevent the rising of burning questions. In conjunction with Russia at the head of a Panslavic crusade, and over the ruins of the Turkish Empire, it is less likely by far, and might end in a considerable contribution of Austrian territory to help to make a new Slavic State.

There is talk at this writing of a determination on England's part, in case of a Russian invasion, to hold Constantinople or occupy Egypt. The former would appear to be a very difficult military operation without a large land force. The Bosphorus is commanded by lines of hills whose occupation and fortification would be necessary to the safety of the fleet lying below; but it must be added that it is extremely unlikely that any Russian army would long seriously threaten it without having command of the Black Sea. The occupation of Egypt, which is also talked of, would be a much easier and more profitable feat of arms, and would be much more effective as a guarantee for the communication with India. But the fate of Constantinople is something in which the whole world will feel the strongest interest. Next to Rome, there is no spot of earth around which so many great historic associations cluster as around the old capital of the Eastern Empire, and there is hardly any spot of earth more blessed in "sun, soil, and station." In the hands of a people who to strong artistic taste united skill in the art of living, it would become one of the most attractive resorts on the globe—a superb city, in which the frivolous and restless elegance of the West would be sobered and chastened by contact with Eastern repose.

CLERGYMEN AS SCIENTIFIC MEN.

NOT the least interesting feature in the discussion about the theory of evolution is the prominent part taken in it by clergymen of various denominations. There is hardly one of them who, since Huxley's lectures, has not preached a sermon bearing on the matter in some way, and several have made it the topic of special articles or lectures. One minister in Boston, Mr. Cook, has delivered two or three lectures on it, and Dr. Taylor, in New York, has assailed Huxley's position in a letter to the *Tribune*. Other ministers have attacked the hypothesis in the religious quarterlies. In fact, we do not think we exaggerate when we say that three-fourths of all that has been recently said or written about it in this country, has been said or written by ministers. There is no denying that the theory, if true, does, in appearance at least, militate against the account of the creation given in the first chapter of Genesis, or, in other words, against the view of the origin of life on the globe which has been held by the Christian world for seventeen centuries. It would, therefore, be by no means surprising that ministers should meet it, either by showing that the Mosaic account of the Creation was really inspired—was, in short, the account given by the Creator himself—or that the modern interpretations of it were incorrect, and that it was really, when perfectly understood, easily reconciled with the conclusions reached of late years by geologists and biologists. This is the way in which a great many ministers have hitherto met the Evolutionists, and for this sort of work they are undoubtedly fitted by education and experience. If it can be done by any one, they are the men to do it. If it be maintained that the Biblical account is literally true, they are more familiar than any other class of men with the evidence and arguments accumulated by the Church in favor of the inspiration of the Scriptures; or if, on the other hand, it be desired to reconcile the Bible with evolution, they are more familiar than any other class of men with the exegetical process by which this reconciliation can be effected. They are specially trained in ecclesiastical history and tradition, in Greek and Hebrew religious literature, and in the methods of interpretation which have been for ages in use among theologians.

Of late, however, they have shown a decided inclination to abandon the purely ecclesiastical approach to the controversy altogether, and this is especially remarkable in the discussion now pending over Huxley. They do not seek to defend the Biblical account of the Creation, or to reconcile it with the theory of the Evolutionists. Far from it, they have come down in most of the recent cases into the scientific arena, and are meeting the men of science with their own weapons. They tell Huxley and Darwin and Tyndall that their evidence is imperfect, and their reasoning from it faulty. Noticing their activity in this new field, and the marked contrast which this activity presents to the modesty or indifference of the other professions—the lawyers and doctors, for instance, who on general grounds have fully as much reason to be interested in evolution as the ministers, and have hitherto been at least as well fitted to discuss it—we asked ourselves whether it was possible that, without our knowledge, any change had of late years been made in the curriculum of the divinity schools or theological seminaries, with the view of fitting ministers to take a prominent part in the solution of the increasingly important and startling problems raised by physical science. In order to satisfy ourselves, we lately turned over the catalogues of all the principal divinity schools in the country to see if any chairs of natural science had been established, or if candidates for the ministry had to undergo any compulsory instruction in geology or physics, or the higher mathematics, or biology, or palæontology, or astronomy, or had to become versed in the methods of scientific investigation in the laboratory or in the dissecting-room, or were subjected to any unusually severe discipline in the use of the inductive process. Not much to our surprise, we found nothing of the kind. We found that, to all appearance, not even the smallest smattering of natural science in any of its branches is considered necessary to a minister's education; no astronomy, no chemistry, no biology, no geology, no higher mathematics, no comparative anatomy, and nothing severe in logic. In fact, of special preparation for the discussion of such a theme as the origin of life on the earth, there does not appear to be in the ordinary course of our divinity schools the smallest trace.

We then said to ourselves, But ministers are modest, truthful men; they would not knowingly pass themselves off as competent on a subject with which they were entirely unfitted to deal. They are no less candid and self-distrustful, for instance, than lawyers and doctors, and a lawyer or doctor who ventured to tackle a professed scientist on a scientific subject to which he had given no systematic study, would be laughed at by his professional brethren, and would suffer from it even in his professional reputation, as it would be taken to indicate a raw and untutored state of mind, and a dangerous want of self-knowledge. Perhaps, then, the training given in the divinity schools, though it does not touch special fields of science, is such as to prepare the mind for the work of induction by some course of intellectual gymnastics. Perhaps, though it does not familiarize a man with the facts of geology, and biology, and astronomy, it so disciplines him in the work of collecting and arranging facts of any kind, and reasoning from them, that he will be a master in the art of proof, and that, in short, though he may not have a scientific man's knowledge, he will have his mental habits.

But we found this second supposition as far from the truth as the first one was. Moreover, the mental constitution of the young men who choose the ministry as a profession is not apt to be of a kind well fitted for scientific investigation. Reverence is one of their prominent characteristics, and reverence predisposes them to accept things on authority. They are inclined, too, to seek truth rather as a means of repose than for its own sake, and to fancy that it is associated closely with spiritual comfort, and that they have secured the truth when they feel the comfort. Though last not least, they enter the seminary with a strong bias in favor of one particular theory of the origin of life and of the history of the race, and their subsequent studies are marked out and pursued with the set purpose of strengthening this bias and of qualifying them to defend it and spread it, and of associating in their minds the doubt or rejection of it with moral evil. The consequence is that they go forth, trained not as investigators or enquirers, but as advocates, charged with the defence against all comers of a view of the universe which they have accepted ready-made from teachers. A worse preparation for scientific pursuits of any kind can hardly be imagined. The slightest trace of such a state of mind in a scientific man—that is, of a disposition to believe a thing on grounds of feeling or interest, or with reference to practical consequences, or to jump over gaps in proof in order to reach pleasant conclusions—discredits him with his fellows, and throws doubt on his statements. We are not condemning this state of mind for all purposes. Indeed, we think the widespread prevalence of the philosophic way of looking at things would be in many respects a great misfortune for the race, and we acknowledge that a rigidly-trained philosopher would be totally unfit for most of a minister's functions; but we have only to describe a minister's education in order to show his exceeding unfitness for contentions such as some of his brethren are carrying on with geologists and physicists and biologists. In fact, there is no educated calling whose members are not, on the whole, better equipped for fighting in scientific fields over the hypothesis of evolution. Our surprise at seeing lawyers and doctors engaged in it would be very much less justifiable, for a portion at least of the training received in these professions is of a scientific cast,

and concerns the selection and classification of facts, while a clergyman's is almost wholly devoted to the study of the opinions and sayings of other men. In truth, theology, properly so called, is a collection of opinions. Nor do these objections to a clergyman's mingling in scientific disputes arise out of his belief about the origin and government of the world *per se*, because one does not think of making them to trained religious philosophers; for instance, to Principal Dawson or Mr. St. George Mivart. Some may think or say that the religious prepossessions of these gentlemen lessen the weight of their opinions on a certain class of scientific questions, but no one would question their right to share in scientific discussions.

We are moved to speak on this subject by the regret which we feel at seeing educated and influential men, from perhaps the most influential body of educated men in the country, helping by their example to spread the already too prevalent delusion that training is not needed to enable a man to talk or think with profit to himself or others on any subject, and it is a delusion which—let us say—helps to cut the ground from under the feet of religious as well as of other teachers. It furnishes the subtle poison which debauches politics, and makes so much labor in all fields slight and inefficient, and which renders education hasty and slipshod, and scholarship shallow and pretentious. Reading over the other day the Rev. Joseph Cook's lectures in Boston, in which he demolished the evolutionists by means of detached sentences from the works now of one and now of another, put together with considerable rhetorical skill and seasoned with flippancy, and presented in such a way as to make it appear that the geologists and biologists and physicists and naturalists—the Lyells, Huxleys, Haeckels, Darwins, Helmholsts, and others who have countenanced and supported the hypothesis of evolution, and given to it years or lives of laborious and conscientious investigation—were a set of charlatans or dreamers, whose chief use was to make clerical "Monday lectures" funny, we confess we doubted whether we had of late heard of any more melancholy spectacle or one likely to prove more mischievous. What was most melancholy about it was, however, not the assault on laborious investigators by a gentleman whose acquaintance with the subject in hand is at best very small, but the apparent unconsciousness of both the orator and his audience that there was anything absurd or humiliating in his position. Let us assure the ministers who enjoy and participate in this sort of sport that it is not the men of science they are injuring or degrading: it is their own order and vocation. If they will only look back, they will see that the history of the relation of religion to science has consisted in the main of the acceptance by theologians of scientific hypotheses over which they at first laughed or were angry, and that this acceptance has only damaged theology when the acceptance was grudging or ill-tempered. How many unpleasant and at first sight formidable truths have been swallowed since the day when the proposition over which the Rev. Joseph Cooks of the time doubtless made merry, that the earth was not the centre of the solar system but only a satellite of the sun, was first produced! Would it not be best for religion and morals to give up a struggle in which they may lose much and can win nothing? Can there be any gain wrought for either by pretending that there are some subjects on which one may be qualified to talk without having studied them? The world is not so simple as it used to be, or so ignorant. Plain people all over the country, in our day, know enough about the methods of scientific investigation to be familiar with Newton's Rule that a hypothesis which will explain a phenomenon, and against which no fatal objection is known, is a good and proper hypothesis to work on in investigation, and they see that the hypothesis of evolution does fulfil these conditions, and they expect those who assail it to produce one that will take its place. This ministers do not do. The Mosaic account of the creation explains nothing which now puzzles us. For—to use the dilemma presented to Mr. Cook by a distinguished physician—if men are the offspring of a single pair, and environment has not, as the Evolutionists say it has, modified them in character and conformation, what has caused the difference between Australian aborigines and Anglo-Saxons in the short space of six thousand years? If, on the other hand, the difference be due to the descent from a number of separately created pairs, what becomes of the Mosaic account? People are pondering these questions seriously, and they cannot be dismissed with a laugh. Would it not be well, therefore, for ministers to abandon the attitude of angry fugitives towards Science, and await its discoveries with calm, and watch the tentative efforts by which all its truths have been revealed with friendly or, at all events, courageous interest? For though a good ally, it may be a terrible because inevitable enemy.

"The Moving Finger writes, and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your piety and wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it."

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XIX.

THE CATTLE SHOW.

PHILADELPHIA, October 21.

DOUBTLESS the managers of the Exhibition had controlling reasons for banishing its Live-Stock department from the Exhibition grounds, though these reasons were by no means obvious to the uninformed mind of the visitor. There was ample room within the grounds for all of the animals shown, and where one person left the more attractive exhibits to walk half a mile and pay twenty-five cents to see the horses and cows, and then walk back again and pay fifty cents to return to the chief show, probably twenty persons would have gone to see the live stock if within the grounds and near the circular railway. Of course, those who had a personal or professional interest in stock-raising made the effort, and studied the display carefully; but there is a certain amount of instruction for the most casual visitor in an examination of cattle at a show which the visitors to the Centennial lost the opportunity of receiving.

On the grounds selected for the cattle show the arrangements were ample, convenient, and good. The facilities for examination, on the part of visitors and judges, and the opportunities for displaying stock, were certainly excellent. There was a suggestion of magnificent distances about the slimly-occupied sheds, which stood at two sides of the large enclosure, but on the whole the grounds, once reached, were better than could have been furnished at the foot of George's Hill.

The number of specimens of what are known as the leading breeds—Short-horns, Herefords, Devons, Ayrshires, and Dutch—was not large. Among the Short-horns, so far as I was able to judge, the average excellence was far below that of the larger collection at the National show at Springfield, Ohio, twenty years ago. There were more inferior animals, and the best did not seem better than my recollection of the best at Springfield. In a certain sense these animals have become much more interesting from the fabulous prices (in one instance $30,000 for one cow) which have recently been paid for them. To those uninstructed in the refinements of the subject the value of the Short-horn, as an element of American farming, lies in the fact that crosses of this breed attain a large size and develop the preponderating part of the increased weight in the hind-quarters, where the more valuable meat lies. So far as our beef-raisers are concerned, an infusion of Short-horn blood is looked to to increase the value of their product very largely by throwing it into the higher-priced hind-quarters of their animals. Another and important benefit comes of the more quiet disposition, and the accompanying ease of fattening or profitable use of food consumed. To the dairy-farmer, the Short-horn seems a monstrosity, for its yield of milk is so reduced that it is almost unusual for a fine Short-horn cow to be able properly to suckle her own calf. The standard which influences the professional Short-horn breeder is quite incomprehensible to the average mind. It relates to a certain number of crosses of Booth or Bates blood, or some other combination which indicates an ancestry of prize-winners. Measured by the attention it has attracted, by the prices for which its best specimens sell, and by the enormous capital invested and the talent engaged in its development, this is certainly the leading race in the world. It was sufficiently well represented among the fifty-odd specimens shown at Philadelphia for the ordinary visitor to form a very good opinion as to its character.

The Ayrshires—a milk-giving race—were very fairly represented by something less than fifty specimens. There was a very good show of the less known Herefords (beefers), and the usual elements of fat cattle and working oxen.

In point of numbers, the Jerseys—miscalled Alderneys, for Alderney has no distinctive race, only a mixture of Jerseys and Guernseys—not only led the exhibition, but there were probably more of these than of all other breeds combined; not far from 150 head. This large showing was greatly due to the efforts made by the American Jersey Cattle Club to secure a full representation. This association, which has done much to foster the Jersey interest throughout the country, offered $1,000, to be distributed in premiums: $250 and $100 each as first and second prize for cows and for bulls, and $300 for the best herd—one bull and four cows. In addition to this, the Pennsylvania Agricultural Society offered $100 for the best herd. Another reason for the number of Jerseys exhibited is doubtless to be sought in the fact that among Jersey breeders there are many men of wealth and leisure who were able to afford the time and cost of attending the show. Then, too, there are many herds in the neighborhood of Philadelphia from which animals for exhibition could be sent without difficulty.

This large collection of Jerseys was notable more for its extent than for its average quality. The other breeds are cultivated mainly by practical

men, who give their own best attention and study to the subject. There are many such among the Jersey breeders, but there are also many who keep these animals from almost purely fancy motives. A herd of Jerseys is getting to be an almost necessary accompaniment of an American country-seat—one of the incidental features of elegant rural life, like hot-houses, graperies, and lawn-shrubbery. As these latter are entrusted to the gardener, so the management of the cattle is entrusted to a more or less competent herdsman. The proprietor, having no eye to profit, and finding it often rather an advantage that his family and friends are able to consume the entire product of the dairy, has often found it easy to accept as a standard fancy characteristics which have no bearing upon productive quality. A pure *fashion* sprang up years ago in England, and was fostered by dealers and by some breeders in this country, and to no slight extent on the Island of Jersey as well, for animals without white markings and with black switches at the ends of their tails. Here was a standard for fanciers which involved no consideration of animal physiology, and toward which the veriest tyro could work with the smallest amount of mental effort. It was only necessary when a calf was born to keep it if it had the necessary color indications, or turn it over to the butcher, or give it to a friend, or sell it for a song, if it had white markings. A standard like this, faithfully followed, must result, in time, in a certain uniformity of color-breeding. Of course it would be possible, though by no means easy, to combine with this the butter-producing standard. As a rule, the combination has rarely been made here or abroad.

The Jersey is a race which has grown up in obedience to the demands of a population of small farmers in an extremely fertile island, where very small herds are kept, and where the money product has been almost entirely in butter. Starting with a productive race, and adapting it more and more to their needs, the farmers of Jersey have succeeded in producing an animal which, from a given amount of food, produces more and better butter than any other cow in the world. In addition, their cows have a beauty of form, a gentleness of expression and disposition, and a deer-like look, which gives them great ornamental value. In their origin they are a race of mixed colors, with an absence of white markings in occasional specimens, arising doubtless from an ancient cross with the cow of Brittany. Probably the Channel Islands cattle were originally derived from the herds of Normandy, from which the original population is supposed to have come.

Breeders in this country may be divided by a quite distinct line, a certain number having adopted the "solid color" standard as their chief aim, the others breeding chiefly for butter product For several years past the injury being done to the practical reputation of the whole breed has been evident to many who are interested in its improvement and in its general adoption among the butter-makers of the United States. It has been found that these animals are hardy and thrifty in all parts of the country—in the extreme South as well as in Canada, in California as well as in Maryland—and they are, all over the country, rapidly exerting an influence among dairymen only second to that of the Short-horns among beef-raisers. While the average quality of the animals shown at Philadelphia—selected, of course, as the best of the herds which they represented—was really low, the exhibition was of great value as showing the injurious effect of the fancy breeding. I do not mean to say that all of the highest order of animals had white markings, nor that all of the poorest were without them ; but one who by conversation with exhibitors learned the standard that guided them could see by the character of their exhibits how very far standard had influenced quality. The best and second best cow, and the second best bull, were parti-colored animals, while the best bull showed, by the coloring of his progeny exhibited with him, that, in his herd, color is not the chief point sought. The *herd* prize was awarded to Chas. L. Sharpless, of Philadelphia, who is well known to disregard the question of color entirely, and whose leading bull (who was a stout competitor for the first prize) is finely mapped with white. This is not the place for a discussion of the physiological bearings of this question of breeding to different standards, nor of the minuter details which the successful dairy-breeder must regard ; but the Jersey is being so widely introduced among persons of "elegant leisure" that it does seem worth while to say what is said above, in the hope that the falling away of the absurd "color" fashion may be hastened, and the value of the still beautiful—in my opinion, more beautiful—butter-producer may be better appreciated.

An examination of the Jerseys and other dairy breeds, with reference to the curious system of Guenon, developed a strong confirmation of its truth. Indeed, the value of this system is very widely recognized, not only in France, where it originated, but in almost all of the continental countries, and among the more intelligent farmers of the Island of Jersey. In this country it is very generally considered, and, in the scale of points of the Jersey Cattle Club, perfection in this regard counts ten in a scale of one hundred.

Guenon was a cow-boy, and, later, a dealer in cattle. Being of an observing turn of mind, he studied his animals closely. He observed that on the back part of the udder, on the inside of the thighs, and on the perinæum there is an upward growth of hair, separated from the adjoining downward growth by a distinct line or quirl ; that the space covered with this downward-growing hair varies in size and form ; that it possesses certain marked peculiarities ; and that there is a difference in the amount and color of the dandruff accumulating within the area. Continuing his investigation with animals whose quality he had daily opportunity to study, he found a close relation between this area, which he called the "escutcheon," or "milk-mirror," and the quantity, quality, and continuance of the secretion of milk. Slowly and carefully applying his observations to all herds which came under his notice, he finally established a system, dividing the escutcheon, according to its shape, into eight different classes, and each class, according to its size, into eight different orders—ascribing to each order and class a certain quantity of milk and a certain duration of milk-giving after a new pregnancy. His system was severely tested in 1837 by the Agricultural Society of Bordeaux ; he was awarded a gold medal and proclaimed a member of the society. Similar success accompanied similar examinations elsewhere, and this system, discovered and so developed by a simple French peasant as to call for no subsequent change, has now received the almost unqualified support of the leading dairymen of the world, who are influenced in their selection of animals for purchase or of calves for raising much more by the escutcheon than by any other single indication. It was noticeable at Philadelphia that the cows which gave, according to other standards, the best indication of dairy quality, ranked very high according to Guenon's classification, and that those which were obviously inferior ranked low in this scale also.

One of the most interesting of the minor features of the show was a small herd of polled (hornless) Galloway cattle from Canada. These are a jet-black, Scotch breed of large size and of extreme hardiness. The bull took my fancy more than did any other animal of the beef breeds that were shown. In addition to the specific breeds there were notable working oxen, monstrous fat cattle, a few Guernseys, and a single Brittany. But for the absence of the Kerry cattle, all of the races best known in this country were represented.

It seems the fashion now to make more or less unfavorable criticism of the system of awards obtaining at the Centennial Exhibition. This is a system in which the award has no money value, in which the bronze token or medal is identical in all cases, and in which the true recompense of the successful exhibitor is to be sought in the commendation expressed in the diploma which accompanies the medal—a commendation setting forth the character of the meritorious qualities for which the award is given. For many classes of exhibits this system seems to be well adapted, but as the diploma gets its chief value from the qualifications of the experts signing it to express a commanding opinion as to its subject, it is hardly adapted to discriminations of merit among horned cattle, at least with the arrangement of judges adopted at the Centennial. One or two judges were selected from among those conspicuously interested in each of the different races. Now, a short-horned breeder has cultivated his taste and judgment exclusively in the direction of squareness of form, the judicious placing of flesh upon the carcase, and the general tendency to accumulate fat. All his efforts tend in this direction. The Jersey breeder, on the other hand, looks, first and chiefly, for a tendency to the production of butter and to persistence of milk-yielding. The one seeks to perfect an organism whose marked tendency shall be to deliver into the udder the largest possible proportion of the fat-yielding elements of the food ; the other, an organism which shall store up fat in the carcase. The one sees excellence in leanness and the other in fleshiness ; the one seeks a great development of the milk-producing organs, and the other regards such a development as a defect, as tending to rob the carcase of its coveted fat. The breeder of Ayrshire and Dutch cattle looks for the indications of the largest possible production of milk without much regard to the quantity of cream that it will produce ; the Jersey breeder considers very copious milking an indication of thinness of milking ; better for him a cow giving fifteen quarts of milk per diem of a very rich quality than one giving twenty quarts of much poorer quality. In short, each race is bred to a different standard, and every man must form his judgment according to the standard which he has made his specialty.

At Philadelphia the short-horn breeders were most fully represented among the judges, and there is no doubt that this race received just treatment; but it is quite likely that the other beefing and the milking races were

judged through the misfitting spectacles of men who were not the best suited to estimate their quality. It is not the least of the good work of the Jersey Cattle Club that it succeeded in having the Jerseys withdrawn entirely from the general arena and passed upon exclusively by experts from among its own members, who were guided in their judgment by a standard which it had itself set up for the guidance of Jersey breeders.

G. E. W., Jr.

FRANCE IN THE EUROPEAN COMPLICATION.

Paris, October 6.

IT is impossible to speak or to think at the present moment of anything but the Eastern Question. It seems easier to be calm in St. Petersburg than in Paris. We are so situated that every electric current in Europe goes through our nervous system. There is no war party in France ; from the *Communard* to the Legitimist, from the working-men to the heads of the army, you will find but one sentiment : it would be a crime for France to enter into any war. She was too severely punished in 1870 ; she must now be quiet, and her only duty is her own reorganization. She has no duty towards any other nation ; every government congratulated the Emperor Wilhelm on his great victories ; no government entered its protest against any of the conditions imposed on France by the treaties of Paris and Frankfort.

I remember writing at the time of these sad events that France, deprived of Alsace and Lorraine, cut from the German trunk and the German nationality, would become more isolated, less cosmopolitan, more Latin. It is not in the French character to turn savagely on everybody ; still, I often perceive now, in our literature, in our social relations, in the development even of our sciences, a tendency to keep aloof from the outer world. Our amateurs have become exclusive devotees of every form of French art. We have ceased to abuse ourselves ; we admire the fertility, the graces, the originality of the French mind in every style, from the time of the Renaissance to the time of the French Revolution. We look for the smallest and most delicate relics of our literature, of our schools of painting, of drawing, of engraving. We are becoming eclectic for France, unjust and exclusive with regard to many foreign things. Still, we cannot surround ourselves with a Chinese wall ; we cannot shut Paris against the foreigner. We have invited again all the nations to a Universal Exhibition, and we are preparing to receive our enemies with the greatest courtesy. Any Alsatian who has chosen to remain a Frenchman cannot live a day in Alsace without the permission of the police. If he has neglected to ask this permission, in ignorance of the regulations of Berlin, he can be turned out in virtue of a *French* law of 1849, which allows the expulsion of all foreigners in twenty-four hours. This law is now turned against us, and it constantly happens that young men who have gone for a few days to Alsace, merely to see their old parents, are sent away by the police. We ignore these facts in France ; we shut our eyes to what is going on beyond the Vosges.

A curious instance of this growing indifference to all external complications or accidents may be found in the campaign which has been carried on this summer for what is called the conversion of the French *rente*. If we were alone in the world, this conversion would soon become a possibility ; but we seem always to forget why our debt was so largely increased. Prince Bismarck does not forget it : he explained with the utmost frankness to the German Parliament that, having to choose between two modes of diminishing the armaments of France, the mode adopted after Jena by Napoleon against Prussia—that is, the limitation of the active army—and a heavy fine which would act as a dead weight on the budget, he chose the second method as the most likely to be efficacious. Now, it happens that France had such wonderful resources, that her soil and her fertility are such, that the habits of the people—even those habits which are always denounced in England as marks of decadence—give her such advantages that she bears her actual budget, heavy as it is, lightly, and is capable of maintaining a very large army. The calculations of Germany have not been quite correct. Germany did not spend the five milliards of our ransom with perfect wisdom ; she entered into too many speculations, and lost much money in unprofitable enterprises. It would be very absurd to imagine that she looks with much satisfaction on our present financial prosperity ; it would be equally absurd if we imagined that our financial prosperity is so well secured that we can enter into a tremendous operation like the conversion of our five per cents into three per cents without the good-will of our powerful neighbors. A few articles in the German *Post* would be enough to knock the whole scheme on the head in a few days. I, for one, look in consequence with some fear and even disgust on the speculative fever which has seized our moneyed classes, as it did in the worst days of the Empire. Much as I respect the poor peasant or the hard-working artisan, who, from patriotic motives, puts his small earnings in the French stocks, I deprecate this new method of playing the "grande nation" which would consist of making the Bourse of Paris the queen of all the Bourses of the world. We want seriousness and even austerity ; our instincts are good, but they are constantly spoiled by bad habits. There is a substratum of real and profound patriotism in the people ; but when I look only at Paris, at the rulers of the day, rulers of fashion, and rulers of politics, I cannot help being sometimes much discouraged.

This Eastern Question is come in time to wake us from many pleasant dreams. We are placed somewhat like the wise man of Lucretius, who enjoys seeing a tempest from a high cliff. But our quietude is not so great, and we have a dim perception that France cannot be quite unconcerned in European difficulties. It is almost impossible that Germany should get entangled in any great struggle with an Eastern power without asking France for some securities. The Eastern Question has its own merits, but in our eyes the chief interest of it lies now in this single question : Is Prussia likely to be drawn into it ; and if she is, what part will she take ? Will she be with Russia against Turkey and Austria, or will she be with Austria against Russia ?

Our papers now call Prince Bismarck "the Mute of Varzin" ; and he certainly has preserved a masterly silence for some time. That he had a hand in the preparation of the present difficulties, everybody believes ; it is thought that he, perhaps not directly, but through the Italian Government, set fire to the little matches of Herzegovina and Montenegro. The Servian insurrection, which has now become very serious, was in its origin somewhat artificial. It has been evident from the first that the agitation in the Turkish provinces was the creation of diplomacy. That Russia has had much to do with it is quite evident, and she has now almost thrown off the mask. There are at least as many as 6,000 Russian soldiers and officers in the army commanded by Tchernaieff ; Prince Milan is a pensioner of the Czar ; the Panslavist committees furnish Belgrade with money, arms, ammunition. The Servian war is in reality a Russian war—this is an evident fact ; what is not so clear is the degree of complicity of Prussia in this movement against Turkey. There are some symptoms which would tend to indicate that Prussia is faithful to Russia, and remembers the great service which was rendered to herself in 1870 by the present Czar. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, who is the ruler of Rumania, has done nothing to hinder the passage of arms and men through his territory. It is even said that he has made some sort of convention on the subject with the Russian Government. Prince Charles cannot be so independent of the Hohenzollerns that he acts entirely without their advice. On the other hand, he is so weak and unable to defend himself against Russia in case of war that he has not much to refuse to the Czar.

Prince Bismarck has for years made the Russian alliance the cornerstone of his policy ; but he thinks perhaps that he has drawn out of this alliance all the good there was in it. There is no such thing as gratitude in politics. Prince Bismarck cannot neglect the dictates of public opinion in Germany ; if you read the German papers, the papers of Berlin, of Cologne, of Breslau, of Augsburg, and of Vienna, you will find everywhere the expression of common sentiments on the subject of the Eastern Question. It is thought that Germany cannot renounce the old traditional policy of Austria. Austria was conquered at Sadowa, she was thrust out of the German Confederation as a penance ; but this penance may be only temporary. The great Fatherland includes in reality all the German-speaking provinces of Austria ; the time will come when the Hapsburgs will re-enter the great planetary system of the new Empire. What is Austria without the Danube ? The mouths of the Danube and the free navigation of that river must be secured in the interests of Germany. If the Germany of the future renounces the old claims of the Empire on Italy, she cannot renounce the old claims on the border states which separate Hungary from the East ; she cannot renounce her right of patronage over the half-savage tribes which form a vanguard against the great Slavic Empire.

The reticence of Prince Bismarck is easily explained, if you imagine that his mind is struggling between the duties which arise for Prussia from an alliance which has now continued since the last Polish rebellion, and the imperial instincts of the German race. The problem he has to solve is the most difficult that was ever placed before him. He has humbled Austria—it is not his interest to destroy her completely ; he has received the help of Russia—it is not his interest to help her too much. Of one thing we may feel sure : Prince Bismarck is not likely to forget that he is a German, and he will sacrifice everything to the interests of the new Empire which he has so powerfully helped to create on the ruins of the old and tottering confederacy. The secret of the Eastern Question lies not in London, nor in St. Petersburg, but in Berlin.

Correspondence.

"THE TILDEN EDITOR OF THE *NATION*."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I cut the enclosed from the columns of the Toledo *Blade* of this date. I had not supposed that Parke Godwin was in any way connected with the *Nation*, and I do not send it because of any belief in it; but I should like, if you think it worthy of an answer, to see it explained for the benefit of others.—Very respectfully, A Reader of The Nation.

Toledo, Oct. 14, 1876.

"It is all out now about Parke Godwin, the Tilden editor of the *Nation*. He is a chronic office-holder and office-seeker, filling lucrative positions under Polk and Pierce's administrations, and an unsuccessful applicant for office under Grant. Tilden caught him by finding a snug berth for his eldest son. He is a nice reformer."

[We are glad to hear that "it is all out now about Parke Godwin," and presume he will not be sorry himself. He has not, however, been "the Tilden editor of the *Nation*," to our knowledge, since Pierce's Administration; but this is as long as we can answer for. At all events, if he has been editing it since that time, he has been shamefully neglectful of his duties, as he has never written a line for it or even entered the office. Of his troubles with Grant about offices we know nothing, but are pleased to hear that Tilden has given his eldest son "a snug berth." If Tilden has "caught him," we hope he will treat him kindly.—Ed. Nation.]

IS THE EXISTENCE OF SMALL COLLEGES AN EVIL?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your article on "The University Problem," in No. 587 of the *Nation*, alludes to "the great evil of small colleges," and says "they cannot be got rid of," as if it were desirable to have them become extinct. I have noticed similar expressions in other of your very valuable articles on the higher education. While heartily concurring with most that you have said, I cannot but question the correctness of this position. I say this with the more confidence because I myself have been identified altogether with one of the largest and oldest of our colleges, and never with any of the small ones except as a disinterested observer.

If a college were of no use but to furnish facilities for education to students, it might be best, were it possible, to abolish some scores of the smaller ones, and give their property to the larger to increase their efficiency. But a college has other uses, and the public-spirited citizens of our new and growing communities are quick to see this, although some of our best writers on education seem strangely to overlook it. They see that the cities and towns which grow up about a college are ordinarily places of more culture, refinement, and moral purity than others; that superior men are attracted to them with their families; that persons of better character are recognized as leaders of society, and influences of all kinds have a higher tone. A college, even though it be small, is a civilizing and enlightening power for the community where it stands and the surrounding country; and such a power is needed to counteract the sordid and downward tendencies which are always operating. A people engrossed in the pursuit of wealth need reminders of the intellectual life which they shall see and feel daily; and what reminder is there like a college with its library and museum and laboratory, and its men devoted to intellectual pursuits? The smaller colleges have a local power which can hardly be supplied by anything else, and that power could not be transferred—it would be lost.

It is often assumed that the students of the small colleges would go to the larger ones if these did not exist. This is not so, I think. Most of them would not have been awakened to the value of an education, or to the practicability of acquiring it, if the college had not been near. Some would, but comparatively few. The small colleges draw to them men who would otherwise have remained farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen, or taken the short cut to professional life. Most of those who would have gone to the larger colleges do go as it is, attracted to them by the superior advantages they afford. Furthermore, the students of the small colleges receive an impulse to further and higher education after their graduation. Appreciating the fact that their opportunities have not been the best, they set about making up the deficiency. And so a very fair proportion of them will be found in the post graduate or professional departments of our largest colleges, and not a few at the universities of Europe.

Come down to the facts in the case, and it will be seen that the small colleges are doing much more for education in our country than they have credit for. They are the pioneers and subsoilers, "keeping alive," to use your own expressive words, "that devotion to intellectual work which is the salt of material civilization, and without which it would soon become a putrescent mass"; and this in regions where there is little else to keep such a devotion alive. It is more necessary, after all, to awaken the love of intellectual pursuits in the people than to provide an appreciative few with the amplest facilities for learning; and in this the smaller colleges are certainly doing their full share.

G. S. D.

Lewiston, Me., Sept. 30, 1876.

A STUDENT'S NOTES AT GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The organization of our universities and the value of our colleges are now attracting considerable attention. Some desire that our colleges be entirely changed, or even done away with, and there are many who advocate imitating the German universities. Prolonged personal experience in Germany has led me to become opposed to both plans, although like other students I admire and envy the advantages offered to scientists, young and old, in Germany. It is quite true, as has often been said, that good professors and good laboratories are more numerous in Germany than elsewhere. That is the secret of their superiority. But the organization of our best universities is better, and as soon as we shall have as many good instructors we shall excel the Germans in higher education.

In order to justify this opinion I will mention what seems to me the defect of German universities and the merit of our college system. The former really produce nothing but specialists, who work hard at their science and contribute enormously to its promotion, but proportionately display great originality less often than learned men in other countries. In fact, we find that almost every science originated outside of Germany. Political economy is of English origin, and so is geology; chemistry, comparative anatomy, and palæontology are French, and so on through a long list. The organization of German universities offers encouragement to specialists only. A young man who has taken a degree and wishes to continue at the university must make a special investigation to become a "Privat-docent." He then selects for a course of lectures a special subject out of a restricted field, and makes more investigations; if he is successful, he may be fortunate enough to be appointed an extraordinary professor. He is promoted, as a rule, according to the merits of his original scientific work. This is at once the good and the bad side of German universities. The system makes every one anxious to carry out independent researches and fosters a scientific spirit such as exists nowhere else. All foreigners are deeply impressed by this, and are apt to take away an excess of admiration because they do not become aware of the bad aspects of the case. Very often one finds professors who are splendid investigators, and have therefore obtained high positions which they are unfit to fill because they have no capacity for teaching.

But higher education certainly means the production of highly cultivated men for ordinary life, as well as producing only what the German universities do—men trained for one of the learned professions, and scientific workers whose intellectual apparatus in every case is to be applied to a particular purpose. Our good colleges give us young men of high general culture. That is their great merit. A lad entering a German university not to study law or medicine nor to become a scientist, but to perfect his general education, finds himself at a sad loss; there is no appointed course he can follow, no one officially qualified to tell him what combination of lectures to choose. In German society one finds the learned men separated by a gap, oftentimes painfully evident, from the rest who have only a gymnasial education—that is, about as much as a Harvard student has at the end of his freshman year. In America, on the contrary, savants are rarer, but great cultivation and wideness of views are found in private life, especially in the older cities. The intellectual inferiority of America as measured by her scientific work naturally makes us feel sad about our country, but we can find some consolation in high culture being so general.

For these reasons I cannot agree with those who wish to abolish our colleges; but I see with pleasure that attempts to combine the valuable special training as offered in Germany with our institutions for general learning are being successful. The introduction of well-organized post-graduate courses cancels the defects which formerly existed, while the schools of medicine, law, etc., offer nearly as great advantages as the special faculties at German universities. The organization of Harvard, for example, will, I think, be found in the end better than that of the German

universities. As every one acknowledges that the number of good university instructors is smaller than our needs, it is pleasant to see that the number of Americans studying abroad is very great, and that a large proportion of them have gone to Europe especially to become scientific teachers at home afterwards. On the whole, therefore, we can certainly look hopefully towards the future to bring us the intellectual progress needed to put us abreast with Europe. C. S. M.

Boston, Oct. 3, 1876.

Notes.

J. R. OSGOOD & CO. make of Longfellow's 'Skeleton in Armor' a holiday volume, illustrated by Miss Mary A. Hallock. They will also publish a new volume of poetry, 'That New World,' by Mrs. J. J. Piatt. ——The publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly* announce a remarkable new department in the volume for the coming year—an innovation which, with a difference, takes us back to the days of *Graham's Magazine* and *God y's Lady's Book*. Each number will contain original music by eminent composers, such as J. K. Paine, Dudley Buck, Francis Boott, Julius Eichberg, George L. Osgood, etc.——Goethe's 'West-Easterly Divan,' translated, with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. John Weiss, is in the press of Roberts Bros.——'The Barton Experiment,' by Mr. John Habberton, author of 'Helen's Babies'; and 'The Scripture Club of Village Rest,' by an anonymous writer, are announced by G. P. Putnam's Sons. ——A number of librarians (among whom the Redwood Library at Newport happens to be unrepresented, we observe) have drawn up a petition to Congress urging the passage of Senator Anthony's resolution for the purchase of the papers of Count Rochambeau, as an addition to our national archives. If this be done, as we hope it may be, there will be time to examine them carefully and to print the more important before the centenary of his arrival on these shores ——The Spanish Academy has gratefully acknowledged to Mr. Charles Frederick Bradford, of Boston, the gift of an autographic copy of his 'Index to the Notes of Don Diego Clemencin in his Edition of Don Quijote.' We gave an account of this remarkable work in No. 448 of the *Nation*. The copying must have been emphatically a labor of love.——A great reputation is very keenly but dispassionately examined in an article on 'Müller's Rig-Veda and Commentary,' by Prof. W. D. Whitney, which appears in this month's *New Englander*.——The death is announced in France of M. Eugène Despois, one of the leading critics of Molière, of whose works in 'Les Grands Ecrivains de la France,' the great and admirable enterprise of the Messrs. Hachette, he was the editor. Only three volumes of this edition, which bid fair to be for a long time the standard, have appeared; it will doubtless be completed by another hand. Two years ago M. Despois published 'Le Théâtre Français sous Louis XIV.,' the book by which he is best known, and which shed fresh light on many of the circumstances under which were produced the masterpieces of Corneille, Molière, and Racine.——Calmann Lévy announces for early publication the third and final volume of the 'Théâtre Complet' of Ponsard, uniform with the first two volumes, which appeared four years ago.——One hundred copies of a translation of Poe's 'Bells,' by M. Blémond, with four etchings by M. Guérard, have just been published in Paris.

—In the *Nation* of Sept. 21 we said: "We last week received a letter from the head of one of the oldest and most respectable mercantile houses in New York, entirely approving of Mr. Tilden's decision to make no return of his income during the later years of the tax and suffer the penalty, or, at all events, treating it as a blameless or colorless act. By the same mail we received from Mr. Albert Small, of Maryland, also an honorable man, a letter in which he compared it to murder committed by a person who has made up his mind to gratify his hate and bear the prescribed punishment." Mr. Small thinks this reproduction of his remark did him injustice, and therefore, in compliance with his request, and in order that our readers may judge for themselves, we subjoin the passage in Mr. Small's letter on which our comments were based:

"Further, as to the income-tax charge, you say, page 142, 'because the law left him the alternative.' Is a murderer any the less criminal because, with the punishment of death before him as a penalty for murder, he chooses to submit himself to that penalty, for the gratification of his purpose in killing his enemy? Can a man of thoroughly honest and upright purposes make such a deliberate choice?"

—In our reference to the Law School of Harvard University last week we omitted to mention, as we might have done, that the first law school to require an entrance examination was that of Columbia College in this city, which was also years ago the first to institute the final examination for the degree. The full effect which the entrance examination, first held this year, has had upon the numbers in attendance at the school can hardly be seen as yet, but a few of the statistics are suggestive. In 1860 the school graduated 27 students; in 1875 the number had steadily risen to 210, of whom 105, or exactly half, were college graduates or had received a degree equal to A B. Of the 251 students who were graduated last May 119 had a previous degree, and so had 121 of the 322 members of the present senior class. But (and here the effect of the entrance examination first becomes evident) the new junior class numbers only 208, of whom 134, or about two-thirds, are college graduates. A falling off of 114 in the total number, accompanied by an increase of 13 in the number of those holding previous degrees, is obviously the result of the new requirements. The number of non-graduates entering the law school last year was 201; this year it is only 74. The decrease will hardly be so marked another year, as many intending students were ignorant of the new requirements and are now devoting the next twelve months to preparation. One query suggests itself: The law schools of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia can now or next year only be entered after examination—how long will it be before the medical schools will find themselves all compelled to follow in their footsteps?

—The November number of *Scribner's* is very much like any other number in most respects; and much like a number of any other magazine, except for the illustrations, in which it follows in the wake of *Harper's* most closely. Illustrations seem after all to be the great key to the success of a popular publication of this sort, and, the illustrations being given, it appears to make little difference of what material the text is composed. In the present number we have as the first article an elaborate description of the "Charter Oak City"—or, in other words, Hartford—with pictures not merely of the new capitol, Bushnell Park, Mrs. Colt's house (those who have studied with interest the origin and development of the "seminal pistol idea" will recognize some of the pictures as taken from the Colt Memorial Volume), the Charter Oak, Gravestones in the Cemetery, Dr. Horace Bushnell, Yung Wing, the Chinese educational commissioner, General Hawley, the residence of Mark Twain, and the Insane Asylum and the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, but even of the prominent insurance buildings, with the names of the companies in detail. Such articles as this have been now for a long time familiar to all readers of illustrated magazines, and, if we are not mistaken, are a product of American ingenuity. *A priori* it is difficult to see why any one should care much for a picture of the "Conn. Mutual Life building, containing also Phœnix Mutual Life Ins. Co," or indeed nine-tenths of such views as can be found in the streets of Hartford, or any other square-built American city; in fact, these articles seem to be brought out without much attempt to humor the love of the picturesque, Chicago or Milwaukee serving the publishers' turn quite as well as, or rather better than, Providence or Newburyport. The feeling to which they appeal in many cases is perhaps that half commercial patriotism and local pride which is rather American than English, and is not based so much on memories, traditions, and historical and family associations, as it is upon the prosperous feeling of solidarity in a community in which each individual hopes and expects to be richer ten years hence than he is now, counts the increase of population with a sense of personal aggrandisement, and keeps meanwhile a jealous eye upon the growth of rival communities. This local pride is fed in many ways—by population, by increasing clearing-house returns, even by the erection of inebriate asylums, by the possession of local, or, still better, non-local celebrities; and to see them all down not only on the printed but even on the illustrated page gives a gentle titillation to a most universal sentiment—the same sentiment which leads the newspapers of a Western growing town to devote so many of their columns to exposures of the hollowness of the "claims" put forward by rival sheets in rival towns, and the same feeling which, on a broader scale, leads hundreds of thousands of people to swell the crowd at Philadelphia on a day set apart for Ohio, to offset the crowd poured in for the honor and glory of Pennsylvania. The market created by this feeling in America is probably much larger than that in any other country; at least, we do not remember now any evidence that publishers have discovered it in other countries; such magazines as *Scribner's* or *Harper's* exist nowhere in the English-speaking world outside of the United States. In other respects there is a sameness in magazine literature, arising from the fact that the contributions come in a great measure from the same people (we find, for instance, in the current *Scribner's* the names of E. E. Hale, G. P. Lathrop, T. B. Aldrich, and J. T. McKay, all of whom we should have hardly expected to find together so far from New England), and partly from the fact that all magazines now keep what we have heard called, in

irreverent allusion to a profession not closely allied to literature, "end men," who, in style and general treatment of the topics they discuss, much resemble each other.

—The influence of the American climate on man and nature receives some valuable discussion in the *American Naturalist* for October. This subject appears to be engaging the attention of Prof. J. D. Whitney, whose article in a previous number, "Are We Drying Up?" we have already noticed. Under the head of "Plain, Prairie, and Forest" he undertakes first to lay down the distinction between plain and prairie (in American usage), showing that the latter does not shade off into the former—it is not "the incipient plain," but is "a heavily-grassed area, destitute of forest growth, but existing in the midst of a wooded region, where the climatological conditions are favorable to the growth of timber, but where some other cause than the want of sufficient moisture has operated to prevent this growth." Dismissing summarily the view held by many that the prairies exist because the trees have been burnt off at some remote period, he next considers the more respectable theory that the absence of trees is due to exceptional conditions of temperature, wind, or moisture. All these factors, however, examined in detail, fail to establish any local peculiarity, and Prof. Whitney reserves for a second paper his own view of the real cause that produces the prairie. The question of climate comes up incidentally but in a very interesting way, a few pages later, in Mr. S. H. Scudder's article on "A Cosmopolitan Butterfly" (*Vanessa cardui*). This butterfly is double-brooded in New England, while in Europe it is single-brooded; but this is only an illustration of a somewhat general law. While many species have more broods in the New World than in the Old, the reverse is never the case. The fact that "our summers are longer and hotter, and enjoy a marked preponderance of sunshine as compared with European summers," seems to Mr. Scudder to be sufficient of itself to explain the variation in the number of broods. Our butterflies do but furnish, he says, another instance of that intensity which seems to characterize all life in America:

"The expenditure of nervous and vital energy, against which physicians vainly inveigh, which superannuates our merchants, lawyers, clergymen, and other professional men, is not induced by the simple passion for gain, place, power, or knowledge, but by an uncontrollable restlessness, a constant dissatisfaction with present attainments, which marks us as a hurrying, energetic, enterprising people. My own experience has been that studies of precisely the same nature and undertaken under similar external conditions are accompanied by a very different mental state on the two continents. In Europe we are content to plod industriously on, unconscious of the need of relaxation; in America we bend with nervous intensity to our work, and carry the same excitement into the relaxation which such life inevitably demands. After a long absence in Europe, a keen observer may even be directly conscious of this quickened life."

Mr. Scudder inclines, of course, to account for these differences in man, as for the differences in butterflies, by the climatic peculiarities of the United States. But he suggests as an obstacle to this conclusion that whereas we may expect to find in Eastern Asia (whose extremes of temperature, humidity, rainfall, etc., are closely parallel with those of the Eastern United States) double and triple-brooded butterflies which are single-brooded in Europe, we can hardly imagine a greater contrast than that existing between the national character of the Chinese and that of the Americans.

—The age of German professors has been statistically examined at intervals of five years, beginning with 1870, by Dr. Etienne Laspeyres, of the University of Giessen. The latest result is given in Part 74 of Holtzendorff and Oncken's 'Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen' (Berlin: Carl Habel; New York: L. W. Schmidt). In 1870–1, the writer's calculations were based on the ascertained age of 997 ordinary professors; in 1875–6, of 1,056. In the first case the average age proved to be 52.9 years; in the second, 52.8, or almost exactly the same. Regarding the separate faculties, it appeared that the professors of theology were the oldest at both periods (54 and 55 years respectively); that the professors of philosophy came next, having the average age of the whole; and that the professors of medicine (50.8 and 51.9) and of law (52.9 and 51.4) were the youngest. While theology had but 10.3 and 12.3 per cent. of its professors under 40, medicine had no less than 20.1 and 20.8; that is, medical students attain the professorship earlier than do the theological. On the other hand, 31 and 36.2 per cent. of the theological professors were over 60 years of age, but only 21.2 and 25.8 of the medical. It is suggested that the medical chairs are vacated earlier either in consequence of a higher death-rate arising from the practice of their incumbents, or because their incomparably better remuneration enables them to retire voluntarily. Professors of philosophy under forty numbered 16.4 and 19.2 per cent.; of law, 14.8 and 21.2. The accession of younger jurists coincides with a decrease in those over 60, viz., from 29.6 to 26.6 per cent., whereas in the three other faculties those over 60 have increased. Dr. Laspeyres proceeds to show that the universities in which the average age of the professors is greatest have decidedly the largest attendance of students. He divides thirty universities into two groups of fifteen each, according to the attendance in 1875, and finds that the fifteen most frequented number 19,010 students against 5,194 in the second group (=366:100), and that the professors average 53.5 years in the first case and 51.5 in the last. Without exception all the faculties in the elder group were best attended—theology =221:100; law=641:100; medicine, 274:100; and philosophy, 366:100. The preponderance in the elder law faculties is very striking. The ten Prussian universities give similar results, confirming the alleged relation between attendance and professorial age. Dr. Laspeyres, having thus cleared the way, proceeds to discuss a question of university policy: at what age a professor should be relieved of a part of his duties by a colleague or wholly retired. We cannot follow him further than to remark that he estimates the cost of a compulsory rejuvenation of professorships whose incumbents have reached seventy at 200,000 thalers (600,000 marks) per annum—a sum so large in German official eyes that he has to apologize for proposing such an outlay by showing that the benefits arising from the renewal would be well worth the cost.

—The monument to Henri Regnault, the young French painter, of a promise so exceptionally brilliant, who was killed in January, 1871, during a sally from besieged Paris, has been completed. Erected by subscription among the pupils and ex-pupils of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, the monument stands in the cloister of the inner court of that institution—the charming "Cour du Murier." The court is like a glimpse of Florence or Rome, with its graceful arcades and its great mulberry-tree and picturesque fountain in the centre. Under the arcade, near one of its angles, rises the singular structure which the taste of the authorities concerned has deemed most fitting to commemorate the genius and premature death of the author of the "Salome" and the portrait of General Prim. It consists of two columns and a pediment, in white marble, with a high pedestal surmounted by a bust in bronze enclosed within them. Against the pedestal leans the figure of "La Jeunesse," by M. Chapu, which attracted such admiration in the Salon of 1875; the bust which crowns it is a head of Regnault, and is from the hand of M. Degeorge. The columns, the arch above them, and all the available space between them, are covered with gilding—symbolic flowers and vines and arabesques; and directly behind the bust is an elaborate and brilliant mosaic. On the columns are graven in gold the names of the other pupils of the school who fell in the late war, with their professions and the dates of their death. Their names are nine in number, and five out of the nine are architects. Of the remainder, two are painters and two sculptors. The monument is overcharged with gilding and is entirely deficient in simplicity, and the result is a regrettable lack of impressiveness. Its designers have wished to avoid what are called in France the "banal" and the "convenu," but they have fallen, on the other hand, into something which may be almost termed the tawdry. M. Degeorge has done but meagre justice to Regnault's handsome and intellectual head; the face looks morbid and truculent, and the bronze is so dark in tone that it may be almost mistaken for that inexpressive material, black basalt. The redeeming feature in the work is the extremely beautiful figure of M. Chapu, which is, however, of so delicate and refined a quality that it is rather lost in the garishness of what surrounds it. It represents a very young girl, with her back turned and her head thrown back, pressing against a wall, and stretching up a lovely virginal arm to hang a wreath of laurel against the base of the bust. One of her knees is lifted against a projecting ledge, and her right hand is also raised, with a gesture admirably rendered, to assist her movement. The position was full of difficulties for the sculptor, which have been most skilfully, and yet most naturally, dealt with; and the figure is instinct with youth, eagerness, slenderness, lightness, and the charming quality for which the Latins had the charming word *gracilis*. It must be added, however, that in its actual situation it regrettably suggests a sugar-image wrapped in gilt paper, or even one of the effigies of the Christ-child at the foot of a Christmas-tree. Regnault's most eloquent monument is still his superb portrait of Prim at the Luxembourg.

—The twelfth (in reality fourteenth) volume of the gigantic history of the drama by Klein, whose death we noticed in a late issue, has recently appeared, being the first volume of the history of the English drama ('Geschichte des Dramas.' Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. 1876). The seven hundred and fifty-four large octavo pages of this volume carry us no further than the Chester, Townely, and Coventry plays, but, on the other hand, they

give us a detailed description of Great Britain's physical geography and original inhabitants which fills fifty-eight pages, and eighty-five more are necessary to take us through the Anglo-Saxon conquest. It is true that a nation's dramatic spirit is manifested in its popular songs, but that is no reason why forty-eight pages of the work before us should be devoted to a bibliography of the Scottish ballads. It has been well said that Klein suffered from bad literary digestion, and his great work is a huge mass of ill-digested materials of comparatively little use to any one. It is, moreover, disfigured by a style the like of which, it is safe to say, has never been seen before in this century, and interrupted by outbursts of rage against his critics or those with whom he differs. Those who wish to see the capabilities of the German language for abuse should read the author's attack on Paul Heyse, p. 501, and on Ebert, p. 734; the former's fault consisting in having written the novel 'Kinder der Welt,' the latter's in having given an analysis of the Townely mysteries in which he did not deem it necessary to translate literally the improprieties of the original.

RECENT POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY.*

THE campaign life of Mr. Hayes, written by Mr. Howells, differs considerably from that brought out by Mr. Howard. The first is, as the author informs the public in his preface, "his own enterprise," and "in nowise adopted or patronized" by Mr. Hayes. The second has been prepared "under the special sanction of Governor Hayes by a biographer of his own selection, to whom he has afforded every facility for the production of a correct and reliable narrative." The latter contains more in the way of speeches and messages. The former has literary merits which the latter lacks. To write a campaign life, as Mr. Howard understands it, is a much simpler undertaking than to write one for the audience to which Mr. Howells evidently appeals. One is prepared for the People, or perhaps, more accurately, for "the boys" who lead, arouse, and exhort the People; the other for a more select audience, who, without being over-fastidious or aristocratic or cold-blooded in their tastes, are too well educated not to be repelled by grossly exaggerated eulogy. Mr. Howard has accordingly no hesitation in declaring that "in the interest of learning, higher education, human benevolence, and equal rights, Hayes has accomplished more than any governor of Ohio has yet had" (*sic*); adds that "his integrity is a proverb," that "his record is of unassailable soundness," and that in his character "there is absolutely nothing vulnerable." The outline of his life given by Mr. Howard is substantially the same, of course, as that given by Mr. Howells, and we turn from the former's "specially-sanctioned" paragon to find relief in the latter's picture of the man himself. It is in most respects a pleasing picture of an honest, simple-minded, modest citizen, a good soldier, a faithful and energetic lawyer, and a public-spirited politician—we use the word without any bad meaning. No doubt a great deal of Governor Hayes's popularity in Ohio comes from his gallant services in the war, in which he showed great courage and willingness to expose himself to danger, combined with a caution as to doing it needlessly that reads more like the behavior of a veteran than of a volunteer. He had four horses shot under him and received four wounds in action, facts which really prove more than the additional circumstance that he was "under fire a hundred times," the phrase "under fire" being too elastic to have much meaning. In politics, however, he has given no evidence of a combative disposition, or at least none is given in the lives before us; he seems, on the contrary, to have no enemies, his temper apparently being very even and his disposition amiable. That he is "sound" on the questions of money and the civil service everybody is aware, though it is not perhaps known generally that while governor of Ohio he recommended the abolition of rotation in the State service.

The anonymous life of Mr. Wheeler, contained in the same volume with Mr. Howells's life of Mr. Hayes, is brief and uninteresting. It goes into few details, and contents itself with showing in some thirty pages that Mr. Wheeler has those qualities which go to make up a "representative man," which, for the sake of our common country, we are glad to say are consummate wisdom, ripe experience, strong religious feeling, unsullied purity, unspotted integrity, and matchless valor.

The "campaign life" is a peculiar production of American institutions, from which, no doubt, the philosophic student of social progress may derive interesting lessons. There is something to us slightly distasteful in it, and its existence throws some light upon the origin of the repugnance so many good citizens feel to public life. Naturally, every one enjoys the prospect of being able to take part in the work of government, but every one by no means enjoys the process of having every detail of his life, character, personal appearance, and habits collected and published to feed from a hundred printing-presses an ignorant or malicious public curiosity. To a certain amount of this kind of exposure every candidate must submit; but most of all the Presidential candidate. "—— has reached the age of fifty-four, is five feet nine inches in height, and weighs one hundred and eighty pounds. Perfect health and habits leave him just in the ripe maturity of physical manhood and mind. His shoulders and breast are broad, his frame solid and compact, his limbs muscular and strong." This description only needs the usual measurement round the chest and the waistband to bring before the mind's eye a vivid picture of a retired rowing man or member of the P. R., whereas it is taken from Mr. J. Q. Howard's glowing pages, and is put forward as especially authorized information as to what we may call the "condition" of the Republican candidate for President.

Turning to the campaign lives of the Democratic candidates, we are struck with the confidence which their compilers show in the patience and strength of political appetite of the voting public. Mr. Cook's bulky volume contains matter enough for two or three campaigns, and in its elaboration cannot but remind the reader of the public documents put out by Mr. Tilden himself, the length of which the Republicans are in the habit, we believe unwisely, of sneering at. Their length and elaboration are, we imagine, designed for the benefit of the "rural districts," in which, it must be remembered, the voter does not have his thinking done for him by newspapers, but arrives at his political conclusions for himself, after much wood-pile and store-box argumentation. The main incidents of Mr. Tilden's career are so well known that it is hardly necessary to go into the details here presented. The reader will probably be surprised to find no reference whatever to his various perjuries, frauds, railroad swindles, and counterfeiting enterprises. The absence of these is, however, supplied to a certain extent in Mr. Howells's life of Hayes, in a number of passages in which, after describing some achievement of his favorite, the author expresses a desire to be told what the great reformer Samuel J. Tilden was doing about this time—a question implying the answer that he was really engaged in a dark and desperate plot to overthrow the liberties of his country, or in other equally nefarious machinations. The life of Mr. Hendricks presents few interesting features. His public career has been principally passed in the work of an Opposition leader through and since the war, work which has been neither very agreeable nor remarkable. But, with regard to both Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Hendricks, it should be said in fairness that they suffer in order that their respective chiefs may be strong. It would never do to let a campaign life of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency eclipse that of the head of the ticket, and therefore Mr. Hendricks and Mr. Wheeler get a page where Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hayes get ten. Even the prattling infancy of the "child Samuel," as Mr. Cook fondly calls him, is dwelt upon with fondness, to the neglect of early passages in Mr. Hendricks's career foreshadowing future greatness, which, had he been the Presidential nominee, would have received a larger share of attention.

Mr. Cooper has had the singular good fortune, for a candidate in the present campaign, to have escaped calumny, though whether this has been owing to his age and venerable character, or to the improbability of his securing a sufficient number of electoral votes to defeat Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, we are unable to say. For ourselves, on the strength of the record produced by Mr. Zachos, we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Cooper has claims upon the gratitude and suffrages of his fellow-citizens which neither of his rivals has, and we can hardly imagine any citizen of a free country, whose reading had been restricted to this work, arising from its perusal with any other feeling than a firm resolve to cast his ballot next month for Cooper and Cary. We must refer the voter to the volume itself for the details of Mr. Cooper's life. He will there find how much the school system, and the Fire Department, the efforts for the prevention of pauperism and for the preservation of the purity of elections, to say nothing of art, literature, and science, owe to Mr. Cooper. The only flaw which we can find in the record here presented is in the un-American name of the biographer, Mr. Zachos; but we are inclined, on the whole, to think this a point that in the long run will tell in favor of the Cooper ticket, as it sets at rest any suspicions that may exist as to Mr. Cooper's desire to put "none but Americans on guard" in the Treasury and the Post-Office. In

* 'Sketch of the Life and Character of Rutherford B. Hayes. By William D. Howells. Also a biographical sketch of William A. Wheeler.' With portraits of both candidates. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1876.
'The Life, Public Services, and Select Speeches of Rutherford B. Hayes. By J. Q. Howard.' Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1876.
'The Life and Public Services of Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, Democratic Nominee for President of the United States. To which is added a Sketch of the Life of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, Democratic Nominee for Vice-President. By Theodore P. Cook, of the Utica *Observer*.' With portraits on steel. New York: Appletons.
'A Sketch of the Life and Opinions of Mr. Peter Cooper. Compiled from original sources. By Prof. J. C. Zachos, Curator of the Cooper Union.' New York: Murray Hill Publishing Co.
'The Life of James W. Grimes, Governor of Iowa, 1854–1858; a Senator of the United States, 1859–1869. By William Salter.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

any event, we have no doubt that it can and will be satisfactorily explained.

The life of Mr. Grimes is that of a plain, straightforward public man, belonging to what may be called the last generation of politics—that is, to the generation before that in which civil-service reform, and the currency question, and "Cæsarism" were the prominent topics of the day, and before "charges" and "vindications," and indictments, prosecutions, convictions, imprisonment, and acquittals had come into use as ordinary every-day political machinery, and when the fear of the grand jury had as yet not made the friendship of the district-attorney the first necessity of statesmanship. He lived, however, down to these latter days, and, towards the close of a blameless life, was obliged to endure, at the time of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, a storm of denunciation and abuse which, to a man of any sensibility, must have been peculiarly distressing. He stood to his post manfully, however, and will no doubt some of these days be remembered as one of a small body of courageous men who saved the country from establishing a precedent which would have struck at the very roots of popular government. The life before us throws some light on a controversy now seven years old with regard to Mr. Sumner's singular treatment of the Johnson-Clarendon treaty. We said in the *Nation*, after Mr. Sumner's great speech on the *Alabama* claims, that in the fall of 1868, when Mr. Reverdy Johnson was going to England, Mr. Sumner had written a long letter to John Bright speaking of Mr. Johnson in the highest terms, calling attention to his unanimous confirmation by the Senate, and assuring Mr. Bright that he had the confidence and esteem of all parties, was abundantly competent to settle the *Alabama* question, and would, in his (Mr. Sumner's) opinion, settle it; that after the treaty arrived here, Mr. Sumner, on the 17th of January, 1869, wrote to Mr. Bright commending it, and on the 19th, after dining with Grant, added a postscript with even a stronger recommendation, thus giving the British Cabinet the highest authority for believing that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate wished Mr. Johnson to be implicitly trusted by the British Government. Mr. Sumner, in May, 1869, in an interview with a *Herald* correspondent, notwithstanding all this, laid it down that the British Cabinet ought not to have negotiated with the ambassador of a retiring administration, and added that "he thought once or twice of calling Mr. Thornton's attention to this, but came to the conclusion that he had no right to do it." The writing of the letters (which made Mr. Sumner's great speech almost an international outrage) his friends at the time tried to deny, but they are now vouched for in the volume before us. In a letter to Mr. Fessenden from London, dated May 10, 1869 (at the time of the excitement created by Mr. Sumner's speech), Mr. Grimes says:

"Mr. Bright told me to-day that Johnson brought to him a letter of introduction from Sumner, endorsing him and what he might do in the strongest possible manner. . . . And he offered to show me a letter from Sumner to him, received about three weeks ago, in which he said that if the treaty had been submitted to the Senate twelve months ago, it would have passed that body with no dissentients."

Again, in a letter from Paris to Mr. Henry W. Starr, dated July 23, he asks:

"Would you believe it possible that John Bright could have a letter from Sumner, written as late as January last, in which he said that had the *Alabama* Treaty been presented to the Senate one year ago it would have been confirmed without a dissenting voice? Yet it is true, for I have seen the letter; and yet Sumner made that speech."

OUR PATENT SYSTEM.*

THE little manual whose title we give below will be chiefly useful to lawyers, and especially to those members of the profession who dislike and avoid patent practice, but are nevertheless occasionally called upon to consider patent questions; to solicitors of patents who desire to do good work; and to inventors and patentees who have had the advantage of preliminary intellectual training. The book is largely made up of citations from the leading decisions of the courts, arranged under their appropriate heads, and connected by explanatory remarks. Its most creditable feature is a compendious and judiciously arranged subject-matter index. We improve the opportunity afforded us by this publication to offer some remarks on the system to which it relates.

The distinguishing feature of the American Patent-Office is its enormous collection of models. The peculiarity of the system formerly consisted in rigid examinations, to test the novelty and usefulness of the inventions sought to be patented. The collection of models was deemed so important that at first the models of rejected applications were permanently preserved. A few years ago, however, the Patent-Office museum became so crowded that to make room for models of patented cases the larger portion of the collection of rejected models was destroyed, or scattered about the country among various scientific institutions, where house-room could be found for them. Formerly new applications were tested by comparison with rejected cases. Now an examiner may not reject a new application upon reference to a rejected case, even though he knows beyond all question that the rejected application was for precisely the same invention as that described in the new application. It follows that patents are granted now for inventions which have been refused a patent in years gone by. The policy of the Patent-Office is changed, and some of the restrictions against the granting of patents, formerly maintained, no longer exist. The standard of requirement has been lowered, and the distinction between the results of invention on the one hand, and the exercise of mere mechanical skill on the other, has been, to some extent at least, lost sight of. It is not uncommon for old-established manufacturers to find that, in employing what they have perhaps properly considered mere mechanical skill in making the little changes in their machinery which have from time to time occurred to them, they have unwittingly infringed upon a patent or patents which they have never heard of, and it thus happens that manufacturers are assailed with charges of infringement upon newly-granted patents for devices which they have had in constant use for many years, and which they have never considered patentable inventions.

The modern policy of the Office is to strain every consideration in favor of the applicant—to give him a patent if possible. With nearly 200,000 patents in existence, the exhaustive determination of the question of novelty in every new application often involves a laborious and tedious search. It is not to be wondered at that an examiner is glad to find any colorable ground upon which to base a patent claim. Moreover, many of the employees of the Patent-Office hold their position by political influence. The pay is small, and the tenure of office uncertain. First-class men have not sufficient inducement to remain in the Office after they have become educated to their duties, and hence the work of examination is frequently committed to inexperienced men. As the result of all these causes, the number of patents is increasing at the rate of three hundred a week.

Necessarily, it appears from this, in the granting of patents the public rights are frequently overlooked. The public has a right to all inventions shown and described in expired patents, and to all inventions which have been publicly known and used for a period of two years without being patented. The exhibition of the rejected models in the Patent-Office museum was formerly held to be a sufficient publication of the invention to make it known to the public. The exhibition of models in patented cases is still so considered. Thus, a device shown in a model, but neither described in the specification nor shown in the drawings, is held to be a part of the invention, and if novel may be subsequently described and claimed in a reissue of the patent. As the public succeeds to the rights of the patentee when the term of the patent expires, it follows that the public has an indisputable right to all inventions or devices shown in the models of expired patents, even though they are not shown in the drawings or described in the specifications of those patents. A model, again, not only contains the patented invention, but frequently exhibits the prior state of the art, by showing the machine or object upon which the patented improvement is placed. Unpatented structures in common use are rarely described with the elaboration and detail of a patent specification, and it has often happened that the undescribed devices contained in old models have proved complete defenses against loosely-granted modern patents.

It has been suggested that models be dispensed with in all cases, and it has been said that we should thus get rid of an aggregation of rubbish. The public rights, already injured by the destruction and scattering of rejected models, would be still further imperilled by adopting this suggestion. It has also been proposed that models should be required or permitted only in cases of singular merit or novelty exhibiting decided advances in the arts to which the inventions relate. But the public cannot afford to lose the protection it derives from the preservation of models. Meritorious inventors cannot afford to entrust to the already overworked officials of the Patent-Office the power of selecting models for preservation. In the exercise of such power, with the best intentions, there would be a constant liability to error in judgment, because at first radically new inventions are frequently unappreciated, and perhaps even misapprehended, not only by the officials of the Patent-Office, but by the solicitors who draw the specifications. Inventive genius is not always accompanied with the power of lucid description, and faults of omission may lie against the

*'Treatise on United States Patents, for Inventors and Patentees. By H. and C. Howson.' Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1876.

door of the inventor who fails to instruct his agent thoroughly, as well as against the agent who fails in drawing the specification to describe all the elements of the invention. By our system the model deposited in the Patent-Office becomes a part of the record, and affords the best security to the rights of the inventor, because the model may form the basis for a reissue in which the omissions and defects of the original patent may be corrected.

Our American patent system is probably in danger of toppling over of its own weight. It is becoming unpopular from the vexation it inflicts upon manufacturing interests. As far as mere dollars and cents are concerned, it is often cheaper for a manufacturer to submit to blackmail for an alleged infringement than to go to the expense of defending a lawsuit, even although he knows that his defence will be perfect, and that the suit must result in a decision that the patent is invalid. If it be desired to stay the tide of growing feeling against our Patent-Office there must be a reform in its methods—a return to somewhat of the ancient strictness of requirement, which limited the grant of patents to absolutely novel and useful inventions. There can be no such reform unless the office is relieved from the dominion of politics, and sufficiently large salaries are paid to retain the services of skilled examiners to act as judges upon new applications. It has been ingeniously suggested that applicants shall be permitted to insert any claims they choose in their patents upon condition that there shall be printed or endorsed upon the patent a list of prior patents which, in the opinion of the Patent-Office, exhibit the same or a similar invention. The effect of such endorsement would not be to relieve the courts from considering the question of patentability, and the objection would still be that the expense to a manufacturer of protecting himself against an invalid patent would be greater than the payment of a sum of money to the patentee as a consideration for being let alone.

An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, now known as the Hall of Independence. By Frank M. Etting. (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1876.)—This monograph is not more a history of a famous building than it is of Pennsylvania before and during and immediately after the Revolution. State and national memories cluster equally about the old State House, and we have found Mr. Etting's account of the doings of the Assembly as entertaining as anything he reports of the sessions of the Second Continental Congress or the Federal Convention to frame the Constitution. Most curious is the chapter on the conflicts between this Quaker body and the colonial governors on the subject of military supplies and protection of the inhabitants against savage inroads:

"The peaceable principles professed by a majority of the Assembly were assigned as early as 1745 for not permitting them to join in raising men or providing arms and ammunition. 'Yet,' say they, in a communication to Governor Thomas, 'we have ever held it our duty to render tribute to Cæsar,' and hence they notified him of a resolution for 'appropriating £4,000 to the King's use, to be expended in the purchase of bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, or other grain, and to be shipped for the King's service, as the Governor shall think most fit.' The Governor, at first indignant, seems to have received an intimation subsequently that 'other grain' could be construed into *gunpowder*, which Franklin tells us was accordingly bought, and the Assembly never objected to it."

Another interesting incident in State politics which Mr. Etting records is the appointment, under the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, of a Council of Censors, which met for the first and only time in November, 1783. This singular body was to examine whether in the previous seven years the Constitution had been violated in any respect, and, if it seemed advisable, to call a convention for revising the instrument. The Council, after a year's deliberation, came to the conclusion that infringements had occurred and that revision was necessary, pointing out among other desirable changes that "the judiciary, supreme as well as subordinate, should be appointed by the Governor, during good behavior." But, as is well known, this recommendation was not followed, and the judges are to-day, says our author, "dependent from first to last upon the dregs of the people, irresponsible except to the ward politician."

Everything that can now be learned about the building of the State House, its changes in extent and its various uses, Mr. Etting has gathered with the greatest diligence, and luminously arranged in this volume. He corrects tradition as to the architect, giving the credit of its design and supervision to Andrew Hamilton, Speaker of the Assembly; he relates the history of the Bell, whose inscription, by the way—"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land"—appears to have been suggested, prophetically, by another Speaker, Isaac Norris. The Bell was originally made in England, but cracked soon after its arrival, was thereupon broken up and recast here by Pass and Stow, and still a third time had to go to the pot before it was acceptable. The restoration of Independence Hall, with which Mr. Etting is so honorably identified as a leading spirit, is fully described, and here, as throughout the work, the aid of the camera is invoked to reproduce the scenes and objects alluded to. There is, indeed—and this is rare praise—not a single superfluous or worthless illustration, out of a large number, in the whole volume. They are either fac-similes of old prints, documents, and autographs, or views from nature, or copies of paintings, and in them all the heliotype process is seen at its best. The volume is elegantly printed and bound, and we have seen nothing to compare with it among all the memorial publications of the Centennial Year.

English History in the Fourteenth Century. By Charles H. Pearson, late Fellow of Oriel College. (London: Rivingtons. 1876. 12mo, pp. 332.)—Another volume has been added to Mr. Oscar Browning's series of Historical Hand-books, a history of England in the fourteenth century, by Mr. Pearson, author of the well-known History of Mediæval England. The somewhat artificial limits of a calendar century are construed liberally, but not with entire consistency—the Scottish history beginning with the death of Alexander III., 1286, while English events are taken up at the accession of Edward II., 1307. As the close of the century happens to coincide almost exactly with a change of dynasty, the limit at this end is perhaps as good as need be. Mr. Pearson possesses in a high degree the distinctive merits of an historian. Besides the primary essential of an historical scholar, an accurate knowledge of facts, and the power of presenting the facts in an attractive and intelligible form, he has that historical sense, as we may call it, without which the most profound learning is mere antiquarianism and the most brilliant rhetoric nothing but tinsel. He is enabled by this to place himself in the midst of the events which he describes, and survey them at once from the point of view of their own narrow interests and from the broader outlook of the present day. There results an unusual freshness, both in material and in treatment, a constant deviation from the hackneyed path of historians to mention some novel fact or suggest some inference which will aid in the vividness of the picture. This freshness of treatment is shown, for example, in the character of the Black Prince. Mr. Pearson has succeeded, more than any writer with whom we are acquainted, in ridding himself of the glamour of false chivalry which has been thrown around this popular hero, whom he pronounces "of very vulgar mould."

"The pride of birth that made him side with Pedro the Cruel because his rival was a bastard; the pride of race that led him to treat his Gascon allies as inferiors, and persist in taxing a privileged community; and that worst pride of a vindictive mind which led him to order the murder of prisoners in cold blood at Poitiers and at Limoges, are the most distinct traits of a character that made him detested in Aquitaine, and would probably have provoked revolt in England had he ever come to the throne" (p. 20).

Richard II., too, is the subject of discriminating judgment:

"He was at this time [that of Wat Tyler's insurrection] a fair, yellow-haired, round-faced boy, with something of his mother's beauty, easily blushing, and speaking with a slight lisp. Events showed that he inherited the sumptuous tastes of his family and the fierceness of his father, the devotion to friends and general faithlessness of the second Edward, with a singular power of dissimulation and great tenacity of purpose. Under better circumstances Richard might have been a magnificent and glorious king. In Ireland, where he had almost absolute power, he showed himself able to understand the real wants of the country, and to legislate wisely for them" (p. 268). Again: "Very different from Edward II., whom he seems superficially to resemble, Richard II., in later years at least, was never governed by his favorites, but pursued a policy of his own with which they were not trusted, and which kept them in constant terror by its breadth, its thoroughness, and its secrecy. Could he have held his hands from his cousin's heritage, at least till that cousin was in his power, Richard would probably have succeeded in transforming the English monarchy after the French model."

We may be permitted to doubt, however, whether Richard would have succeeded where Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and Charles I. failed—in establishing a permanent despotism. English liberties had a bottom which French liberties never had.

The paucity of dates is a serious defect in this volume. For example, in the chapter upon Scotland, we find not a single date between the death of Alexander III. (1286) and that of Edward I. (1307). In chapter vi. we find some carelessness in proof-reading. It was not Languedoc but Dauphiné (p. 114) that included the cities of Grenoble, etc., and was outside of the boundaries of France. On the next page, the appeal should be to the French *courts*, not *counts*. We do not understand the expression (p 117) "the dominion was very scantily peopled"; does it mean the so called *domain*, or crown lands, of the kings of France? These lands we had sup-

posed to be rather populous. On page 118, who was the "heir to the crown of Bohemia"? Certainly not the King of Bohemia himself. We find Sir John Chandos twice called (pp. 192 and 226) "the greatest soldier of his time"; does not this honor belong rather to Du Guesclin? We find on page 54 a remark which, if possibly a little too sweeping in its assertion, does nevertheless present an important aspect of society, and one almost entirely lost sight of in the ordinary descriptions of this period:

"The English nobles of Edward's [I.] time were essentially country gentlemen, whose farms were ordered with minute precision, and who freely indulged their various tastes for agriculture or art."

There are some excellent remarks (p. 212) upon the effect of Edward's Scottish policy in checking a strong tendency towards assimilation between the two kingdoms and seriously crippling the English power:

"Scotland was now an active enemy, connected by the closest alliance with France. Not even during the short period when it was nominally subdued did it ever add to the strength or treasure of England; whenever England was threatened with foreign war it became necessary to watch the Scotch frontier, and at times the Scotch felt strong enough to challenge their neighbor to war unsupported. . . . The difference of language and law, which proved so great a barrier to union in later centuries, dates from the English attempt to enforce suzerainty."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices*
Allen (Prof. F. D.), The Medea of Euripides	(Ginn Bros.) $1 25
Baumgarten (Dr. M.), Das Kampf um das Reichscivilstandsgesetz in der deutschen protestantischen Kirche, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)
Buchholz (Dr. R.), Land und Leute in Westafrika, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)
Clark (T.), Practical and Progressive Latin Grammar	(Chas. Desilver & Sons) 1 25
Cutter (C. A.), Rules for a Printed Dictionary Catalogue, swd	(Washington)
Freeman (E. A.), Historical and Architectural Sketches	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 00
Garnier (C.), Le Nouvel Opéra de Paris, Part I., swd	(A. Lévy)
Gibson (W. H.), The Complete American Trapper	(James Miller)
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Oosterzee (Prof. J. J. van), Christian Dogmatics, 2 vols.	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Payne (Prof. J.), Science and Art of Education	(E. Steiger) 40
Payn (J.), Fallen Fortunes; a Tale, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) 75
Public Libraries of the U. S. A., swd	(Washington)
Richardson (Dr. B. W.), Hygeia: a City of Health, swd	(Macmillan & Co.) 30
Schmidt (Dr. J.), Schiller und Rousseau, swd	(L. W. Schmidt)
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1876.

The Week.

MR. TILDEN'S letter on the Southern claims has brought out a good many replies from the Southern Democrats warmly commending its promises and spirit. In several States a sort of proclamation has been made, signed by most of the leading State officials, members of Congress, senators, Presidential electors, and campaign committee-men, solemnly protesting that they have no hope or expectation of being reimbursed for war losses, regarding them as barred by law, and declaring that all they desire is peace, prosperity, and good government. These pledges are more valuable than a party platform, because men can be held responsible for their signatures more easily than an organization can for promises made by nobody in particular. It is a little difficult, for instance, to see how Southern claimants can expect any help from the Tennessee Congressional delegation, after nine Tennessee Congressmen have formally signed the anti-claims pledge; but the Republican orators, on the other hand, maintain that the whole thing is a campaign trick; that Mr. Tilden's letter does not refer to the claims that are really dangerous at all; and Mr. Blaine, in a speech at Rochester, declares that the Democratic candidate purposely uses the word "incurred," with reference to Southern losses, instead of "suffered," "evidently having," Mr. Blaine says, "a sharp eye on the dictionary." It must be said, however, that this is just like the old reprobate, who hardly ever discusses constitutional and legal questions in a straightforward, natural way, but always runs off to consult a dictionary, or grammar, or copy of the Constitution, or some other text-book. We have to add, by the way, another piece of villany to the long list of his crimes—viz., his complicity in what the *Times* calls the "Great Tax-Blank Plot," or, in other words, the attempt of some Philadelphia Democrats to issue bogus tax-blanks for the purposes of fraudulent registration. Tilden heard of the scheme, it seems, in advance, and was so delighted that he hurried at once to Philadelphia and put his name down on the register of the Continental Hotel. There appears to be some doubt whether this brazen act of itself connects him with the plot, or whether the additional fact that he was "assigned to room 230," and "left on Saturday," is necessary to complete the chain of evidence; but it is beyond question that the main facts are as the *Times* reports them. We trust the matter will not be dropped here.

Some correspondence on the subject of Mr. Tilden's income-tax, which consists principally of a letter from District-Attorney Bliss, has been given to the papers. Mr. Bliss declares substantially that he is on the track of evidence showing that Mr. Tilden earned large amounts of money on which he has paid no taxes. This evidence, he says, is probably contained in the books of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago R.R. Co., and, for the purpose of getting at it, he wrote a letter to the president of the road, asking him to let the books be examined. This, Mr. Bliss says, he had legally a right to compel, but preferred to use less violent measures. The president, however, refused to allow an examination of the records, and so the matter for the present rests. Whether these books contain evidence of the kind wanted by Mr. Bliss or not we do not know, but of the decency of fishing for evidence in this way we have no doubt whatever. The practices which Jayne and his Custom-house spies, with the aid and support of the Administration and men like Mr. Conkling, have introduced of late years, seem to have so accustomed people to arbitrary measures that such documents as Mr. Bliss's letter hardly attract any attention or cause any indignation. They furnish, however, another proof of what using administrative machinery for party purposes inevitably comes to: it begins with filling places with "faithful men," and it ends with the publication by high officers of the Government, in party newspapers, on the eve of a Presidential election, of charges of fraud and perjury against the opposition candidate, based on evidence which is not known to exist and which no honest attempt has been made to discover.

The registration has been completed in this city, and the result shows a large increase in the voting population over any previous year. There has been some fraudulent registration, as there always is, but the increase of numbers on the lists is mainly accounted for by the natural increase of population, the annexation of new wards, and the interest in the election. The increase seems to be pretty evenly divided throughout the city, and the registration law is so strict, and so thoroughly enforced by both parties, that we suppose an election in New York is really more fairly carried on than in any large city in the United States. The police, in whose hands all the election machinery is lodged, is in a better condition under General Smith than it has been for some years, and there is no possibility of little tricks such as have been played with returns in time past being tried this year. In the city nominations the opposition to Tammany has not yet been able to unite, and as we go to press the Republicans have nominated a "straight" ticket, with General Dix at its head and our old friend "Tom" Murphy for County Clerk, while no one seems to understand whether the Green movement is to be prosecuted with vigor or not. The certainty that Tammany will poll so enormous a vote as to make it difficult for any opposition to beat them has a good deal to do with the difficulty of getting up a combination opposition ticket. Most of the anti-Tammany reformers know very well that individually they can make a better future for themselves by playing into Tammany's hands than into those of the Republicans; and their principal statesman, "Jimmy" O'Brien, is going to support Mr. Ely.

The Republicans have nominated for Surrogate Mr. Charles A. Peabody, a lawyer of fair ability, not open to the objections brought against Mr. Calvin, and certain not to use his office for purposes of illicit gain. Mr. Henry J. Scudder, the Republican nominee for Justice of the Superior Court, is an excellent lawyer, an upright man, and in every way preferable to Freedman, the Tammany candidate. With regard to Calvin and such other judicial candidates as are objectionable on moral and professional grounds, there is little doubt that the public feeling is so thoroughly opposed to such nominations that an active opposition by the bar would be very apt to lead to their defeat. We believe that this possibility has already led a good many people to ask: Is the Bar Association still in existence? What is it for? Is it a reform association, intended to elevate the character of the bench and bar in this city? Or has it been "captured" by the corruptionists?

The only thing on which the two parties in this State are in accord is as to the desirability of carrying the Canal and Prison Constitutional Amendments. There will no doubt be an attempt to defeat both at the polls, as there are important interests connected with the prison and canal administration which are intimately bound up with the present corrupt system. But the changes proposed ought to have the vote of every one interested in reform. The canal clause abolishes the present rotten system of popular election of Canal Commissioners and the machinery of the Canal Board, through which the Canal Ring really obtained its power and influence, and puts the whole system under one responsible head, appointed by the Governor, having the appointment of his own subordinates, and removable only for cause. The prison amendment

will effect similar objects. These amendments will, so far as they go, be a direct introduction of civil-service reform into the public works of the State and its penal institutions, and will be a formal abandonment of the senseless policy of "responsibility to the people," rotation, and the spoils system in the government of the State which is most chargeable with, and has suffered most by, its introduction.

Mr. Conkling's continued absence from the stump in New York, though attributed to ill-health, has undoubtedly caused some tremors among the faint-hearted, which the mysterious stories about the "want of courtesy" and other indications of a vicious disposition displayed by Mr. Cornell have not tended to dispel. Fears are expressed that there may be disaffection on the part of these leaders, not of course going to the point of leading them to issue orders to "run Democratic tickets out of the boxes," but to look on at the campaign without that earnestness and sympathy which always are so much needed to encourage the rank and file, particularly towards the end of a campaign, when it is necessary to "close up the ranks" and make "one last charge." The eagerness with which these insinuations are denied, and the haste which the party press makes to assure its readers that Conkling and Cornell are as true as steel, are perhaps the most striking proof that we could have of how completely the "reform" issue has been forgotten since June last. The great triumph which the reformers from this State won at Cincinnati was, it will be remembered, the rout of Conkling, who was denounced on the floor of the Convention as a machine candidate and "part of the thing to be reformed." Again, in the State contest for the Governorship, Conkling's protégé, Cornell, was again defeated by the reformers for similar reasons. The reformers were very joyful at this, and boasted of having got rid of Conkling and Cornell and Grantism and "machine politics." Under these circumstances, any evidence of want of interest in the campaign displayed by Conkling or Cornell is exactly what reformers ought to be most pleased with; for it shows that the fight has been a real one, and that Conkling, the enemy of reform, considers that reform has carried the day. What we should have expected, therefore, in a reform canvass, would have been to see the reformers "pointing with pride" to Conkling's and Cornell's lukewarmness, boasting of it, and claiming it as part of their victory, and a proof that the "Senatorial Group" was beginning to be demoralized and that reformers would soon have it all their own way. Instead of this they invariably refer to Conkling and Cornell, if at all, with great respect, meet the charge of quietness in the canvass by the explanation of illness or by a simple denial of the fact, and "hurl back with scorn" the insinuation that it arises from any disaffection in the party.

The anti-Butler Republicans have got out an enormous campaign poster of the deadliest character, containing "Butler's record" brought down to the latest dates. It is a damaging document, showing Butler in various stages. First he appears as a "Pro-Slavery Democrat"; second, as having "voted for Jeff Davis." This is pretty bad, but it grows worse as it goes on. In 1861 the General "insulted Governor Andrew," and "obstructed his efforts to place Massachusetts troops in the field." He next showed his character by "trading with rebels," and his war record is summed up in the terse statement that he was "repeatedly removed from his command and finally ordered by General Grant to 'report in Lowell.'" We next see him as the advocate of "rag-money and inflation," and of "partial repudiation" through the payment of the 5.20s in paper, as proposed in his speeches in the House in 1867. It was at this point in his downward career, nearly ten years ago, that, in the columns of the *Nation*, we exposed his character and begged the Republicans to have nothing more to do with him, and we were greatly laughed at for our pains, told we did not know anything about politics, that Butler was thoroughly well understood in Massachusetts, and the party could get rid of him whenever they pleased. Now, what has happened since? The record which we have before us declares, with a liberal display of black type, that General Butler became the "counsellor and friend of Jayne and Sanborn in their infamous moiety system"; then he "voted for the 'salary grab' and kept the money"; next, he turned his attention to a new field of political activity, became a "telegram sneak-thief," and "stole private telegrams from the wires by the click of the instruments"; in his next stage he "employed spies" on one of his own colleagues in the House, and finally wound up with "frauds on disabled soldiers" (the record declares that he "stands charged, upon his own testimony in the report of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, with making illegal and dishonest gains of more than $25,000 from the funds belonging to the National Homes for Disabled Soldiers, of which he was a trustee"), and the general reputation of a "political shyster." But the strangest part of the whole story is that, instead of getting rid of him whenever they pleased, he has just got, in the face of this record, the party nomination for Congress, with the chances of election in his favor.

A Charleston correspondent writes to us to complain of the "defamers of South Carolina," in a letter which we would gladly publish had we sufficient space at hand. He calls attention to the very doubtful nature of the evidence (of the value of which the public has not been even yet allowed to judge except at second-hand) on which certain parts of South Carolina have been declared to be in an insurrectionary condition, and points out that Governor Chamberlain's charges have been met by "denials from the most eminent and responsible gentlemen in the State, by the letters of the Republican Supreme Court judges and Circuit Court judges, by the sworn statements of the Republican sheriffs of the two counties declared especially insurrectionary, by letters and statements of Northern Republicans doing business in the State, and by an address to the people of the country from the bishops of the State, the clergy, bank presidents, and business men of Charleston and Columbia." He denounces Governor Chamberlain in strong terms, and makes some statements connected with the nomination of R. B. Elliott on his ticket which are, we believe, strictly true, and which account for a good deal of the odium of which the Governor is at present the object. The sum and substance of them is that Elliott, whom Governor Chamberlain has described as "the most corrupt man in the party," and warned everybody against, is now on his ticket as candidate for Attorney-General, and that he got the nomination immediately after declaring in the Republican Convention that "he had documents in his pocket which would consign D. H. Chamberlain to the penitentiary as a felon."

That Governor Chamberlain has disappointed the hopes formed about him at the time he cut aloof from the carpet-baggers and announced himself as a reformer, cannot be denied. At the same time we must remind the South Carolinians that if we have been misled at the North about Mr. Chamberlain, they are themselves not a little responsible for it. His connection with the old carpet-bag ring long ago made us very suspicious about him, and most of the people who have been supporting him for the past year at the North have done so with some misgivings. The people who are responsible for the certificates of character which he now holds, and which are undoubtedly of use to him at the North, are these very South Carolina conservatives—the merchants and bankers and clergymen and judges to whom our correspondent refers. They it was who satisfied themselves at first-hand, on evidence of the value of which they ought to have been the best judges, that Mr. Chamberlain was a genuine reformer and meant to give the State a good government, and on their assurances most Northern newspapers which sympathized with them endorsed Chamberlain and cordially applauded all his reformatory acts. Now, we can believe a good many

things in a heated campaign; but we cannot believe that the same man was a corrupt man from the end of the war until two years ago, and then suddenly became a good and pure reformer, and now again is a thorough-faced corruptionist. We are very much inclined to the opinion that Mr. Chamberlain is what he always has been, and what this is the South Carolinians have themselves the best means of judging, and can easily let the rest of the country know; but if they persist in whitewashing him one year, and blackening his character the next, they must pardon us some perplexity over the question as to what they really want the friends of good government at the South to believe about him.

Until late in the week it was confidently expected in the home and foreign markets that there would be no war between Russia and Turkey, at least during the coming winter, an armistice having been considered as good as agreed upon. Proof of this expectation of peace for the next few months was furnished by the advance of consols in London to 95⅞. Here gold settled down to 109⅝@¾, or only a little above the price before war was thought at all probable. On Tuesday, however, the markets were all agitated again (1) by news of Turkish victories in Servia, which were construed as meaning that the Turks would be less willing to accept humiliating dictation from the Great Powers; and (2) by reports that Russia, contrary to what was supposed to be her position, had taken a decisive stand and had submitted to Turkey an ultimatum which could not be accepted. On this news the Berlin Bourse was thrown into panic, the Paris Bourse was depressed, and in London consols fell to 95⅛—a decline of three-quarters. Here gold advanced to 110⅛. There was, however, still a belief in the markets at the close that war would be averted, for several months at least, and securities slightly recovered.

General trade has been quiet during the week, as is always the case just preceding a Presidential election. The foreign trade of the country during September shows the effect of the expectation of war on our exports; these for the month make a total of $48,222,462, against $33,818,161 in September, 1875; the imports of foreign goods, however, were much less than last September, the figures this year having been $31,936,860, against $37,813,302 last September. The New York bank reserve keeps up wonderfully well, the surplus reserve last week having been about $11,000,000, against $8,000,000 last year. This is wholly due to the large amount of specie held by the banks at present, and there is no probability that this will be reduced, as the rates for exchange on London warrant importations, and as the Treasury is now paying out the November interest (about $11,000,000), and will in a few weeks begin the disbursement of the January interest. The price of silver in London advanced to 53⅝@⅞d. per ounce English standard, chiefly because of the report that Germany had decided to increase its silver coinage; before the close of the week the price fell to 53⅜d. Here the closing price was $1 16 per ounce, 1,000 fine, which would give the old silver dollar a gold value of $0.8971. The gold value of the United States legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between $0.9122 and $0.9080.

The Turkish attempt to turn the Servian position has proved successful, as the Servian line was broken on Sunday by the capture of the fortified position of Djunis after a desperate struggle, in the midst of which the Servian artillery abandoned their position, either through exhaustion or discontent, leaving the Russian volunteers to bear the brunt of the engagement. This has cut Tchernaieff's army in two, and, if Servia had no friends, would again leave her at the mercy of Turkey. Her own troops are said to be completely worn out, half-fed and half clothed, and sick of fighting. The arsenal at Kragujevatz is said to be threatened, and there is no good reason why the Turks should not have reached it before now, while their light cavalry has pushed as far in an easterly direction as Paratjin. With the exception of Kragujevatz, of the strength of which we know nothing, there is apparently no physical obstacle to as rapid a march on Belgrade as the weather and the difficulties of transportation will permit. The point has been reached in Turkish success, however, at which the intervention of Russia as well as of Russians can no longer be stayed; and the Czar is said to have given the Porte forty-eight hours in which to accept an armistice and suspend hostilities. The ultimatum comes none too soon to save the sensibilities of mankind. Nothing could be more shocking than the spectacle which we have for the last month been witnessing, of fighting which everybody concerned has known to be utterly useless. It is time that Russia should either force a peace or come in and assume the whole brunt of the struggle. Whether war or the *status quo* will be the upshot of the ultimatum cannot yet be predicted. The Emperor Wilhelm's address to the Reichstag gives notice that Germany will not interfere unless her interests obviously require it. On the other hand, the Czar's pacific disposition should be confirmed by the tremendous financial panic which the first rumor of war produced in Russia. Austria, too, has no desire to postpone all hope of a return to specie payments, and Turkey is already issuing "battle-born" paper-money.

Mr. Forster has been out in Turkey examining the ground, and has, since his return home, delivered a long speech to his constituents in Bradford, which, however, does not throw much light on the subject. But he points out that the Gladstone plan of autonomy for the oppressed provinces would not work, because, as soon as the "autonomy" began, the Mussulmans, who are in considerable force among the inhabitants, and are the ruling race and familiar with the use of arms, would rise and massacre the Christian autonomists, thus leaving the question very much where it stands today; so that, along with autonomy, there would have to be foreign occupation, which is the very thing everybody except Russia wishes to avoid. He, therefore, recommends joint pressure of the six signatory Powers on Turkey, exerted through a conference, but he refrains from indicating in what way this conference could prove more effective in ameliorating the lot of the Christians than that of Paris, without armed interference, or, at all events, without the intrusion of foreign agents into the Turkish dominions as part of the administrative machine. Indeed, the more the Liberals say about the duty of English interference, the more plain they make the difficulty of doing anything at all which will not help Russian designs.

The Italian Parliament has been dissolved, and the new one will be elected in the course of a fortnight. There have been signs of interest in the Eastern question such as have not hitherto been exhibited in Italy on any foreign affair, and it was therefore thought likely that Signor Despretis, when he made a speech to his constituents at Stradella the other day, would reveal the views of the Italian Government with regard to it, which everybody is anxious to know, but, strange to say, he made no allusion to it. He explained and defended his policy on other points very fully, and promised the best thing any Minister can promise Italy—a further improvement in the financial programme for the coming year. There was one thing in the speech which will sound strangely to Mr. George Bliss, our active District-Attorney, but we trust will not sound so strangely to his successor. Signor Despretis explained why he had dismissed a number of Government officials, and said it was for having acted as electioneering agents, or, in other words, for pursuing what Bliss would consider a thoroughly virtuous course. What would Signor Despretis do, we wonder, with public prosecutors and revenue collectors who kept publicly hinting and threatening before a contested election that they had proofs of fraud against one of the candidates, and who published in the newspapers accounts of the way his friends concealed from them the proofs of his guilt? Both the excellent Bliss and the energetic Raum may thank their stars that they belong to the best civil service on this planet. If they belonged to any other, they would both be now attending exclusively to their private affairs.

THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION.

HAYES.

IN venturing on a calculation of the probable results of the Presidential election in so far as they will flow from the character or surroundings of either of the candidates, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we do not consider the permanency of this Government or the real prosperity of the country to be, as some persons think it is, dependent on the issue of the present struggle. If we had at any time taken the view of some of the more excited participants in it, that the election of Tilden would involve the horrors and disasters of a revolution, bankruptcy, loss of credit, social convulsion or disorder, or result in the seizure of the machinery of administration by a band of Catilines intent on the public ruin and their own enrichment, we should have long ago met the wishes of some of our readers by completely abandoning the methods and manners of peaceful discussion. We should have acted in all respects as if the confusion which we saw impending had really come, and as if the crisis had to be met by the usual resorts of actual warfare. We should have invented lies, or have affected belief in lies for the deception of the enemy, and have vigorously supported every measure, however unscrupulous and high-handed—even ballot-stuffing, arbitrary arrests, unlawful searches and seizures, the dispersal of public meetings and the violation of the mails—which seemed likely to ensure the defeat of the Democratic candidate. As we should be prepared to meet him in arms after election, we should have met him before election by the various frauds, subterfuges, and excesses by which military operations have to be preceded or accompanied. In other words, we would have been thoroughly logical. We would never have publicly prophesied the downfall of the Union by the accession of the Democrats to power, and then, after admitting this accession to be probable, have gone on eating and drinking, buying and selling, and laboring happily, as if the Union was going to last for a thousand years—an inconsistency which we have observed with sad surprise in only too many cases. We therefore now discuss the chances of the future as one who thinks the growth of the country in all good ways may be less under one candidate than it would be under another, but who feels that under either there will be some, if not a high, degree of peace, order, and prosperity, and that, in fact, the worst thing we shall witness next Tuesday will be a transfer of power from one party to another.

We think, then, that if Hayes is elected the North will be saved the vague but not wholly unnatural anxiety or alarm which, owing to the association of the Southern people with the late desperate attempt to overthrow the Government, is sure to be caused by the spectacle of their active participation once more in the conduct of it. This anxiety or alarm is none the less objectionable for being unreasonable. The great use and compensation of the war—the great consequence which made the war something else than wanton butchery and destruction—lay in the fact that, while it deprived the South of all motive for rebellion, it taught it, by the most tremendous lesson in history, the hopelessness of rebellion. This ought, in our opinion, to be enough, on grounds of pure reason, for anybody, and ought to reconcile people to seeing Southerners again sharing in the management of the public business, and to anything else which seems likely to revive the feeling of a common nationality. But then most people are not governed by pure reason. They are governed by sentiments some of which are as respectable as reason; and it is a gain for a community, and especially for a commercial community, not to have even irrational alarm created by an election. Security is the chief political blessing of life, but next to it comes the sense of security.

In the next place, we should see the zeal of the Republican party for civil-service reform put to a second and final test by its own President—and a test which there would be no evading. The Senate and House would be unable to refuse supporting Mr. Hayes's measures of civil-service reform under the pretence that they were promoted by him to "make capital" or to "hurt the party." They would have to meet them fairly and squarely. We have our own opinion as to the manner in which they will meet them, and as to the immediate effect of anything Congress is likely to do on the civil service; but of the usefulness of the President's advocacy of reform by speech and act in forming and stimulating public opinion, we cannot have much doubt. We cannot but think, too, that Mr. Hayes would feel himself cut off from the refuge which Congressional opposition has afforded General Grant for his abandonment of systematic reform, and from the cover which that officer found in it for neglecting the incidental reform which might have been carried on by the gradual weeding of the service and the avoidance of scandalous appointments for party or personal purposes. Even the present régime, bad as it is, offers no proper excuse for putting rascals in office. And in this field Mr. Hayes would have a high and solemn duty to perform, which, we think, in the simple character of an honest man (waiving statesmanship altogether), he cannot and will not shirk—viz., the prompt dismissal of every Federal officer at the South. District-attorneys, marshals, collectors, assessors, supervisors—Tom, Dick, and Harry—they should all come home. There are doubtless honest men among them, but as a body they are debauched and demoralized and unfit for their places, because incapable now of inspiring confidence and respect among the unhappy people in whose ruin and degradation they have aided. They it is who are mainly responsible for "the solid South." Life here at the North will be hard for them, but it will be wholesome and reformatory.

With regard to the currency and financial questions generally there is little that a President can do who is not himself a master of finance. This is a subject which calls for more than good intentions, and that Mr. Hayes has more than good intentions we have no reason to suppose. During his three years in Congress he voted for all the measures which gradually led the Republican party into the inflationist position of 1874, and against all the measures, including Mr. McCulloch's contraction policy, which would by this time have landed us in resumption. That he did so honestly we have no doubt, nor any that he did it as a good party man, who felt that the Republican majority was "about right" on this as on other matters, and did not know much about it himself. He will not, therefore, be in a position to impress his financial ideas strongly on Congress or the country or foreign nations, or to give anything like positiveness or clearness to the policy of the Treasury, or to meet covert schemes of inflation, like the Silver bill, with a master-hand, although he may be counted on to veto any measure which is plainly and on its face inflationist, and which does not need to have its remoter results thought out. He has doubtless, as have most other men in public life, made considerable progress in knowledge of finance since 1865, and has corrected or discarded some ideas which he held at that period; but this does not make a financier, and we need a financier at the head of the Government to drag us out of the slough of half-measures in which a combination of small hucksters and knavish politicians have for ten years kept us wallowing.

We reserve to the last what will to most persons be the capital question concerning him, and that is—With what kind of a Cabinet will he surround himself, and in what kind of advisers will he trust? His position here is peculiar, and it is regarding it that we feel most difficulty in expressing any opinion. The peculiarity of his position consists in this: that the Republican chiefs and managers, from among whom he would, under ordinary circumstances and according to established and sound political usage, take his counsellors, are, in the estimation of that portion of the public to which he will owe his election, discredited men. In other words, they are, in a reform struggle, a part of the abuse. They therefore are, or ought to be, out of the question. The putting of Blaine, Morton, Cameron, Conkling, Boutwell, Dawes, Chandler, or any of "the Group" who have been prominent in party affairs during the last seven years, in prominent administrative places, would be justly regarded by the reforming portion of the party as a breach of faith, and a sign that Mr. Hayes did not stand for all of the things which reformers now suppose him to

represent. But if he does not take them, whom will he take? We confess that, outside this circle, we have none of the ordinary signs to guide us in predicting his course, and are compelled to look for assurances, both of his honesty and good judgment and appreciation of the nature of the crisis which calls him to power, to his private character (regarding the sturdiness and pluck and good sense of which there is abundant testimony), and his administration of state affairs, which has evidently thoroughly satisfied his neighbors. But we admit that, in view of the shipwreck which Washington has made of so many great reputations, and of the monstrous proportions which the good of the party is made to assume in the eyes of the purest and best men after they get there and become subjected to "pressure," we can only say that in this matter we hope for the best. He has the materials for a good Cabinet outside these men, within easy reach. Time will show whether he will try to form such a one.

TILDEN.

The multiplicity of the "charges" against Mr. Tilden, and his undeniable skill in the arts of political "management"—using the word in its bad as well as good sense—make it desirable that we should first say what we think he will *not* do, looking at him from the Republican point of view—that is, as a somewhat unwelcome and doubtful deliverer, if a deliverer at all. We do not, then, think it likely that he will reform the civil service in any sense in which we use the word reform. His experience of the old system is too long, and his sense of its value in managing a party, as he manages it, must be too deep, for us to hope for any change of *system* from him, or any resolute attempt to destroy the dependence of office-holders on Congressmen of his own party. Besides which, the "pressure" on him to compel him, if elected, to distribute such offices as he can distribute on the old plan, will be perhaps greater than any President has ever been subjected to, and it will come from a vast body of impoverished and disreputable persons. At the same time, the effects of his weakness, if weak he is, cannot be very serious at the outset; for, under the Tenure-of-Office Act, he can neither appoint nor remove without the consent of the Senate, the majority of which is at present Republican.

He has pledged himself to veto all Southern claims of every nature, and therefore will not aid in saddling the country with the enormous additions to its debt which some Republicans fear will result from them. We confess, however, we do not think this pledge very important. Congress, for two years from December, 1877—that is, for nearly three years of his term—will be half Republican in the House, and Republican by a majority in the Senate. To get a large mass of claims through such a body, under the eyes of an excited and vigilant North, for the benefit of a small minority of the people, would be too tough a job to be at all dangerous, and Mr. Tilden's veto is not likely to be called for. We do not think he would countenance or encourage, or do anything but sternly repress, disorder at the South, so far as he could under the Constitution. But we should fear that in some Southern States his election would be taken at first as a sign of a change of sentiment at the North on matters in which no change of sentiment is possible, and lead to an assurance of impunity, and to consequent excesses which might not be of great magnitude, but which would be most mischievous as retarding the growth of mutual confidence and good feeling. We think, too, that his appointees at the South would be likely to represent local white opinions on the various social and political problems of the day rather than that conciliatory and sympathetic but yet impartial view which is that of the best portion of the Northern public, and the expression or representation of which by competent men at the South is what the best interests of the region most call for. But then we must add that we have little doubt that the belief that the Administration at Washington was on their side would bring out a good as well as a bad side in the temper of the whites. The great bulk of them, we are sure, desire at this moment above all things to make money. They are ruined in the midst of great resources. Political dreams have been knocked out of their heads. They were ardent pro-slavery men, first and mainly because slavery paid, or was thought to pay, well. The sublimated philosophy and theology which were at the close thrown around it were an extract of cotton-seed. They will now support warmly whatever else pays. That is, with a state of things at the South which will enable them to borrow money, which will invite immigration and raise the price of their lands and attract capital for industrial enterprises—with security, light taxation, and honest administration—they will push on rapidly towards the social and commercial condition of the North. In so far as the presence of a hostile Administration in Washington hinders this turning of the Southern mind towards the material restoration of that region, Tilden's advent might be a help, because he would disarm suspicion sooner than Hayes.

As regards finance, we think that we may abandon the negative way of looking at him, and say positively that in this field he would be a master. He understands finance thoroughly. We believe a large proportion of his great fortune is due to his perfect comprehension of the consequences near and remote of the issue of irredeemable paper in 1861, though we have little doubt he overestimated the evil likely to flow from it. He would be virtually his own Secretary of the Treasury, and his policy would be strong and clear, however cloudy and labored his messages might be. We think, too, that his dodging about the Resumption Act would not retard resumption if Congress took his advice, which, of course, it would be very likely not to do.

He would have, finally, one quality which we have during the last eight or twelve years so often longed for in the President—perfect ability to protect himself against sharpers and intriguers, and therefore perfect ability to bear the responsibilities of his position. There is, of course, a bad side to this, which we need not point out. But it would be for the country a great gain and a new sensation to have at the head of the Government a man who understood a fraud, or villanous scheme, or "little game," or "deep-laid plot" when he saw it; whose mind could not be "poisoned," or who could not be "got round" by every poor adventurer who obtained admission to his house, or who, when a bill was laid before him for approval, would need no coaching from "managers" or "Administration Senators" to enable him to know how to deal with it. It is quite certain that if Tilden is elected no speculator or wirepuller will ever go to the White House with the expectation of finding the President off his guard or unprepared for him, or unable to see what he is after, and the public will never need to condone the President's complicity in a job or swindle on the ground of simplicity, or because "the old man got mad" or "had his mind poisoned." We shall know whom to blame for corruption in the Executive department.

It will be seen that we do not anticipate great salvation or great disaster from the election of either candidate. We wish, for the sake of harmony, we could share the joyful hopes or the dismal apprehensions of their respective supporters. But then we feel quite sure we shall all be smiling over both of them a year hence, in the midst of a state of things which, if not so bad as some feared, or as good as others hoped, will be better on the whole than the present. The nation, on the whole, we must believe, will be safe in the hands of the majority of the people, no matter who may be President; and with the now certain and rapidly-increasing revival of business, and with the break in the peculiar system of administration called "Grantism" which the election will in any case bring, and the check imposed on Congress by a more equal division of the Lower House between the two parties, we anticipate four years of considerable cheerfulness even for those who are now gloomiest.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XX.

SPANISH AND OTHER CONTINENTAL ART.

PHILADELPHIA, October 28.

NO part of the Art Collection is more refreshing than the Spanish department, though the selection is not made on any system discoverable by the wit of man, and good works are very curiously mixed up with bad.

Spain, as the only undiscovered part of Europe, is still the tourist's promised land; its art is intensely attractive because we find there the only one of the great schools which wrought out a career from the dictates of the national intelligence alone, undisturbed by the influence of the antique; and we refer to Spain as an incomparable museum where genius has worked in all its audacity, producing the most instructive successes and mistakes in color, form, and style. As for the assemblage of Spanish works in Philadelphia, one would say it was made by thinning out the Academy of Manila and the Museum of Madrid, the pictures hit upon being now masterpieces and now failures. We have, in the first place, Luis Morales, pleasantly named in the catalogue as though his epithet of El Divino were a prenomen. His "Christ bearing the Cross" (42*a*) shows how Spain was a plain anachronism in the progress of art, for it gives us early purism in all its rigor, with rigid form and primitive, intense color, at a time when the masters of the Renaissance elsewhere were outvying each other in representing the *morbidezza* of flesh. Here, a century after John Bellini, are the cylindrical and brittle fingers affectedly poising the cross, and the fibre of the fatal tree imitated in texture like a wood-grainer's work, all as John Bellini might have treated them; the "pre-Raphaelites" of Spain are post-Raphaelites. The example of Alonso Cano recalls to us that original and pious master whose religious fervor taught him to transcend the most obvious rules of art with triumphant success, and achieve painted wooden images that were masterpieces. His treatment of the "Trinity" (42*c*) resumes the mystery and story of our religion in the most daring way, showing Christ actually crucified upon the arms of the Father, the Unity of Deity broadly summed up in an expiring Saviour and a puissant Creator, and the Dove upon the breast of God. The Ribera (45, "St. Jerome") is superb. Attributed to Murillo is a "Crucifixion" (42*d*), a small figure of little importance; and for not uninteresting work of the decadence we have a pair of uncommonly brilliant half-lengths, preserved with that incomparable perfection only found in Spain, by Luca Giordano, whom it is very droll to find claimed willy-nilly as a Spaniard, and unrecognizably dubbed Lucas Jordan. Giordano always gives pleasure; his hand is so free, his aim so low, his rightness in what he does so indisputable. Perhaps if he had belonged to a great literary nation like Germany, and had been the sole of his kind within that nation, we should now be holding Fa Presto as the equal of Rubens. One of his examples (50*f*) represents a chubby young purse-mouthed cicisbeo walking with supreme nonchalance through a garden, a hoe on his shoulder and a slouched gray sombrero on his head; in a corner of the frame there is a shrinking Magdalen, extremely shocked at her own audacity, explaining the subject as a *Noli me tangere*. In 50*a* the same agreeable and vapid model is a David, regarding with equal pastoral sweetness the bleeding head of Goliath. But Giordano has executed themes compared with which these single figures are of trifling importance; nor is the portrait by Velasquez, for which the price of twenty-five thousand dollars is asked, and which represents a pig-faced grandee apparently trying to look like the Droeshout Shakspere, commensurate with Velasquez's best portrait-works in largeness of style or felicity of color. Visitors who wish to get some idea of this supreme inventor should repair to the Annex, Gallery 31, No. 200, and see the large copy by a Madrid student of Velasquez's most audacious *chef-d'œuvre*, "Las Hilanderas." The study is not so poor a translation but that we can detect Velasquez's royal mastery of interior lighting, his treatment of persons in a room as blots of color, his completely modern contempt of details, his powerful blending of webs, spinsters, maids-of-honor, wools and sunshine into a fantastic harmony whose tints seem to have been brushed upon it from butterflies' wings.

Of the "Fortunists" proper, none have contributed to the Exposition. There is nothing more closely allied to the Fortuny method than this copy of Velasquez, or else the beautiful picture by J. Agrassot (40*c*), which represents a little shepherdess and her kid as "The Two Friends." Here is painting "*à la tache*," on the scale of nature: the small, black-skinned gipsy in her dark and dirty skirt, the flat, dim trees and rocks in the broadest manner of Troyon, are all but supporters and foils to the luminous white kid enthroned in the centre of the whole composition, relieved against the tapestry of grass and the shadow of the rock, and drinking in the hot light through every fibre of its snowy hide until you can almost smell the warm odor of live sun-baked wool, and the silver fleece scintillates across the room with inexhaustible stores of dishevelled light. The cord which tethers the animal's slender neck sinks deep into the rich whiteness and is lost; upon the sunny breadth are modelled the muzzle and face of the delicate creature in touches of incomparable ease. This superb picture, as a study of "values," is alone worth travelling far to see.

In one department, and that a generally unsatisfactory one, this small exhibit proves the Spaniards to be among the most successful of modern practitioners. This is the department of large, dignified, historical compositions—the line of "official" art. The queen whose pathetic history is known to English letters as Crazy Jane's has been represented by L. Valles (40*n*) with more success than even by Gallait in his well-known subject of "Jeanne la Folle." The picture by Sr. Valles is very large; on an enormous bed, whose pale curtains, of a beautiful tone, form a hanging background for the figures, lies the body of the dead king, embalmed and rigid. Queen Juana, carefully dressed, has started from a watcher's chair, and stands jealously guarding the supposed sleeper from some intruders. The look of insanity in her face is obtained by the quietest and most impressive means; the visage is entirely still, except the eye, which shines out of the shadow wonderfully bright and haggard; otherwise the long, stalking figure, with finger at lip, is perfectly self-possessed. Of the three entering personages, a venerable priest bows low and touches the nurse's chair, a grandee kneels, and a fine young knight, as if this were the first sad sight that had ever crossed his youthful experience, wears a face of awe-laden sorrow and sympathy as he fingers his hat in absence of mind at the rear of the group. The picture shows thoughout an excellent quality of painting, and a simple plot of composition without too much rigidity. It is no wonder that pupils at the Academy of Madrid are so fond of copying this, one of its most valuable modern treasures.

Among pictures of a smaller scale—Fortuny's scale, but not in the creed of Fortuny—a good specimen is Melida's "Hall in Godoy's Palace" (49*a*). The ante-chamber of the prime minister of the epoch of Trafalgar is guarded by a fat porter who stands before the nail-studded door, while warriors, bankers, women in mantillas, and cavaliers, arranged in a row against the tapestry, await their turn or try to bribe the Cerberus of the "Prince of the Peace." It even has a certain affinity with scenes so flushed with sunshine as Agrassot's "Two Friends," before cited, or Haës' "Suburbs of Madrid" (41*a*), with its rich carpets of grass, its cascade and bridge mossed with velvet, and heavy foliage shaking in the sun. The gradation of low tones in the one class, and the sharp, high offsetting of bright tones in the other, are still exercises in the same captivating play, for which these born decorators have a seeming talisman of success.

The sculpture from Spain is unimportant; there is a fairly good statuette of Dante (No. 1), by Suñol, of Barcelona, and a desperately ingenious religious toy in terra-cotta, by Domingo Talarn, of the same city (No. 8), showing the "Decollation of the Innocents," with Roman centurions intercepting the fugitive families just as their camels are about to start from their kneeling position, and infuriated Hebrew women biting the calves of Roman soldiers' legs. Of course, in this tiny pyramid of twenty or thirty figures, not a single form is in proportion or in just action, and the group has that unhappy cleverness in making small wares which is seen in Spanish processional effigies, or South American street-figures in costume, or Italian dolls prepared for the manger-scene of the Bambino. Taken as it stands, the small Spanish exhibit gives a more surprising sense of alertness of genius and versatility of resource than any other in the Fair.

The German exhibit is numerous but unimportant. The noteworthy pictures, out of nearly two hundred, are Andreas Achenbach's "Storm at Vlissengen" (112), Bosch's "Old Shepherd" (46), Meyer of Bremen's "Gossips" (99), the same artist's "Rabbit-Seller" (gallery Y, 1297), Wagner's "Chariot-Race" (same gallery, 1298), and, of the theatric Munich school, the "Lady Jane Grey" (137) by Folingsby, an English disciple of that academy, Otto Seitz's "Faun and Nymph" (gallery 12, No. 805), and Gabriel Max's "Anatomist" (same room, No. 792), a large drama of the fleshly school, where an aged dissector hesitates to dismember a beautiful dead girl by whose side a butterfly is resting.

The Belgian pictures include some pompous professorial works, such as Pauwels's "Fire at Ruhla" (145) and "American Republic" (gallery 12, No. 800); Van Schendel's shocking "Annunciation" (same gallery, No. 794); Wittkamp's "Parisina" (152) and "Guelders' Cruelty" (287); Slingeneyer's world-notorious "Martyr" (5) and his "St. Bartholomew's" (28); and Guffens's and Stallaert's Pompeii melodramas (123 and 135). They also comprise a few more felicitous works, where the effort is not too great, such as Vinck's "Margaret of Parma and the Confederates" (39) in the style of his master, Leys, and Verhas's "Blankenberghe" (16). The statuary is graphic and entertaining, good instances being Fraikin's "Bourdon" or drone-bee (190), Godebski's "Drunken Moujik" (191), Comein's "Little Mother" (180), Rodin's "Alsatian Maid" and "Renaissance" (27 and 24), and De Villez's capital "Laughing Faun" (11).

The small Russian contribution is interesting, though rather for reasons of ethnology than otherwise; but Gerimski's "Tavern" and "Game of

Morro" (37 and 37*a*) are the best *genre* works in the Exhibition, Jooravleff's "Dinner after the Funeral" (88) is Hogarthian, and Semiradski's "Amulet Seller" (34) is a vigorous specimen of the gorgeousness now affected in Rome, where it was wrought.

The Holland collection possesses one exquisite gem in Bisschop's "At Church" (54), with various good landscapes by Nakken (126), Backhuijzen (133), Rochussen (138), and Bocks (153), while the subjects of Israels, though not his best, are characteristic and true. Altmann's large copies of Paul Potter, of Franz Hals, of Rembrandt, and of Van der Helst (119, 156, 157, 158), would be worth retaining in the country if their merit were in the ratio of their square inches; but the etchings of Flameng and Unger are far better things. E. S.

AN ANGLO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.

LONDON, October 5, 1876.

TO one who has been spending the last two months in a remote corner of this island, far removed from the busy centres of population, and enjoying the luxury of a post-bag which arrives, or is sent for, only three times a week, the events which have been passing in England seem almost incredible. When I left London, just before the rising of Parliament, the country was tranquil. People were interested in the miserable details of the Balham enquiry and in the causes of the explosion on board the *Thunderer*. One or two busybodies, as they were considered by the supporters of the Government, had put some troublesome questions to the occupants of the Treasury bench about the proceedings in the East, and a couple of half-hearted discussions on the Turkish question had taken place in the House of Commons. But no one imagined that we were treading upon the very edge of a volcano which has since produced an eruption beneath which the traditional policy of this country has been and still is in imminent danger of being swept away. A section of the people of England, and not a few of my own friends among them, have worked themselves into a state of bewildered excitement during these last eight weeks about the affairs of a distant people, to whom, except in the remotest way, we are in nowise related, and for whom, except in copartnership with all the other great powers of Europe, we are in no way responsible. And this bewildered excitement has produced and is producing effects which may be disastrous, though in the full mischief of these effects our children and our grandchildren rather than ourselves are likely to participate. If the circumstances of life had placed me in the middle of this excitement, and had I been thrown with people who were carried away by it, the current might have swept me away also. As it is, having had almost no opportunity of interchanging ideas with any one from the outside world during this explosion of generous if unreflecting indignation, I can perhaps look at the matter more calmly than my friends, and can see, or at all events try to see, things as they are actually unfolding themselves; and, rightly or wrongly, I cannot say that I enjoy the prospect.

The traditional policy of England in the East of Europe has been for more than half a century antagonistic to the traditional policy of Russia. Russia, as we have been taught to believe, has been, either secretly or openly, steadily intriguing to get a foothold in Constantinople, and England has been attempting to prevent her. The Crimean war was fought for that purpose, and Russia was checked by that war and was burdened by treaty obligations which, tyrannical though they may have seemed if they had been enforced and adhered to, might have checked her for years to come. But the Franco-German war gave Russia the opportunity of throwing these treaty obligations to the winds, and—small blame to her!—she seized it. The development of her naval strength on the Black Sea is no longer curtailed, and she may build as many iron-clads to act upon the Turkish provinces bordering on the Euxine as she can man. This important branch of her forces being no longer hampered, what does she proceed to do? It is given out, by means of her journals or otherwise, that the present Emperor is a man of peace, and it is universally and, for aught I know to the contrary, justly believed that if he were left to himself he would be more inclined to pursue a policy of domestic reform than one of foreign aggrandizement. But the Emperor Alexander is not Russia. There is a strong military party, a strong Young Russia party, to which the Czarevitch is understood to belong, and this party is managed by men of intelligence and energy, whose whole desire is the territorial and military aggrandizement of their country. We know what this party has forced the Emperor to do in Central Asia, and we know how it has been done. The assurances given to England by Russia with regard to the occupation of Khiva are still fresh in our memories, and, though more remote, the Russian policy with regard to Poland and with regard to Hungary is not forgotten in the present emergency. Now, what do we see going on in Turkey and her tributary states? There is, first of all, a long period of misrule, countenanced and encouraged by Russia, until something approaching to a state of anarchy has been produced. So it was in Poland until matters were ripe for the successful issue of Russian policy, and Poland was partitioned. There is, secondly, a series of abortive insurrections promoted for many years by Panslavic secret societies having their headquarters in Bucharest and, more recently, in Belgrade; and, within the last two years, a serious insurrection, promoted by the same agencies and supported by Russian money, breaking out in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All this time we have had an able and adroit Russian ambassador, having the ear and guiding the policy of the late Sultan, and rumors of audacious suggestions and schemes made by him to the Sultan have gone abroad—suggestions and schemes which cost the latter both his throne and his life. More recently, when the atmosphere was beginning to clear and there was some prospect of an honest solution of these difficulties and perplexities, Servia was persuaded to declare war, and to bring her armies into the field. These armies were, in the first instance, officered by Servians and composed of Servians. Now there is hardly a regiment that is not officered by Russians, many of them holding at the same time commissions in the Russian army and paid by the Russian Treasury, and of the rank and file upwards of 12,000 men, at the lowest computation—12,000 of the best fighting men in Servia—are Russian subjects. The affairs of Servia are directed at the present time by Russians, and not by Servians. These Russians have proclaimed a King of Servia who is only half accepted by the people; and they have determined to carry on a miserable war while, on the best evidence that can be obtained, the people of Servia are desirous only of peace.

And that is not the whole. So far we have been dealing only indirectly with Russia. The action of the Panslavic societies, the invasion of Servia by Russian volunteers, the displacement of Servian by Russian officers, the prosecution of the war in Servia by Russians against the wish of the Servian people—however doubtful all these transactions look, they have (openly at least) not been countenanced by official Russia. Official Russia, as in the case of Khiva, has disclaimed all recognition of these proceedings, and until the day before yesterday has proclaimed a policy of mediation and good-will. But circumstances have emerged which have changed the attitude of official Russia, and official Russia has now developed her programme. And what is that? An Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a Russian occupation of Bulgaria. Now that Turkish misrule, augmented a thousandfold by the action of insurrectionary committees, has culminated in anarchy and atrocity; now that Russia's right arm, which was bound by treaty obligations, has been loosed; and now that Servia is filled with Russian troops under the name of volunteers, and Servian affairs are guided by Russian agency, official Russia proposes to occupy Bulgaria—the key to Constantinople—with a Russian army. Such is the state of matters, as it appears to me living in a remote corner of the kingdom, up to the present time with regard to Russia. And now consider (in a couple of sentences, because I have already exceeded my limits) the attitude of England with regard to these affairs.

In the spring the Government appeared to have a policy, and that policy was one of watchful distrust of Russia, and a determination to do nothing to embarrass the government of the Porte in their endeavors to put down the insurrection. It was the traditional policy of England, watchful distrust of Russia and non-intervention. Foolish Tory partisans took credit to the Government for a stronger policy, and the Prime Minister accepted the suggestions of his partisans that England had gained a diplomatic victory over the other Powers, and that she was prepared to interfere by force if need be. Then came the newspaper descriptions of the Bulgarian tragedies, and the wild outburst of indignation which these descriptions have provoked. And by this side-issue, which, horrible though it has been, is not likely to count for much in history, a strong English Government has been struck with impotency, and the traditional policy of the country radically modified, if not absolutely overturned. Partisan newspapers and party orators have proclaimed that the country is against the Government, and the Prime Minister has, recklessly as I think, admitted that he acquiesces in the truth of these proclamations. But in reality the excitement, though widespread, has been upon the surface, and has not deeply affected the resolution of the country. It has become a fashion to get up these meetings. Municipal authorities and platform-men of one town have considered it their duty in the interests of their town to organize them because the municipal authorities in a neighboring town succeeded in doing so; and thus the ball has been kept rolling. In every township there are emotional multitudes who will come together for any public purpose, and orators can always be secured to make speeches and move resolutions,

There has been a good deal of that sort of thing in the present agitation, and a good deal of genuine and not unintelligent indignation besides. But the combination has worked, as I believe, badly for this country, and the effect has been that the Government, which in the spring appeared to have a policy and seemed ready to act upon it, now that Russia has unfolded her programme, find themselves hampered and reduced to the necessity of standing still and waiting upon destiny. But for these meetings and the hampering effect they have had upon the free action of the Government it is incredible that we could have stood by, nominally keeping the ring, while Russia was pouring her thousands of armed men and state officers into Servia, and openly violating the first principles of neutrality. Neither could we have listened to such a suggestion of armed occupation as the Emperor has proposed. But circumstances appear almost to have worked round to this: that England has been driven by the unreasoning philanthropy of her excited people to play into the hands of Russia, and to lend assistance in carrying out the policy which our statesmen for more than half a century have steadily and, in the interests of Europe, rightly opposed.

But what are we to do? The time for non-intervention is past and the time for action has arrived. What, then, is that action to be? What every one desires is a peaceful solution. Prince Bismarck is reported to have said: "Do anything with these provinces, but do not fight"; and that sentiment, or at least the latter part of it, we would all endorse. Russia's policy is clear enough: get to Constantinople, honestly if you can—but get to Constantinople. That is an active, intelligent principle of action; but when we look to the policies of the other great Powers we look in vain for clearness or consistency. England is at a stand-still. Austria, afraid of falling to pieces, can only be obstructive. Prevent the establishment of a Servian kingdom, say the Austrian party, because a Servian kingdom would absorb our Slavic provinces. Perish your Slavic provinces, say the Magyar party, but prevent the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with their Slavic populations, which would swamp our influence in the state. German policy is a sealed book. The interests of Germany would seem to point to the prevention of a Russian ascendency on the Danube, but the men at the head of affairs may think that England and Austria will do the work for them, or, if not, that any permanent solution, even a Russian one, of this troublesome question is better than the present state of things. France is watchful but silent, and Italy seems almost as much bewildered as we are ourselves.

If the above is a right statement of the present position of affairs, an opportunity presents itself to the men at the head of affairs in this country which ought not to be lost. An Anglo-German alliance is the thing at which our statesmen ought to aim. Germany and England could act together disinterestedly for the good, not of themselves alone, but for the good of Europe and the good of humanity. What is wanted is a fair chance to the Christian populations in the Danubian provinces to develop and Europeanize themselves. This may not be what Russia desires to see, but this is what every other European state must wish. Germany and England acting cordially together could evolve some plan of action to which the other Powers would assent, and Russia, if still prosecuting her own designs, could be coerced. Such a policy would not be repugnant to Austrian or even to Magyar conceptions, and it is one in which Italy certainly, and France probably, could join. The actual carrying out of such a policy would involve a forcible disarming of the Turks and necessarily an armed occupation of the provinces; but that armed occupation would not be made by the two states most interested in the possession of the provinces, but by all the Powers acting in concert. Jealousies might arise, and dangers, involved in the proximity of large bodies of armed men of different nationalities, might emerge. Questions, too, regarding the districts outside the Danubian provinces—Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and the islands of the Archipelago—would spring up for solution. But such difficulties would be greatly cleared if the fact of an Anglo-German alliance were accomplished and manifested. From such an alliance great and permanent results might flow. From any other combination, or want of combination, it is difficult to see anything but evil to Europe for a generation.

Correspondence.

MR. HAYES'S "CAN" AND MR. TILDEN'S "CAN."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me to make one or two suggestions in answer to the doubt expressed by the *Nation* and its correspondents of Mr. Hayes's ability to resist the party leaders to whom he would "owe" his election.

In the first place, those leaders and Mr. Hayes perfectly understand their actual relations. They know that he knows that they are not working for him, but for their own several futures. He will "owe" them nothing whatever.

In the next place, the voter who deals with Mr. Hayes's probabilities is bound to consider also Mr. Tilden's. I have to suggest that the latter depend very much upon the attitude and strength of the Southern wing of the Democratic party.

The habits of the South before the war, its training during the war, its present aspect, and its future necessities, all lead to the conclusion that the Democratic party of the South would, under such an Administration, act as a unit in reference to everything which appeared to affect its sectional interests and power. Being so organized, and being able, in such a case, to send to Congress about one hundred Democratic representatives, and ultimately thirty-two Democratic senators, it would, by force of numbers and discipline, be the controlling wing of the party. It would therefore be able to defeat, and would defeat, any measure which it could not afford to accept. It could not afford to accept either a true civil-service reform or early specie resumption.

The first demand of the South would be, of course, a general removal of officers in the South itself. But it must go further. The old system of rewards and punishments is the *surest* means of securing the requisite number of Northern electoral votes, and the South would insist upon the surest means. Its habits and its necessities would inevitably cause it to resist what the *Nation* means by civil-service reform, and its resistance would be successful.

In the next place, the South would resist specie resumption, because it proposes to demand the payment of a large amount of claims and considerable expenditures on public improvements. It is immaterial to consider whether it will succeed in burdening the country with these outlays; it is enough that it hopes to do so. Of course it will not begin by assenting to early resumption, and thus cutting off its only chance of success. Its plan necessarily includes a new issue of paper currency.

That the South would take this course, and would successfully resist the reforms which the independent voter hopes for, seems quite as probable as that Mr. Hayes's supporters (if that is what they should be called) would be able to overcome purposes to which he has pledged himself, and which he has acted upon as Governor of Ohio. He has appointed Democrats to judicial office, and has refused to remove competent Democrats from executive offices.

J.

THE "SOLID SOUTH" BUGBEAR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Might it not be as well for us all to remember in this year of jubilee that the people who in South Carolina are struggling to overturn the "degraded government," as you style it, by which they are oppressed and robbed, are the descendants of men whom our forefathers called brethren, and who stood with them in arms against misgovernment a hundred years ago?

Whether we of the North can forgive these unfortunate people or not, can we afford to countenance the party in power in a course of dealing with their case which is in violation of all the principles and traditions of the institutions under which we live and of which we boast?

How can this perpetual interference of the General Government in the affairs of the States, by means of its official machinery, and especially by the use of its military arm, be otherwise than prejudicial to all rights and interests, degrading to the public service, and dangerous to our liberties? And if it is to be stopped in that course, why should it not be stopped now?

Nothing which has happened in the history of this people has, I am assured, so shaken the good opinion of those who in England were the best friends of the North during our Civil War as the incapacity which our Government has since shown in dealing with the Southern States, and the apathy with which the people of the North have suffered those communities to become a prey to all manner of official robbers, acting with the authority and under the protection of the Administration at Washington.

One may subscribe most heartily, as I do, to the declaration recently made by Massachusetts Republicans that "we are committed now and ever to the rights of the colored men under the Constitutional Amendments," and yet feel that the other people of the Southern States, even though they are white, have also rights which it is treason to the memories of the men of 1776 for the men of 1876 not to respect and defend.

That the ghost of a lost cause, in the shape of "Confederate war-claims," should so frighten us of the North that we dare not record a vote of want

of confidence against the party in power, but must give it a new lease of life, and the unscrupulous men who use it for their own base ends certificates of character, is surely most astonishing. What but gross credulity can lead any one to suppose that about one-tenth of the voters in these States can impose upon the other nine-tenths a burden of debt and taxation which the latter have no motive to assume and every interest not to assume? For that will be found to be just the state of the case, by contrasting with the total vote cast in all the States at the last Presidential election, in 1872—say, according to the *Tribune Almanac*, 6,431,149 votes—the 698,859 votes then cast, according to the same authority, for Mr. Greeley, in all the States "lately in rebellion."

Do the people of all parties throughout the North and the great West who have no Confederate war-claims, and all the colored people in the country, North and South, esteem a national debt so great a national blessing that they will assume those claims for the sake of adding to that they now have? It is plain that the mere proposition made in Congress would consign to political perdition those who should dare to make it; and it would seem to be equally plain that, like the stories now started from Washington to alarm the holders of our national securities, it is but a bogy conjured up by the Administration party leaders to strike terror into the Northern heart, and so avert the defeat which, upon any fair trial of their case on its merits before the country, most surely awaits them.

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

HOWARD POTTER.

NEW YORK, October 28.

Notes.

HURD & HOUGHTON publish this month 'The Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D.,' by the Rev. Dr. Beardsley, author of a life of this Dr. Johnson's more famous father, Dr. Samuel Johnson, published by the same house in 1874. The son figures to some extent in the Life of the father.——Four colored maps of the part of Eastern Europe occupied by the Turks are the principal feature of the *Geographical Magazine* for October. They show the political divisions, the density of population, the Mohammedans, and nationalities. In the accompanying article the extent of "the Bulgaria which must be freed" is defined as consisting of "the vilayet of the Danube (excepting the sanzhak of Tulcha) and the sanzhaks of Selvi, Philippopolis, Seres, Saloniki, and Skopia"—a tract extending from the Danube to the Ægean, and effectually dividing the Turkish empire.——The second campaign of the German excavations at Olympia has been already begun. Work was to have been commenced the 23d of September. On the 3d of last month Professor Ernst Curtius left Berlin for Greece, to assume, in person, the direction of the excavations. There can be no question that the work will now be pushed forward with great vigor. The expected completion of the wagon-road from Pyrgos to Olympia will render easy the transportation of carts to the scene of the excavations, and by the use of carts the efficiency of the working force will be greatly increased. Professor Curtius is accompanied on his mission to Greece by his family.

—Lieut. Metcalfe, U.S A., writes us from the Government Building at the Exhibition grounds: "Allow me to offer a few words in explanation of the appearance of the lay figures in this department, so severely yet justly handled by 'L. N.' in your last issue. Of course, the lack of means was one cause why no better ones were provided; but there are other reasons equally good. One is, that they are merely pegs on which to show the use of the arms and equipments, and not intended to be examined as specimens of the modeller's art; another, that no better ones could, in my knowledge, be procured in the United States. If it were not for the contrast with the beautiful figures of the Swedish exhibit, I doubt whether they would have excited half the criticism which they have received. The Swedish figures cost 1,000 kroners (about $250) in gold in Sweden; ours cost about $25 each."

—In spite of the excessive disorders in Texas, we believe that the rate of deaths by violence is steadily diminishing. Besides what railroads and a denser population are doing and will do to keep this rate down, we can point to the growth in culture of the older settlements as another factor in the good work. We have before us the first publication of the Historical Society of Galveston, containing an account of the Society's formation in 1871, and a paper entitled 'Reminiscences of the Texas Republic,' by Ashbel Smith. Mr. Smith's name is no longer familiar to his countrymen on this side the Sabine, but he was formerly the Texan minister to France and England, and was thus enabled to obtain that inside view of annexation which he aims to give in the paper before us. It is not necessary to agree with Mr. Smith's view, whether as regards men or measures, to enjoy what he writes, for he has a number of excellent anecdotes to tell, especially of his former chief, Sam Houston. Later events seem to have confirmed Mr. Smith in his original opposition to annexation. He asks: "Will the future historian find in the annexation of Texas the first act of the mighty drama which culminated in secession, and on which the curtain fell at Appomattox Court-House?" Not the first act, certainly, but one of the most important. That a territory which was wrested from Mexico in the interest of slavery, and annexed to the United States from the same motive, was made the instrument of general emancipation, must ever appear to Mr. Smith not only sad but inconsistent with the theory of a moral government of the universe. "The lapse of more than thirty years," he says, "has laid the excitement of the hour"; but there is one enemy of Texan independence he evidently can never forgive, and that is the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. On p. 21 he attributes the anti-slavery agitation at the North to "British abolition emissaries from Exeter Hall, salaried" by the Society; on p. 35 he says the Society was, "as a general fact," much more liberal with its influence than with its money. On p. 35, again, it is his "clear opinion" that the Society assisted Mexico in fitting out war steamers in England with which to ravage the coast of Texas; on p. 50 the assistance is asserted as a fact. On p. 75 it appears that Mr. Smith was himself "charged with being in a plot to sell Texas to Great Britain for gold. And 'British gold' was mouthed as briskly as if they who did so had seen it counted out." We suppose, therefore, that Mr. Smith must have caught the Society in the act of paying some of its abolition emissaries their salaries. He attended several of its meetings incognito, using a journalist's card of admission, but he does not say that he ever heard the clink of the gold. It is a curious fact that the Mexican war steamers just referred to were built by the Messrs. Laird at Birkenhead, and that "the British Cabinet acted tardily and with seeming great reluctance in forbidding these vessels to sail from their ports armed, loaded with military supplies, manned by British seamen avowedly for the Mexican service against Texas." Mr. Smith, by the way, speaks of a *Texas* commissioner, of *Texian* independence, etc., and never uses the adjective Texan Was this customary in his day and in his own State? Of the two forms, the latter we believe to be as old as the former, and better worth preserving.

—In the October number of the *American Church Review*, in an article on "Church Music," Dr. Morgan Dix, after quoting the dictum of the late Norman Macleod that American music is chiefly "Yankee Doodle," declares that if we eliminate the foreign and consider only the indigenous product, "we arrive at a sprouty upgrowth of little sing-song tunes, having a kind of sentimental savor, or a certain briskness and elation, and set to words in keeping with the lightness of the composition; we come to a school of music represented . . . . on its religious side by Sankey's 'Gospel Hymns.'" And in the course of a careful study of the religious songs of this type Dr. Dix found "There is a land of pure delight" set to the singularly secular tune "Drink to me only with thine eyes." Again, he detected "God's temple crowns the holy mount" adapted to "Pensez à moi, ma chère amie," and "Hark, hark, my soul, angelic notes are swelling," to the air of "La Suissesse au bord du lac," and "Jesus, Saviour of my soul," to "When the swallows homeward fly." All this reminds one irresistibly of the little boy who wanted to know if "With verdure clad" was the same as the "Wearing of the green." There is, of course, nothing new about it. Long ago it was allowed that the Devil ought not to have all the best tunes to himself, and recent numbers of *Notes and Queries* have contained ample evidence of the spoliation to which he has been subjected. Thus, the tune "Belmont," for instance, is Haydn's "My mother bids me bind my hair"; "Cranbrook" is from "Come all, my jolly sailors all," and a third popular hymn-tune from "The Devil among the tailors." It is noted also that in 1590 the Scotch reformers, finding the people greatly attached to their profane songs, deliberately provided "gude and godly songs to be sung to the same tune." Sometimes the first stanza of the old song was retained, the other stanzas being tagged to it like the moral to a tale in the "Gesta Romanorum." One quaint specimen may be quoted:

"Wha's at my windo, wha, wha?
Gae from my windo, gae, gae;
Wha calls there so like ane stranger?
Gae from my windo, gae, gae.

"Lord, I am heir ane wretched mortal
That for thy mercy dois cry and call.
Mercy to have thou art not worthy,
Gae from my windo, gae, gae."

—The late Librarians' Convention was even more successful than its

promoters had expected, and many persons, we are told, have already expressed their regret that they did not make more effort to be present. If the increase of good feeling and a better knowledge of one another were all that it accomplished, that would be sufficient; but there were more solid results. The long-desired completion of Poole's 'Index to Periodical Literature' is now an assured fact. The book will be in the hands of librarians before the next quinquennial convention. It will include the 'Index' of 1853, and be brought down to the date of issue. Another enterprise, hardly less important, was approved by the Convention and referred to a committee, which, it is to be hoped, will take steps to commence work with the new year—the publication by the Library Association of a bimonthly list (under authors, subjects, and titles) of the contents of current periodical literature, with a biennial index. If the few libraries which are most interested guarantee its publication for the first year, it will prove to be so useful as easily to acquire a sufficient subscription-list. So much of our best writing is now appearing in the periodical form that libraries need a catalogue of their magazine articles as much as of their books; but for each to make its own index, as many are now doing, is an intolerable waste of time. It would be much cheaper for them to subscribe fifty dollars a year apiece to a printed list than to attempt to do the work each for itself. Several have already expressed their willingness so to contribute; but no such sum will be required if every library of 10,000 volumes, and a reasonable number of editors and literary men, think it worth four or five dollars a year. Mr. Poole's work is to be limited to English periodicals; the monthly list would include some foreign journals. A third work of importance, but of less pressing need, was considered—a subject-index of collections of essays. In part, this would cover the same ground as Poole's 'Index,' and undoubtedly it would be more economical and convenient to publish the two in a single alphabet than as separate works; but the incorporation of essay references would delay the preparation of the periodical index, which has been delayed long enough already, and the publisher might be unwilling to undertake so large a volume as would be required. It is, of course, to be regretted that the Association has not the means to produce its work in the best possible way, but this is a common misfortune, and librarians are accustomed to act on the proverb that half a loaf is better than no bread.

—These weighty matters were transacted in a few minutes, for no one needed to be convinced of the necessity of action. The chief discussion was on the question whether fiction should be encouraged or allowed or excluded from public libraries. A very interesting report from the guardian of a small collection of books—about 9,000 volumes—established by the Quakers in Germantown showed that a library can be carried on, even among a manufacturing population, and retain its readers, without a single volume of fiction. Another statement, from the largest library in the country, showed how by wise management the circulation of fiction can be transmuted in a very short time into more solid reading. Some remarks were made in favor of fiction, and in testimony to its value both in moral education and as a stepping-stone to higher intellectual occupation; other speakers assumed that its use is always to be deplored and regarded as at best a concession to the weakness of human nature. The dispute resembles that between the moral-suasionists and the prohibitionists, the latter party being decidedly in the minority. It seems to us that it did not bring out clearly enough the fact that the library of a country town, or even of a manufacturing suburb, need not be treated in exactly the same way as that of a city, and that some things can be done where the librarian comes into direct contact with his people which are impossible in the hurry of delivering a thousand volumes a day; that the uneducated can be often advised or cajoled into good reading when the half-educated will resent any advice and the educated do not need it. The discussion also hardly took sufficient account of the very great value of the better sort of fiction. There are novels and novels. It is time that some new name was invented for the trash of "Ouida" and Southworth and the author of 'Guy Livingstone.' It is unbearable that these writers should be classed in the same rubric with George Eliot and George Macdonald, the author of 'John Halifax,' and the author of 'A Trap to catch a Sunbeam.' As well class together and condemn alike Fénelon or Channing and a dervish or a Mormon missionary. They have nothing in common that is essential to the point under discussion—whether, as some assert or imply, the influence of fiction is entirely and at all times evil, or, as others believe, the best fiction is capable of as good an influence, moral and intellectual, as any other kind of reading.

—The anti-vivisectionists in England have had their attention called to other directions in which their humane sympathies might profitably be exercised. Mr. Freeman has reminded them of the sufferings undergone by the hound-hunted fox or hare, and has been followed by a writer in *Nature* (Oct. 5), who deals with what George Eliot might call the "hedge-row tragedies." The basis of his calculation is the Eighteenth Report of the Board of Inland Revenue, which gives the number of persons who took out licenses to kill "game" and to carry a gun in 1873–4, 1874–5. The gun licenses were about as two to one of the game licenses, and altogether they amounted in the two years to 410,239. On the bird or beast killed outright the writer wastes no pity; he is concerned only with the wounded, be it more or less severely, who escape to suffer "acute pain, enduring for some hours or days." We cannot go into the details of his estimate, further than to note his assumption, derived from his own experience as a sportsman in former years, that "a man must be an uncommonly good and careful shot who does not on an average wound without 'bagging' more than three head of game each day that he takes the field." The conclusion is that during the two years in question the holders of game licenses inflicted useless pain on 16,874,550 animals; the holders of gun licenses, on 28,736,656—or more than twenty-two millions in 1873–4, and more than twenty-three and a half millions in 1874–5. Calling the number twenty millions per annum, "we would invite our readers," says the writer, with perfect temper, "to reflect on the proportion which even that number bears to the number of animals which during the same time have been subjected to experiment by the physiologists of this country. The latter have been held up to obloquy as monsters of cruelty. If this has been done justly, what must they think of those who use the gun?" The case is only partly presented if one does not allude to the number of animals wounded first by one gunner and then by a second and perhaps a third before it is finally despatched. This number is of course not ascertainable, but it may well be considerable; at least, to one who is neither a naturalist nor a sportsman twenty million head of game seems an enormous number to be met with in so limited an area as that of the British Islands, and suggests a possible duplication like that with which we are familiar, say, in the statistics of railway passenger transportation, where the same persons ride over and over again. But on this point the difficulty is doubtless with our power of imagination.

—The eighth session of the Congrès International d'Archéologie et d'Anthropologie Préhistoriques, held at Budapesth, September 4–12, though less imposing and influential than the session at Stockholm in 1874—which was under the immediate patronage of the King of Sweden—had nevertheless features of special local interest, and discussions and results of permanent value to archæological science. There was abundant instruction in the place itself, what with the Roman remains still to be seen in Buda (Ofen, the Aquincum of the Romans), and the fine collection of local antiquities in the National Museum in Pesth, which contains some of the best specimens of weapons, utensils, and ornaments of the period of the Migrations, a fair representation of the stone and bronze periods, and a good assortment of Roman objects. In addition to this permanent collection, a loan collection of antiquities from all the museums and the private collections of Hungary was arranged for the special use of the Congress, being classified under the four departments of Upper Hungary, Hungary beyond the Danube, Lower Hungary, and Transylvania. Some remarkable specimens of stone hatchets, bronze celts and swords, and of ornamented rings and fillets, excited the envy of collectors from other countries. Hungary has rich material of prehistoric archæology on her own soil, and not a few of the nobility are devoting themselves to a science which is so well illustrated by findings on their estates. Some of the best papers of the Congress, in fact, were by Hungarian noblemen. Another gratifying feature of the Congress was the number of ecclesiastics who participated in its sessions and sometimes in its discussions. There were upwards of a hundred strangers in attendance, the United States being represented by Professor H. W. Haynes, of Boston, and Dr. J. P. Thompson as delegate of the American Geographical Society. The Congress was emphatically a working body. Two sessions of three hours each were held daily except on the days devoted to excursions. Papers and speeches were limited to twenty minutes, and after each paper there was opportunity for discussion. Most of the papers were devoted to the communication of specific facts; but sometimes an argument was developed that, by the courtesy of the Congress, grew to the dimensions of a lecture. Such, for instance, was the admirable discourse of Professor Broca upon the question of trepanning in prehistoric times. He exhibited several skulls which had been perforated with great nicety, the opening being as smooth and exact as can be made by the most skilful surgery of the present day. He demonstrated that in some cases these perforations were made before death, in others after death. The latter were probably for a religious purpose, the fragment being worn as an amulet; but the former could be ascribed to a surgical operation. Such skulls had been found all over France—in Lozère, the Champagne, the environs of Paris, etc.—and belong to the

neolithic age. Professor Virchow also gave an instructive address upon the proportion and distribution of the dark and light races in Germany, with special reference to the question of migration. Mr. Evans presented to the Congress his "Album of the Age of Bronze in Great Britain," the precursor of the great work he has in preparation ; and both he and Mr. Franks contributed much to the interest of the Congress by their discriminating discussion of the ages of bronze and stone. Three days were devoted to excursions. At Hatvan numerous excavations were made in presence of the Congress, and some very good specimens of Roman pottery, beads, etc., were exhumed. At Erd, in a field of tumuli, traces of iron and of cremation were met with. The next session will probably be held at Moscow, in 1879.

—The "Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations" had a narrow escape from collapse at its conference in Bremen in September. In the hope of securing to the association a more weighty influence in Germany than it has hitherto possessed, the conference was appointed upon German soil, and Bremen was selected as having a practical interest in commercial international law, and as being less obnoxious to Frenchmen than Berlin, or even Frankfort. But, aside from the local interest excited, nothing whatever was gained from or for Germany by going to Bremen. One vice-president from Berlin, and another from Vienna, were the sole representatives of the German tongue outside of Bremen itself. Moreover, the place of meeting cost the conference the absence of all Frenchmen—perhaps as a matter of course—and also of all Italians and Swiss, and of many Englishmen, who could not conveniently go to a point so far to the north, and so aside from the common routes of travel. The time of meeting proved also infelicitous, and, to crown all, there was a sad lack of executive efficiency. The subject of bills of exchange, which has been labored upon by committees for three years, was brought to a conclusion, after full discussion, and the rules laid down were unanimously approved. The settlement of this question upon the basis of an international code, that may be laid before the chambers of commerce and parliaments of the world, is an evidence of the practical usefulness of the association. A similar result, it is hoped, will be reached next year upon the questions of coinage and patent-right. The leading topics for next year are : 1, Extradition ; 2, The Relations of Christian with non-Christian Peoples ; 3, Patent Laws ; 4, Copyright ; 5, International Coinage ; 6, Collisions at Sea ; 7, The Law of Maritime Capture. All these topics are in the hands of committees, whose reports and recommendations will be printed in advance by the Council. Papers on other topics must be sent to the secretaries in London not later than June 1, 1877, and such as are approved will be printed, as far as means shall allow, and also put into the hands of a reporter, who will open the discussion at the conference.

—We believe there is a large class of the public interested in the Bayreuth performances to whom the verdict of the professional critic, however able, has been unsatisfactory. What, they ask, has been the impression, not on the apostles and martyrs of the hostile musical faiths, but on the irreverent theatre-goer, who is unmusical enough to enjoy an opera for the sake of enjoyment ? To such enquirers Paul Lindau's 'Nüchterne Briefe aus Bayreuth' (Sober Letters from Bayreuth), contributed to the *Schlesische Presse*, and now reprinted (Breslau : S. Schottlaender), will furnish an answer. Those who know Paul Lindau, not only as the editor of the Berlin *Gegenwart* and an able critic of Molière, but also as the author of the malicious 'Harmlose Briefe eines deutschen Kleinstädters' (Harmless Letters of a Resident of a German Provincial Town), will, indeed, be surprised at the soberness of his letters from Bayreuth. It is not easy to avoid suspecting that he was among those that went to scoff ; yet, if he did not remain to pray, he at least remained to praise without reserve, and censure without prejudice. He testifies, in common with all spectators, to the overpowering effect of some parts of the trilogy, but dissents strongly from the general opinion regarding the scenic display, which, with the exception of the costumes, he pronounces a failure. In his opinion, the stage effects at Bayreuth have often been surpassed in the large German theatres, not to speak of those of London. The contrast between *Fricka's* chariot, as described in the drama, and its actual appearance, was simply ludicrous. Again, *Siegfried's* dragon was "a curiosity worthy of a country show." The introduction of so much puerile matter defeats the efforts made to concentrate the attention of the audience on the creations of the poet and composer. Wagner's invisible orchestra, even if preferable on some grounds, appeared to Herr Lindau less spontaneous in its effect than a visible one, and he likens it to an oil painting covered with gauze. Wagner's egoism, as displayed in his haughty speech at the close of the performances, and the æsthetic defects of his drama, provoke the writer's satire ; but he is, nevertheless, capable of doing justice to the scattered beauties of the poem. He especially holds up to admiration these really poetic and striking lines :

> "Siehe, der Lenz lacht in den Saal !
> Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond,
> In mildem Lichte leuchtet der Lenz ;
> Auf lauen Lüften lind und lieblich
> Wunderwebend er sich wiegt."

The alliterative effect of this passage almost reconciles the infidel to the Rhine-daughters' famous

> "Weia ! Waga !
> Wagalaweia !"

which, according to that most enthusiastic of Wagnerians, Edmund von Hagen, has a deeply philosophic meaning.

—The management of the "Shosha," or Second National (Native) Bank of Japan, has recently taught the foreign banking establishments in Japan a lesson in financiering. In the course of August last, when the large transactions in silk had all but denuded the market of dollars, emptied the coffers of the foreign banks, and sent exchange up in daily jumps, the Shosha purchased bank bills on London to the extent of $800,000, at an average rate of exchange of 4*s.* 4½*d.* per dollar. This threatened at one time to be a very disastrous operation for the Shosha, as exchange in the early part of this month was pushed up to 4*s.* 6½*d.* The bank, however, quietly held its own until the reaction (which it is only fair to suppose it foresaw) had not only set in, in consequence of large arrivals of treasure, but had sent exchange down to 3*s.* 11*d.*, at which rate the managers of the Shosha realized on about half their venture, netting in the course of a few weeks the very handsome profit of $40,000. At the date of the last mail from Japan, or on the 26th of September, the balance of the investment was said to be still in the Shosha, which was thus likely to make more on a second than on the first sale, as exchange on that day was tolerably steady at 3*s.* 10*d* , but with a prospect of a further decline.

MODERN ENGLISH LAW.*

THE history of modern English law is the history of a gigantic revolution produced by the ideas of one man. Under the influence of Bentham, half a century or more of stagnation has been followed by half a century of innovation. It is a little difficult for those who live in the midst of incessant legal changes to appreciate the extent of a revolution of which the force is still unspent. Something may be achieved by the aid of comparison. Any one, for example, who examines the English statute-book for the century and a quarter which precede 1825 will see that the changes which it includes are not equivalent to a tenth part of the alterations which have been effected within the last half-century. Hardly a single portion of English law has, since George the Fourth came to the throne, escaped the influence of reform. The constitution of Parliament has been changed, the laws of treason have been modified, the criminal law has been transformed from a system of indiscriminate inhumanity into a system under which capital punishment is, except in cases of murder, practically unknown. The laws of debt have been fundamentally modified ; the whole law of evidence has been freed from the artificial rules by which it was defaced ; the expression of opinion has been freed from all the shackles imposed by law and from nearly all the checks imposed by opinion ; all the forms of monopoly supported either by statute or by judicial decisions have been swept away, and the principles summed up under the vague formula of "free trade" have been embodied in the legislation of the last fifty years. Other changes might be easily enumerated, but one crucial instance of the readiness with which modern English law admits of alteration or improvement may stand for a hundred examples. The institution of the Divorce Court effected not merely a change in legal procedure but an alteration in the received theory of marriage. It touched one of the most sensitive points of private life. It involved the national renunciation of ecclesiastical dogmas which had been more or less respected for centuries. Yet the Divorce Court was instituted not only without revolution, but without exciting any strong popular emotion. In 1859 it was more easy to alter the law of marriage than it would have been in 1759 to abolish capital punishment for shop-lifting. The extent of the legal revolution of which Sir R. Wilson is the historian may also be measured by comparing not century with century but country with country. France has since 1826 passed through at least four revolutions, but the legislative changes introduced into French law since that period fall far short, it may be conjectured, of the innovations carried out within any given ten years by the English Parlia-

* 'History of Modern English Law. By Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., M.A.' London : Rivingtons.

ment. France, it may be said, did all her innovation at a stroke. The first Revolution effected such fundamental alterations that nothing was left for later reformers to accomplish. In a very limited sense this is true, but it should be noted that the alterations effected by the revolutionists were in many cases far from radical, and that the spasmodic activity of three or four years of feverish excitement will never attain the results gained by fifty years of energetic improvement. Moreover, what we are here concerned with is not the cause but the fact of French conservatism. An attempt to change the law of divorce, though that law is not really consistent with the idea of civil marriage, an authoritative determination of the moot question whether a Catholic priest can legally marry, the introduction of free trade, or the establishment of true religious equality, are all measures beyond the force of the revolutionists or the despots who have ruled France. The intense conservatism of the country is too strong either for republicans or for emperors. Changes which would pass through an English Parliament almost without attention would, if attempted in France, drive the whole country into fits of excitement or panic. Nor is there any real paradox in the fact that a country which has suffered from revolutions cannot bear reform. The impossibility of violent change is a necessary condition for systematic reform. The absence of all dread of revolution has, combined with other circumstances, produced in England the condition of public feeling which allows of incessant innovation. For half a century the thoughts of Bentham have been working in the minds of men, many of whom have forgotten or have never known the name of the great jurist. The fruit of his ideas has been a movement of which the last generation saw the beginning, and of which the present generation will not see the end.

That the principles which have guided all Englishmen who have attempted to reform the law were derived from Bentham is almost too manifest to deserve mention. His leading principle, that the test of a good law is its promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number, may be now considered an admitted axiom of legislation. A subordinate principle, which is rather assumed than put forward by Bentham, has exerted even greater practical influence on the course of legislation than the axiom on which his whole philosophy depends. This subordinate principle is that every man will be found to be in the long run the best judge of his own happiness. That the maxim itself, which is roughly embodied in the proverb, "No one knows where the shoe pinches but the wearer," is true only under considerable limitation is apparent. It is nevertheless the necessary foundation of the theories on which the greater number of modern legal reforms are grounded. Thus the establishment of free trade, the abolition of legal restraints on the expression of opinion, the repeal of the combination laws, the permission of divorce, are all, under different forms, expressions of the same fundamental idea that each individual is the best judge of his own happiness. But the triumph of Bentham is seen much less markedly in the tacit adoption by all the world of what were once his peculiar principles, than in the success with which in several departments his theories have been carried into practice. For a lifetime he labored to convince lawyers that the way to come at truth was to give free admission to all evidence which could possibly be relevant. At last his suggestions on this matter have been all but completely carried into effect. When a conservative lawyer, such as the Recorder of London, recommends that a prisoner on his trial should be allowed to give evidence, the triumph of Benthamite principles, in one department of law at least, is nearly complete. The various attempts made, with more or less success, in this country no less than in England, to codify the law are also distinct results of the teaching of Bentham and Austin. Strangely enough, the efforts of law reformers have, in England at least, been far more successful in improving the substance than in amending the form or expression of the law. That this should be so seems at first sight strange, because common-sense suggests that it is easier to express a law in good language than to make a good law. But this suggestion, like many others made by common-sense that is suggested by obvious appearances, turns out, in fact, ill-founded. The substance of English law approaches, in many departments, to a very high degree of merit; but the style of English statutes has rather deteriorated than improved, and an English code is still merely the dream of reformers.

One cause at least of the failure of attempts to codify the law lies in a feature of the Benthamite movement which has received insufficient attention. Bentham's disciples were compelled to carry out their reforms by means of the only instrument which lay ready to their hands. This instrument was the British Parliament. Now, the House of Commons has great merits. Its main function is to represent English opinion, and this function it admirably performs; but its other and subordinate function is to legislate, and this subordinate duty it performs, and always will perform, ill. Parliament, moreover, had till within the last fifty or sixty years never been habitually employed as what may be termed a law-making machine. The long roll of the statute-books gives an exaggerated idea of the amount of legislation actually turned out by Parliament. Many of the acts enrolled among the statutes are merely administrative measures. There are, indeed, certain law-making epochs, such, for example, as the reign of Edward I. or Henry VIII., but on the whole the quantity of legislation, at any rate affecting private law, was, down to the present century, much smaller than is easily believed by a generation accustomed to see each session produce a good-sized volume of new law. In early times, further, Parliament had little concern in the drafting of acts, and down to a quite modern period the discipline of party checked the indiscriminate legislative activity of individual members. At the time when Bentham commenced his career, legislative changes were rare. Innovation came not from St. Stephen's, but from the Court of Queen's Bench, and the judge-made law of Lord Mansfield may compare favorably with the work of Parliamentary reformers. Law made by judges has its defects, but it has the merit of being made by men who understand the system which they mean to improve. The inevitable result of the general effort to improve the law was, as already pointed out, to work the Parliamentary machine for a purpose to which it was not properly adapted. The effect has been that the work turned out has been marked by the merits and the defects of the machine which produced it. The public wished for the abolition of various abuses. Parliament, representing the public, has abolished these abuses; and wherever the mere repeal of bad laws was all that was needed, Parliament has done all that the occasion required. But the careful statement of complex rules in precise language, which constitutes the essence of codification, is not a matter in which electors can be interested. If the constituents, indeed, should by any chance clamor for a code, Parliament would be itself unable to provide it. Parliament might conceivably delegate its powers to competent persons; but as members, like all other men, love power even which they cannot use, they will not, except under extreme pressure, delegate to others the glory of making laws. This pressure has never arisen. Hence, while the substance of the law has been remodelled, its form has been hardly improved. In India, Englishmen can make a code, but in India Englishmen are despots. The man who could easily carry a whole code through the Council at Calcutta would probably fail in getting a single clause of a single bill through the House of Commons. Other causes, no doubt, have contributed to the failure of English reformers to produce a code, but the nature of the House of Commons is the most obvious cause of their want of success. To the fact, at any rate, that the reforms which mark the history of modern English law have not been embodied in a striking form must be attributed the comparatively small amount of fame which has fallen to the share of Bentham and his disciples. To compare Napoleon as a jurist with Bentham would be as absurd as to consider whether Bentham equalled Napoleon as a general; but the French Emperor, who could plunder the fruits of other men's labors, will go down to posterity with his code in his hand; the English jurist will never be known to any but students. A story is current of Bentham's predicting to a friend that in the next generation he would be seated on a throne giving laws to England. The prophecy has been half fulfilled. He now legislates for England, but he has not received his throne.

A Popular History of the United States, from the first discovery of the Western Hemisphere by the Northmen to the end of the first century of the Union of the States. Preceded by a sketch of the pre-historic period and the age of the mound-builders. By William Cullen Bryant and Sidney Howard Gay. Volume I., fully illustrated. (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Company. 1876. 8vo, pp. 583.)—By way of justifying himself against the possible suggestion that there are already enough good histories of the United States in print, Mr. Bryant, in his preface, gives it as his first object to meet the wants of "that large class who have not leisure for reading those narratives which aim at setting forth with the greatest breadth and variety of circumstance the annals of our nation's life." We cannot but think, however, that in laying out the plan of a work which should be intermediate in bulk between say Bancroft and Higginson, he has made a serious miscalculation in regard to its proportions. The work before us—at least, if the present volume is to serve as a gauge—is not on a much smaller scale than Bancroft, and is on a much larger scale than Hildreth. These six hundred pages cover hardly more ground than the first of Bancroft's original *ten* volumes. In New England, we reach the settlement of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and in the South the

death of Calvert. How the second volume is to be made to include all the events from this period to the Revolutionary War we cannot see. On its own account, we are far from complaining of the space given to this early period. It will prove, we think, the most characteristic and valuable feature of the entire work, with the exception of the closing volume, which will embody Mr. Bryant's own recollections of the anti-slavery contest. We are told that the authors have derived their materials "through independent research from original sources." Nowhere is this more likely to be true than in the story of the early discoveries and attempts at settlement, in which we have an amount of detail and of really new matter far beyond any other work with which we are acquainted. It is to be regretted even here that certain important monographs have appeared too late to be made use of by the authors—for instance, Dr. Dexter's "As to Roger Williams," and Mr. Morgan's important article in the *North American Review* upon the mound-builders. The introductory chapter upon the pre-historic ages, and that upon the ante-Columbian discoveries, are very full and excellent; but it is unaccountable, in view of this, that there is no chapter upon the North American Indians, and no full and systematic account of their institutions and customs. It is also a surprise to find a work for which Mr. Bryant is sponsor better in narrative than in governmental and ecclesiastical relations. These last are discussed much less fully than we should expect, and, we must say, less satisfactorily. This may result from the supposed requirements of a popular history; nevertheless we must think it a mistake. If there is anything in which every man and woman in the land should be thoroughly grounded, it is in the fundamental principles of religion and government upon which their nation was built.

The book is handsomely and even sumptuously got up. The illustrations form a very prominent feature, and were so intended, and they are far superior to what is usually found in books of this class. Full half, we should judge, are genuine illustrations of the best and most instructive kind; such, namely, as themselves convey historical information. We may instance the views of places in Europe, America, and elsewhere; that is, views of the present aspect of places of historic importance. Still better are portraits, pictures of antiquities, and—best of all—numerous copies of contemporary pictures (*e.g.*, an Indian village, p. 248). Several contemporary maps are also given, as the Zeni map of 1400, Sebastian Cabot's map, Martin Behaim's globe, and John Smith's map of New England. It would have been well to give also a complete historical map of the Atlantic coast in 1640, based on modern science; we hope that future volumes will contain each at least one such map for a definite period. Composed pictures, aiming to reproduce distinct events for the imagination, we have less respect for in a book like this. Everything depends upon the historical knowledge and the historical imagination of the artist. Some of this class in the book before us are really effective (*e.g.*, setting up the arms of France, p. 182); some are designedly grotesque (as that of Merry Mount, p. 425, and Van Twiller, 438); some might as well illustrate any other book as this, and such as these, we think, should be excluded. For the rest, handsome as the book is, it is cumbersome—a great thick octavo, in its general aspect reminding one unpleasantly of subscription books. If made into two volumes it would have been much handsomer and more convenient; but then the work—in eight volumes—would have appeared all too voluminous.

The Olden Time. A monthly publication, etc. Edited by Neville B. Craig, Esq. 2 vols. (Pittsburgh, 1846–47; Cincinnati: Reprinted by Robert Clarke & Co. 1876.)—We have been delayed in noticing this valuable reprint by the fact that, though it is provided with a brand-new index, it has no table of contents. To form a just idea of its contents, therefore, we were at the pains to tabulate them for ourselves; and having done so, we may express a little surprise that the periodical form was adhered to, when a different course would have saved the reader so much trouble. The *Olden Time* was founded and published monthly for two years by an ardent and public-spirited antiquarian, Mr. Craig, with a view to preserving documents relative to the early exploration, settlement, and improvement of the country around the head of the Ohio. Whenever any single issue was in danger of becoming unreadable, or could afford no more space to a topic or document, it was broken off with the usual "to be continued." Not only is this exactly copied in the reprint, but no foot-note tells us on what page we may pursue the subject. Few, if anybody, will sit down to read these volumes as the original subscribers did the monthly parts, seriatim, and students may well ask why a classified rearrangement was not both natural and easy, and desirable. The Aborigines, the French and British, Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt, Braddock and Washington, are some of the titles and sub-titles which would embrace by far the greater portion of the work. In Vol. I. we have reproduced the whole of Smith's 'Account of General Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764'—a work rare at the time, but which Mr. Clarke republished a few years ago in his Ohio Valley Historical Series. In Vol. II. a much rarer work, an English translation of a French *Mémoire*, in which were embodied extracts from MSS. of Braddock and of Washington, captured at the defeat of the former, is also given entire. Washington's journals of 1753, 1754, and 1770 are given in Vol. I. Mr. Craig drew freely from published as well as unpublished sources, even from standard histories like those of Sparks and Bancroft; and for his side lights he went so far on one occasion as to borrow Tacitus's account of the overthrow of Varus for comparison with Braddock's field.

On p. 68 of Vol. II. are begun certain "Letters on the Iroquois," taken fresh from Cotton's *American Quarterly Review*. They arrest attention even now by their insight into tribal customs and social organization, and especially by their mastery of the savage relationships—a subject whose importance is only just beginning to be recognized. The mystery is explained (though not in this work) when we learn that the writer of the letters, who signed himself "Skenandoah," was none other than Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, who has since become the highest authority in regard to the systems of consanguinity of primitive man. We doubt if their authorship has ever before been made public, and it is therefore proper to add that all the facts in these letters were subsequently repeated in much the same language by Mr. Morgan in his 'League of the Iroquois,' published in 1851. What was the fate of the antiquarian society of which "Skenandoah" was a leading member, and which had assumed the fanciful but significant title of "Councils of the New Confederacy of the Iroquois," we are not informed. We should say that Western New York could ill afford to lose it; and, indeed, one of its objects having been "to encourage a kindlier feeling towards the Red Man," perhaps its demise was a national loss as well.

It remains to be said of the *Olden Time* that its value does not diminish with the lapse of years, and that it will find a welcome in many a library.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1876.

The Week.

As we go to press, Mr. Tilden appears to have secured 184 electoral votes, one less than a majority, with Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and Wisconsin, with 25 votes, among the States in doubt. The vote is close enough to permit a good deal of "claiming" to be still done. The Congressional returns show a reduced majority for the Democrats in the House and for the Republicans in the Senate. In Massachusetts Butler is elected to Congress, and he will take with him to Washington one of the wretchedest Congressional delegations that could well have been got together. The election passed off in the quietest manner throughout the entire country, no indications being given at the polls, except in the number of ballots cast, of the fierce passions which we have been told were swaying large bodies of voters.

The election of Mr. Tilden, it should be remembered, would not by any means be followed by a clean sweep of all the offices next March. His administration would have to be carried on by the aid of a Republican Senate, and no appointments of his making could be confirmed without their consent. In one way this would be likely to increase the difficulties of his administration, and at the same time it might save him from a great many changes to which a large party majority in both houses would have exposed him. For sixteen years, with the exception of the Johnson interregnum, we have had a President and a Senate in political accord, and of course the stormy struggles of the reconstruction period throw almost no light on the question of the probable working of an administration checked as Mr. Tilden's would be at any rate for the next two years.

The vote of this State, which was expected to be very close, is Democratic by thirty or forty thousand, the rural Republican majority being swamped by the enormous Democratic vote in this city and Brooklyn. Comparing the result with that in 1872, Tilden's majorities in the State by counties are larger than Grant's were then. New Jersey and Connecticut have undoubtedly gone Democratic, and the greenback vote, while it has developed some strength in the West, has, in the home of the inflationist candidate for the Presidency, almost disappeared. The Republicans made a good fight for the State, but it is not more or less than the truth to say that the enormous registration in this city caused them, more than a week ago, to regard it as almost a hopeless task. There is no doubt either that the Democratic campaign in this city, by whomsoever managed, was one of the most complete bits of "work," in the politician's sense of the word, that has ever been done, and we are glad to say that, on the whole, the result leaves the Democratic "machine" in this city in better hands than it has been for some years. How this was accomplished no one will ever probably know; but the appearance on the stage and withdrawal of Mr. Green, the secession of Morrissey from the Anti-Tammany ranks, and the manly declarations of Mr. James O'Brien in favor of the sacrifice of all personal considerations for the good of the national ticket, if not affording "evidence of design," were certainly a most extraordinary and happy combination of accidents. The "Reform" career of Anti-Tammany is, we take it, brought finally to an end.

In the city election the only determined opposition to Tammany was made in the case of the Surrogate's office. An honest effort was made to elect Mr. Peabody by means of scratching and "pasters," and he has polled a very heavy vote, which shows what is the utmost that can be done by a feebly or half-organized movement against improper candidates. Few people who have not engaged in an attempt to defeat a regular candidate know what a thankless task it is to try to get voters to take the trouble to revise a list of a dozen candidates, whose names in nine cases out of ten convey little or no meaning even to the people who vote for them. The evils sure to arise from a multiplication of elective offices cannot but force themselves upon the attention in a State like New York, where, on Tuesday, everybody voted six different ballots, containing in all fifty-three names. Whether the fact that of these thirty-five were candidates for membership of an Electoral College—which merely votes ministerially, and whose deliberations produce exactly the same result, no matter what names are on it—makes the system more or less objectionable, is perhaps open to question. The fate of the Constitutional Amendments, which struck directly at the evils caused by the inflation of the elective system throughout the State, is, as we go to press, unknown.

The perfect peacefulness with which a popular election passes off in a hotly-contested State like New York, filled with a very heterogeneous population, a large part of which is not at all averse to disorder, is always a gratifying proof of the soundness of our "institutions." The only flaw, we believe, that can be found with a Presidential election as at present conducted is that success is necessarily confined to one candidate only. If any thoughtful reformer could by a slight modification of the electoral machinery secure a system by which all the candidates could be elected, he would deserve the lasting gratitude of mankind, and particularly of the press. The defeat of all but one of the candidates makes it impossible to perform a duty which would, under other conditions, be one of the most pleasing and at the same time useful functions of an enlightened press—*i.e.*, the verification of the prophecies made about the character of the incoming administration by the partisans of the respective parties. During the past campaign we have had a great many of these prophecies. On the one hand, if Tilden was elected, we were to have the country flooded with greenbacks; all funding operations were to cease; the Southern war-losses, to the tune of a couple of thousand millions, were to be assumed; the murder and intimidation of the negroes were to go unpunished at the South, and a general "carnival of crime" was to begin. On the other hand, the election of Hayes was to result in a Cabinet made up of Chandler, Blaine, Cameron, Morton, Logan, and "Bob" Ingersoll; the right of suffrage was to be practically denied to the Southern whites; the Southern State governments were to be carried on by the negroes, dragooned by United States marshals; and the carnival to begin all the same, though it was to be a Republican and not a Democratic carnival. Now, alas! we shall be able to verify one of these sets of predictions; but never the other.

The Republican "cries" during the late canvass were, in the order of their production, (1) that the Southerners and Northern Democrats were still public enemies, and should be met at the polls in the same spirit in which they were met on the battle-field; (2) that they were bloodthirsty men, who delighted in the slaughter of negroes, and therefore should be kept out of power in the interest of humanity; (3) that Tilden defrauded the Government in his income-tax; (4) that if his party got into office they would pay themselves about $2,000,000,000 in claims for damages during the war, and therefore should be kept out of power in the interest of economy; (5) that if they got into power the public credit would be ruined, and European capitalists would lend us no more money at four and a half per cent. The introduction of each of these reasons (there was no mention of any of them in Hayes's letter) was alleged to be followed by a great "uprising" of some class of the community. The last one caused an uprising of bankers and merchants, and led to an invitation from this class to Mr. Evarts to deliver an address on various points, but particularly the danger of Tilden's election to the public credit. He accordingly delivered a very good speech, but said little about the public credit, except

that the average voters understood its condition at least as well as Mr. Belmont. The Democrats relied throughout the campaign mainly on Republican frauds and defalcations, the history of which they prepared very skilfully in a good-sized octavo volume, entitled 'The Campaign Text-Book,' containing 750 closely-printed pages. As it was largely composed of official reports, evidence taken before Congressional Committees and Criminal Courts, it was not pleasant reading for patriots. The biography of Senator Patterson of South Carolina deserves the careful study of the thoughtful politician.

Mr. Evarts's speech at the Cooper Institute and Secretary Morrill's public address on the steps of the Sub-treasury in Wall Street have been the principal Republican events of the past week. Mr. Evarts's was much the best of the two. Both carefully avoided making any definite prediction of the precise effect on the credit of the Government abroad of a Democratic victory, and the "letters from leading European capitalists" so much talked of were, somewhat to the disappointment of the faithful, not produced. Mr. Morrill's harangue was more like a stump-speech than anything else, and his remarks, or prophecies, with regard to resumption were, considering whom they came from, to say the least, remarkable. On his referring to the subject, some sceptical person in the crowd cried out, "How are you going to do it?" upon which Mr. Morrill promised that if the enquirer would be patient he would "show him directly." Now, when the Secretary of the Treasury, having authority under an act of Congress to prepare for resumption at a definite fixed time, calls the public together and promises to tell them how he is going to do it, we naturally expect something pretty precise and important, and on reading the promise we said, as we suppose a great many other persons did, to ourselves: Here at last it is; now we shall know exactly how it is to be done; no more shuffling, but a plain, straightforward statement of the means by which specie payments are to be resumed on January 1, 1879. And what do we find Mr. Morrill's programme to be? Why just this (we take the *Times's* verbatim report):

"I know how we will do it; I know how it will be made easy to do it, if this party triumphs, as I know it will—[loud applause]—as it was decreed from the foundation of the earth that it would. [Renewed applause and laughter.] But you will find that business will revive everywhere; it is reviving now, and will revive still more. The balance of trade is with you now as it has not been before for many years. Everything is setting in our favor, whether human or divine; and with confidence restored and assured my sceptical friend below there will wake up some morning this side of 1879 and find that we are already at specie payments. [Cheers and laughter.] Specie payments? It is a question simply of *maintaining* resumption. We can resume any day; it is simply a question of maintaining resumption; and the elements to enable us to accomplish that are all in motion and all on our side. [Cries of 'Good,' and cheers.] And this victory which in the early part of next week we are to register will enable us to accomplish it. [Applause.] If any man doubts these assurances I will make them good to him or I will never see him again. [Laughter.] I will never be a prophet again. [Continued merriment.] We intend to resume by 1879."

Any candid man will, we think, confess that this reads much more like a burlesque of a "Resumption Speech by a Prominent Republican Statesman" than anything else, and if any Republican, who did not know the author of the programme, were asked to guess who he was, he would, no doubt, think at once of some soft-money Democrat. It might very fairly be Mr. Hendricks's own.

Apart from this, the appearance of Mr. Morrill in Wall Street was noticeable as being a conspicuous instance of what we may call electioneering administration. No canvass that we can remember in the history of the country has been so marked by the open and undisguised use of high officers of government as electioneering agents. The Secretary of the Interior has managed the canvass, the Attorney-General has taken the stump, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has authorized a hue-and-cry after the "frauds" of the opposition candidate, while the Secretary of the Treasury has tried to get up a panic in Wall Street over the Government credit.

Although during the past canvass most things under heaven have been pretty thoroughly discussed there is one that has been strangely overlooked. We refer to the probable effect of the election of Hayes or Tilden on General Grant. Of course every one knew that the election of Hayes would be gratifying to him, but during the whole campaign little or no attention was paid to the possible effect upon the next four months' administration of Mr. Tilden's success. Yet we know that the President is powerfully affected by politics, and that the political seizures to which he is now and then subject are apt to have a tremendous effect on all the rest of us. When he made up his mind to "carry Indiana" every clerk in the Post-Office trembled for his seat, and the Postmaster-General was turned out-of-doors; when reflection had brought him to the conclusion that the common schools were threatened with danger from the Pope, his little speech on the subject plunged the whole country into a discussion which lasted nearly a year, and helped to make Mr. Blaine come very near being the Republican nominee for the Presidency. His great silence and his wonderful capacity for inaction have made his occasional bursts of political activity seem like great historical events, and as he has been notoriously filled with apprehensions during the canvass of the public misfortunes likely to result from Tilden's election, it would really have been an interesting subject of speculation what steps, in that case, the "Old Man" would take during the few remaining months of his rule to protect his country from these dangers, and what barriers he would erect against the cupidity and treason of the ex-rebels. What deep-laid schemes of protection may have passed through his mind we shall never know; but, as far as can be made out from the newspapers, the thing that had occurred to him as likely to produce most immediate beneficial effect, and "head off" Tilden most thoroughly, was the pardon of all the whiskey-thieves. In this we think he was quite right. People may differ about the currency question and civil-service reform, and other kinds of reform; but of one thing there is no doubt, that no statesman likes to remain in jail a day longer than is necessary, or that the constitutional method of preventing continuous incarceration is by executive pardon. There is, in fact, no more beautiful proof of the elasticity of free institutions than the development of the pardoning power from a merely corrective and infrequently-used prerogative into a great bulwark of liberty and guarantee of civil rights, like *habeas corpus* or *quo warranto*. It is not only the hope of the humble whiskey-thief under sentence, but the safeguard of the statesman still at large.

We regret to announce that the Massachusetts Republicans have made the discovery that General B. F. Butler is a liar. Rumors prejudicial to the General's character for veracity have been for some time current in that State, but it has been difficult to trace them to any trustworthy source, though they caused great uneasiness and anxiety in the public mind. During the late canvass, however, the fact was established beyond question. The General published a letter about his opponent, Judge Hoar, containing nearly as many falsehoods as it could hold, and, what was worse than all, giving evidence of a familiarity with and skill in lying which in such a quarter was little short of appalling. The fall of this great soldier and philanthropist, the "Conqueror of New Orleans" and the friend of the black man, coming at the close of a year of great business despondency, has naturally exerted a most depressing effect on the people of the State, and they are saying sorrowfully, "Whom shall we trust now? Since friendship for the black man is no guarantee of a white man's veracity, what guarantee is there? Church membership counts for nothing; wealth and position count for nothing; and now the very conquerors and philanthropists in our midst have begun to lie like clockwork. It's awful!" We do not know what consolation to offer; but perhaps now that Butler knows what suffering his mendacity causes, he will reform.

One of his lies in the letter referred to was about Judge Hoar's "packing the Supreme Court" to obtain a reversal of the decision making the legal-tender act unconstitutional as regarded contracts made before its passage. Judge Hoar says in his speech in reply to Butler that he found it "copied" in the *Nation*, and replied to it in a letter which we pronounced "a complete answer," which is true; but as some campaign rascals have been revising his statement so as to make it appear that we "originated" the charge, we may as well recall all the facts. The charge originated in January, 1872, in the platform of the Missouri Liberal Republicans, on whose call the Cincinnati (Greeley) Convention met in the following May, and was, textually, that the Administration "had packed the Supreme Court in the interest of wealthy corporations." On the 7th of March following we asked *Harper's Weekly*, which was defending the President, to answer frankly and fairly the question among others whether this was true, "for the satisfaction of candid men who had no personal ends to serve either by opposing or supporting him." During the subsequent month we saw Judge Hoar personally, and received from him an explanation, which in our issue of April 11 we, without hearing from *Harper's Weekly*, converted into an answer ourselves, pronouncing it "a good and sufficient answer" as to the charge of "packing," while condemning the rehearing of the case on grounds of expediency. During the following week (April 15) Judge Hoar wrote us a letter, which we published April 18, giving a full and explicit account of the whole matter, which was substantially the same as the one he has recently given in his speech, and giving one or two reasons for differing from us on the other points. This ended the affair as far as we were concerned, and, we believe, as far as the intelligent public was concerned. That it should be brought up again, with embellishments, by the old Conqueror and Humanitarian of Lowell and the adjacent country is not surprising.

During the past week so much attention has been devoted in one way or another to political affairs that the volume of business in the financial and trade markets has been small. In London there has been a general advance in securities which were recently depressed by the expectation of war. British consols, since the armistice which precludes war for two months and makes it in any event improbable until spring, have advanced to 96⅜, which is a fraction above the price just before war was thought to be inevitable. United States securities, which did not share in the depression of consols, have not been affected by their recovery. At the Stock Exchange here prices were depressed early in the week by the failure of the railroad conference (at which the New York Central, the Erie, the Grand Trunk of Canada, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio companies were represented) to agree on an advance in rates for through freights. Later there was an advance from the lowest prices based on the fact that this conference is not final, and that there may yet be an adjustment of differences and an advance in rates before the water-routes are frozen. The gold value of a United States legal-tender note has ranged during the week between $0.9090 and $0.9111.

The conviction of Dr. Slade, the American spiritualist, in a London police court, as a vagrant and fortune-teller, and his committal to jail for three months with hard labor, is raising a good deal of discussion in the English press, owing to the singular nature of some of the evidence. It consisted first of the testimony of Mr. Lankester that he snatched the slate on which the spirits wrote, and found writing on it before it had been presented to them for their use. This seemed sufficient; but the magistrate admitted also the testimony of a distinguished juggler or spirit-exposer, Mr. Maskelyne, to show how the writing on the slate might be produced, as Slade produced it, by mere sleight of hand, and he went through his tricks in court to the great entertainment of the audience. The question is now raised whether this was legitimate testimony, and whether it is conclusive against a thaumaturgist's pretence of having spiritual aid that another man is able to produce the same phenomena by mere manual dexterity. Such testimony, besides being unusual, is certainly in the present state of our knowledge hard on spiritualists, but we seem to be threatened with a good deal of it, for several jugglers seem to be taking up the exposure of spiritualists as a calling, which, if it does nothing else, will drive all but first-class mediums out of the profession. Slade must curse the day when he abandoned his quiet *clientèle* in this city to try the sceptics of the British metropolis.

The Servian war, which had been allowed to go on, attended as it has been with unusual suffering and atrocity, for many weeks after it had become well known that it would not be permitted to have a logical issue, has at last been brought to a close by a peremptory summons, addressed to Turkey by Russia, requiring her to conclude an armistice within forty-eight hours. The Turks of course submitted, and the representatives of the six Powers are now discussing at Constantinople the nature of the reforms Turkey is to institute and the guarantees she is to give for faithful execution of them. It is becoming clearer and clearer that England is not going to fight either for or against Turkey, not even to save Constantinople from Russia; that the Ministry will not call Parliament together; and that the English public is reconciling itself to the idea, and consoling itself with the reflection that if Germany can stand having Russia in possession of the Bosphorus, England can very well do so. In the meantime, however, Germany shows no sign of excitement, although the temper of Russia grows visibly more imperious and her demands grow more exorbitant. During the last fortnight there seems to have been some fear in England that the Bulgarian excitement might be succeeded by an excitement against Russia, but this danger appears to be over, and the anti-Turkish papers are occupied in defending her. Russia, in fact, meets with no opposition in any quarter. Austria and Germany acquiesce, and so does Italy, while France has openly proclaimed her neutrality. Turkey has been playing her old game of postponement and pitting one Power against another. When the Powers asked for an armistice she proposed to give one for six months, during which the Servian militia would probably disperse and go home; and when they asked for reforms in the Slavic provinces she proposed reforms for the whole Empire without foreign interference. What Russia now insists on is a short armistice and quick negotiations for reforms to be carried out under foreign supervision, and this, after all that has happened, one can hardly blame her for asking.

The French Ministry have sustained a slight check in the Assembly on the question of pardoning Communists still exposed to prosecution, and the mode of trying them, but have accepted it without ill-temper, though it was for a while thought possible that it might produce a crisis. The most important recent political event is, however, the report of M. Gambetta's Budget Committee on the taxes, which has been long and somewhat impatiently expected, as taxation is a tender question with French Conservatives, and Gambetta's views on it are made the more important by the fact that he is generally considered the coming man. He discards at the outset a favorite idea of the Socialistic party—a progressive income-tax—that is, a tax increasing as the income increases, of which we had a modification here; also a fixed percentage on the selling value of fixed capital. He puts taxable property in five categories—land, buildings, trade or industry, personal and salaries, with furniture and luxuries, and on the third and fifth proposes to tax on returns furnished by the taxpayers, though he anticipates much perjury, and to reach everybody but paupers, leaving the authorities in each department to determine what should be exempt under the head of necessaries of life. Finally, he proposes the abolition of a number of indirect taxes and the restriction of others. As this is the first attempt at a revision of the French system since 1791, every government being too much in dread of the Radicals to touch it, the discussion promises to be interesting.

THE REPUBLICAN CREED.

AT this writing nobody knows who will be the next President, and both parties are diligently "playing their last cards" and issuing "trumpet calls" to the voters. By the time the present number of the *Nation* reaches our readers, however, the decision will have been made, and the time both for prophecy and warning is therefore already past. No matter which of the candidates is successful, the attitude of the two great parties towards each other, and towards the chief political questions of the day—the currency, the civil service, and the condition of the South—will remain substantially the same. If the Republican party is defeated, it will secure through its defeat riddance of many odious and mischievous leaders, and will have the opportunity and experience necessary for reorganization under men who sincerely believe in its doctrines, and adhere to it for the sake of the doctrines. If, on the other hand, it is victorious, it will in all probability be called on to support the President in a struggle with "the Machine" the difficulty and duration of which one can hardly estimate. In either case it will need all its resources in numbers, ideas, and discipline to fulfil the object of its existence.

Now, the greatest source of its weakness during the past ten, and particularly during the past four, years has been the want of a creed or platform. It has had none with regard either to present or future policy to which it exacted adhesion as the sign and test of party fidelity. When it came out of the war the platform on which it had been formed had become in great part obsolete. There was no longer any need for declarations of hostility to slavery, because it had been abolished, and but little need of declarations of devotion to the Union, because it had been saved. But there was great need of a settled party policy with regard to the management of the currency, the adaptation of the civil service to the enormous burdens and responsibilities put upon it by the war, and with regard to the use of the new powers put into the hands of the Government by the amendments to the Constitution. This settled party policy was, however, never shaped. As long as a candidate approved of the war, had supported it, and expressed a general desire that its results should not be disturbed, and a general belief that the Southern whites and the Northern Democrats were untrustworthy, he was allowed to think and vote as he pleased upon the other matters above mentioned. The result has been that down to the present year there have been Republicans opposed to civil-service reform, and Republicans in favor of it; Republicans who thought the bonds might be paid in greenbacks, and Republicans who thought they ought to be paid in gold; Republicans who thought the issue of the legal tenders an exercise of the war power, and therefore only constitutional as a measure of overwhelming necessity, and Republicans who thought it was the right and might be the duty of the Government to issue paper money at any time; Republicans who thought the South conquered-territory which Congress might govern as it pleased, and Republicans who thought the Southern States fully restored to their old status in the Union. The divisions in Congress were what one might have expected under these circumstances. There were Republicans voting in support of all the excesses towards the South of which the present Administration has ever been accused, and Republicans voting with the Democrats in condemnation of them; Republicans supporting the President's attempt at civil-service reform, and Republicans heaping ridicule on it; Republicans voting with the Democrats to inflate the currency two years ago, and others vigorously opposing it; and yet all were in good and regular standing. In fact, the party, which has of late years claimed a certain ecclesiastical character, was before the late canvass a true "Broad Church," in which everybody was at liberty to believe what he pleased as long as he was opposed to sin, and what he meant by "sin" he was never called on to define with any nicety.

The inconveniences of this state of things were made abundantly manifest in the campaign which has just closed. One of the most prominent was the room afforded for the activity and prominence of bad characters; another was the blighting influence exercised on the younger generation of politicians. The party has since the war done absolutely nothing for the political training of the generation which has come on the stage since 1865. It has had no programme to which it could ask for their adhesion; no faith for which it could kindle their enthusiasm by expounding; no education to impart in public economy, or methods of administration, or in social or legal reforms of any kind. The party gospel offered to the young men has, indeed, consisted in the main of dreary reminiscences of the badness of the Democratic party about the time of their birth, and apologies for acts which their fathers could not defend in their own homes, and for politicians with whom they would not wish to associate in business.

There ought now to be a decided change in all this, and Mr. Hayes's letter, which was the real platform of the late canvass, and ought to have been used as such, might furnish the basis at least of a Republican creed by which candidates might be tested, and adhesion to which, in its main features, ought to be exacted of everybody calling himself a Republican. These main features are:

1. Civil-service reform, meaning by this the restoration of the appointing power to the Executive, to whom the Constitution assigned it; the exclusion of Congress from all illegal share in it, and the relief of the Executive from the prodigious and insupportable burden of incessantly filling offices and ascertaining the fitness of new candidates, by a reasonable and business-like fixity of tenure in the subordinate places. This includes also a vigorous and progressive policy on the part of the Government with reference to improvements of all kinds in the machinery of administration, so as to make the mode of transacting the public business worthy of the place of the country among civilized nations.

2. The reform of the currency by a return as rapidly as possible to the common standard of the civilized world, and the discouragement in this, as in other branches of administration, of all quackery, and a reliance on the experience and reflection of the trained and thoughtful portion of the human race on this as on other subjects. It would be little short of miraculous that Butler, or Kelley, or Claflin, or Boutwell, or Jones, or Morton, men of very moderate powers and no mental training at all, should have received light on the management of currency of which the nations of the Western world have during one thousand years of painful experimentation had no glimmering; and miracles in finance are not to be looked for.

3. The application to the treatment of the South of the old American method of conciliation and confidence, and the abandonment of the old Austrian notion that whole communities may be made up of devilish persons insensible to reason or justice, and only manageable by brute force and denunciation. This is not true of any body of men. It is not true even of slaveholders or "ex-rebels." The belief in it is a weapon taken from the arsenal of mediæval bigotry and tyranny, and worthy only of Metternich or King Bomba. It has been abandoned by the nations which have tried it longest and most thoroughly, and it is a burning shame and disgrace that it should have been revived among us at this late date. Let us now hear the last of it, and go forward on the nobler and more excellent way. Negro suffrage undoubtedly complicates the problem at the South, but it does not render it insoluble or call for entirely new methods in dealing with it. The rational and American way of dealing with the dislike of the whites to negro suffrage is to show them that it is not likely to menace their peace or security, and to use all our influence with the negroes to prevent their abusing their newly-acquired powers, and to cherish mutual confidence between the two races, instead of promoting distrust and hatred as we have done. Had the Republican party engaged in any such task it would now have much enthusiasm to draw on; but what enthusiasm was possible for a party whose only missionaries to the dark places of our soil were carpet-baggers, and whose sole remedy for the horrors of a social revolution have been "troops" and vituperation? Let us now look for better work. Do not let us hear any longer from American lips that your fellow-citizens must repent

and ask pardon before you will help them, and, when they complain of the bitterness of the medicine you offer them, that it is twice too good for them and that you wish it was bitterer.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE PUBLIC CREDIT.

NO partisan motive can now be suspected for discussing what we consider the singular and ill-advised step of the Republican managers at the close of the late canvass, in declaring that the continuance of the conversion of the six per cent. bonds into four and a half per cents. would come to a stop in Europe if Tilden were elected. The story originated in, and was probably suggested by, a remark of a Treasury clerk now in Europe on some errand, and was of about as much weight as the remark of a lively young Wall-Street broker over his lunch—a fact which was probably perceived by the authors of it, for they never would give any better authority for it than "letters received here" (Washington), though they talked as if it was Baron Rothschild himself who had set it a-going. As it was taken up and made much of by the campaign papers and orators, it soon grew into a positive statement that European investors had the same horror of the Democrats as native Republicans, and were as fully convinced of Tilden's untrustworthiness, and that when they lent money to the United States, it was really to the Republican party they lent it; and we were given to understand that while they were willing to let the Republicans have it at four and a half per cent., they would not advance a cent to the Democrats under twelve or fifteen.

Now, we doubt very much whether many of those who have given countenance to this sort of talk believed one word of it. Everybody who is in the least familiar with the considerations which govern the European money-market knows perfectly well that, as we said a fortnight ago, capitalists in forming their notion of the credit of a country take into account all the contingencies arising out of its political system. They take it for granted, for instance, in lending to the government of a parliamentary country that the two great political parties are equally likely to get into power. We venture to say that there is not an adult lender in Great Britain, Holland, or Germany who would lend one dollar to the United States Government under thirty or forty per cent. if he thought that his chance of getting his money back, or the interest on it, depended on one party remaining constantly in office. A very slight and cursory acquaintance with the history of American politics would show him how very uncertain any such reliance would be, and perhaps the last thing in the world you could get him to do would be to "figure" on election returns or consult "men inside of politics" in order to make up his mind to which of the two parties it was safer to make advances. The strength of American credit, in short, lies in the fact that it is considered a constitutional and not a revolutionary country; or, in other words, is considered a country in which party contests are carried on under the law, and in which the party in power recognizes as binding all obligations previously contracted by persons legally authorized to speak for the nation. If this was supposed to be a revolutionary country—that is, a country like San Domingo or the South American Republics—in which a change of parties meant the overthrow of the government and the repudiation of its contracts, no argument by a native politician going to show that a revolution was not likely to occur, or that the party in power was pretty sure to stay in power for an indefinite period, could prevent our bonds from selling for what they brought in 1862. A party which is only beaten by about 20,000 in a million votes is, for financial purposes, always a party likely to succeed finally. A loan to its opponents would be highly speculative, and would necessarily command twelve per cent., if not more, because it would be substantially a loan to a *de facto* government constantly threatened with expulsion. There was a time, shortly after the war, when the sort of talk to which we have been treated in the late canvass, and the wild bills of the House of Representatives, or wild resolutions of public meetings, did exert an unfavorable influence on our credit in Europe; but that time has passed away. European financiers are just as hardened to these things now as we are ourselves, and have just as much capacity for seeing through the foam of campaign rhetoric. The Indiana election, and the probabilities of Tilden's success, which were at least strong for two months before the election, did not affect American Government securities in London or Amsterdam in the smallest degree; and we noticed that none of the financiers in this city who professed to be alarmed about the national credit, showed any disposition to meet the Democratic offer in the *World* and sell United States bonds "short" contingent on Tilden's election, which would not only have been a legitimate but prudent operation.

Of the impolicy and indecency of such attacks on the national credit, and such attempts to persuade the world that the wounds inflicted by our late civil strife are not only unhealed but incurable, and that we are in truth in the condition of Mexico, and that our national elections are attempts at revolution, we hardly need to speak. They have all the marks of baseness and treason which characterized the Democratic appeal to foreign powers, described by the British Minister in 1862, to get them to interfere for the stoppage of the war, and they have hardly any of the excuse. The position which the leaders of the Republican party have taken up towards the actors in the late rebellion and their Northern supporters and sympathizers has, we venture to assert, no historical parallel or precedent, except the English treatment of the Irish after 1688. In all other civil wars or rebellions of which we have any knowledge the submission of the vanquished was taken as genuine, and their protestations of resignation and acquiescence were treated as true There may have been distrust, and there may have been precautions taken in consequence of the distrust, but the submission once accepted, and the precautions once taken, the victors at least affected to believe that the conflict was over. In fact, it has been a weakness of victors to pretend that the conflict was over when it was not, and that the conquered had accepted the results of the struggle when they had not. Sound policy, if not courtesy and humanity, prescribed at least an appearance of faith in the protestations of men who had laid down their arms, and the world was always, at the earliest possible moment, assured that peace and tranquillity and harmony had been restored. It has been reserved for our nation and age to produce a class of politicians who seem to take a pride in proclaiming that their country is permanently torn by civil dissension; that a large body of their countrymen, who fought long and vigorously against the Government, were only shamming when they surrendered, and are lying, even now, eleven years after the peace, when they say they mean to fight no more; that any one who maintains that the Union is really restored, and the Government firmly established, and the public credit raised above all danger, is a hypocrite and deceiver and is planning an assault on all three—a body of politicians who implore foreigners to believe that the election of our principal executive officer by a majority of lawful votes will very likely break up our political system and put the Treasury into the hands of a band of robbers. There never was such folly; at least we know of none, except, as we say, that displayed by the Irish Protestants when, as a measure of precaution, they held the Catholics in slavery for a whole century after the surrender of Limerick. But even that—awful as its consequences proved—did not equal this performance of ours in absurdity, for it was the Catholic creed that the Protestants feared, and this the Catholics never offered to abandon. Our rebels, on the contrary, have wholly lost what they fought for, have repudiated what was obnoxious in their doctrines, have protested that they will never rebel again, have taken every oath and pledge we have prescribed, have used every art within their reach to incorporate themselves once more in the mass of American citizens, and we not only watch and doubt but keep shouting to the whole earth—"What knaves half our people are! What liars! What repudiators and swindlers! How jesuitically they use language! How they perjure themselves! How anxious they are for another bloody war! How eager they are to cheat somebody! Only half the American people, on a liberal computation, are worthy of the slightest credit!"

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—No. XXI.

BRAZIL IN AGRICULTURAL HALL.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4.

THE price of cotton in New York and New Orleans and the price of grain in Chicago are regulated by the Liverpool market. This means that the controlling market for these products is not here but in Europe. As these and other of our soil products are among the chief sources of our national wealth, it is interesting to study the degree to which any competition may be able to affect our interests in the foreign market.

The Imperial Republic of Brazil, which has been free and independent for only half a century, and which is only beginning to develop the resources of its enormous area, under the control of what is almost the freest government in the world, has attracted here and in Europe but little popular attention. A country of almost boundless extent, of great natural fertility of soil, and with every variety of climate that agriculture and forestry can desire, needs only skilful development to make itself felt in the markets of the civilized world. So far as one can judge of its people from those who represent its interests at Philadelphia, and from that gray-bearded and benign steam-engine—their ruler—who so recently visited this country, and examined with such eagerness every feature of our industry, the natural advantages of Brazil are likely to have all the development that human energy can give, and to demand early attention from the rest of the world. The space set apart for the Brazilian exhibit in Agricultural Hall, with its great cloistered façade of cotton-wool, contains much of instructive interest for the political economists of the United States. It is rich in every part with the soil products and forest products of a country which is already occupying a very important position as one of the world's great producers. The eye of the visitor is so generally attracted to its fine display of beautiful woods, suited for the finest cabinet-work, its curious Indian products, and other things which have the element of novelty, that one is apt to overlook the evidence given of the enormous productiveness of Brazil in articles which are of world-wide use.

Cotton, which was for so long time our king, seems inclined to abandon its old throne and to seek other countries into which the four years' interruption of cotton-growing caused by our war stimulated an introduction of our approved good processes for its cultivation. Nowhere does it seem to find the conditions for its successful production more completely developed than in Brazil. It is asserted that the poorer cotton lands of Brazil yield fifty per cent. more cotton than do those of our Southern States, the medium lands more than four times as much, and the best even eight times as much, while the cheapness of labor, which seems not to have been affected by the practical manumission of the slaves, and which is due very largely to the ease with which food may be produced, enables the Brazilian to produce his crop at less cost than is possible with us. The export of cotton has not thus far exceeded half a million bales in any one year, and it is not yet included in the list of "principal exports," but it is a promising and growing industry, which is likely to have at least as much influence upon the value of our home crop as have the cotton-growing interests of Egypt and India.

A much more important product of Brazil is its coffee. We are disposed to regard Brazilian coffee as being what we call "Rio"—an inferior quality, sold at a low price, and used only among poorer people. An examination of the sacks, jars, and barrels filled with coffee-berries, in the Brazilian exhibit, or an experience of the delicious beverage supplied at the Brazilian café, prepares one to appreciate Agassiz's statements concerning the coffee of that land. He took pains to inform himself as to the culture of coffee in Brazil during the past fifty years, and he regarded the rapidly-growing development of the production as "among the most striking economical phenomena of our century." He says that more than one half the coffee used in the whole world is grown in Brazil. Its little reputation comes of the trade custom of classifying as Java or Mocha, or as the product of Martinique or Bourbon, all the yield of the best Brazilian plantations that are put upon the market. Martinique, Bourbon, and Guadalupe do not, all together, produce in a year enough coffee to supply the market of Rio for three days. Even the Mocha coffee of commerce is very largely a Brazilian product, and its peculiar small round berries, called in Arabia camel-back berries, have a prominent place among the Brazilian exhibits. The sheiks of Arabia require the coffee of their districts to pass an inspection at the hands of their servants, who carefully take out these camel-back berries; some of the coffee of this country passing through three or four sets of seekers after the choicer bits before it finally reaches the market. The so-called Mocha is an abortive or half-developed berry growing towards the ends of the branches. It is carefully selected and sold separately.

Unfortunately, the Brazilian planters, like the cotton and sugar planters of our Southern States, are often largely in debt to their factors, and are obliged to give them the manipulation of their crops. These factors and their European correspondents have found it easier to avail themselves of the established reputation of the old brands of fine coffee, and to put their product on sale under these old names, than to establish, as they could readily do, a reputation in the markets of the world for their best brands. These facts have been brought to light at the Centennial, and at the Vienna, Paris, and London Exhibitions, and the better Brazilian coffees are no less desirable now that we may know them under their own colors.

Agassiz's opinion as to the phenomenal character of the growth of the coffee business in Brazil is well sustained by statistics. At the beginning of this century there were exported from Rio ten sacks of coffee. In the year of the formation of the Empire, in 1822, the exportation had reached over one hundred and fifty thousand sacks, and in 1874 it amounted to more than two and a half million sacks. A similar increase has marked the growth of the traffic at the other principal shipping points. About three hundred million pounds of sugar, thirty-six million pounds of tobacco, and ten million pounds of india-rubber are shipped to this country alone, to say nothing of the immense export to Europe. The tobacco of the country is not only abundant, but it is of excellent quality, and the cigars offered to the guests at the reception given at the Union League by the Brazilian Minister were a revelation to those who have grown up in the belief that the little district of Vuelto Abajo in Cuba is the only spot on earth where tobacco for the best cigars may be grown. I have smoked nothing from Cuba that is better than these best Brazilian cigars. There is a good display at the Exposition of the variety of cigars grown and manufactured in the province of Bahia, and costing there from twenty-five dollars to thirty dollars per thousand, and having all the characteristics of Havana cigars. Should the introduction of these products prove successful, the effect of the competition with Cuba will be greatly in favor of those who are now oppressed by the high cost of what they think to be the only smokable cigar.

Among the exhibits in Agricultural Hall, and among the articles furnished at the Brazilian café, is a product known as Maté of Paraná (*Ilex Paraguayensis*), or Paraguay tea. It is a leaf of the same color with the leaf of our garden sage, and its infusion does not differ materially in color from that of the sage-tea of our grandmothers. It is largely used as a daily, exclusive drink among the people of the southern provinces of Brazil and in Chile, constituting also an important article of export. The monograph published concerning it, and distributed at the café, pronounces it a nourishing beverage of the best quality, possessing the advantages of coffee and tea, and being less exciting and incomparably cheaper. "Containing less essential oil, it is better adapted for the use of nervous persons and children. Alone, and independent of any other nourishment, the infusion of maté will sustain strength and vigor during whole days. . . . As a medicine it is recommended in all cases where it is desirable to stimulate the forces, and to give nourishment without fatiguing the stomach." Dr. Lankester found by analysis that it contained nearly twice as much *theine* as coffee, and quite as much as tea. The great abundance and cheapness of this product, making it not worth adulteration, are strong arguments in its favor as a beverage for those who now depend on the cheaper qualities of tea and coffee, which are adulterated to an almost unlimited extent.

One of the most promising of the newer products of Brazil is what is known as "Brazilian Fibre," the product of a vine ("the Lacteal Vine") which grows most luxuriantly in the forests, climbing and covering the trees and producing an enormous yield. This fibre seems to have all of the good qualities of the best now in use, and, while it is three times stronger than flax, it is susceptible of the same improvement and manipulation, even to the weaving of the finest tissues. It attracted much attention in London in 1872, and its zealous discoverer has at last succeeded in bringing it into such prominent notice that the commission appointed to investigate its qualities and promise as a national product have reported upon it in the most favorable terms, and recommend that its cultivation be undertaken systematically—under Government direction and at public expense—in such a way as to demonstrate its practical economical value. Indeed, the Brazilian Government seems to be thoroughly in earnest and thoroughly conscientious in its efforts to increase the agricultural products of the country.

With well-arranged schemes for the advancement of rural interests and for the colonization of new lands, and with an enormous area of fertile soil in our own hemisphere, under a favorable climate, the agricultural industries of Brazil, controlled by a wisely-fostering Government, are as-

suming proportions which it is well for us to consider. We have a headway in arts and manufactures which will doubtless maintain our supremacy; but so much of our prosperity as has come from the development of our agricultural resources is destined to a more severe competition than it has yet experienced.

G. E. W., Jr.

No. XXII.

MACHINERY.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4.

I AM conscious of having neglected Machinery Hall, for the reason that I am more and not less of a Yankee, and that I have seen my fill of machinery, or can see it any day. I fancy I have perceived a like abstinence from Agricultural Hall on the part of rustic visitors to the Exhibition. It is in the latter hall, as it happens, that I have been most captivated by mechanical contrivances, and that the self-binding attachment of certain harvesters has wakened in me an old train of thought. How shall we account for American ingenuity in all its length, breadth, and depth? I have never seen a better presentation of the question, or a nearer solution, than is contained in the following extract from the letter of one of the *Tribune's* correspondents at Vienna in 1873. Alluding to the American machinery for shoemaking on exhibition there, he says:

"It is mechanism of this kind which betrays more than any great discovery (though these too have been in no way lacking) the peculiar character of American inventiveness—a trait grown so general as to be a national characteristic, and which becomes, like painting in France or music in Germany, a school—a state of development in which not merely a great genius here and there comes to the light, but a certain amount of mechanical knowledge and capacity enables the generality of Yankee men to invent and carry out those mechanical appliances which their own business demands. Invention has become a habit with a larger number of Americans than with any other nation, probably, which exists. It cannot have escaped the attention of any American who has had occasion to have done for himself any precise mechanical work of a novel character, that European workmen apprehend and execute new ideas painfully, and are in fact generally incapable of developing a new idea in mechanical contrivance, while an American workman generally catches the idea readily, and often goes ahead of the original contrivance with some suggestion of his own. This is not due merely to superior general education, still less to the need of manual labor and its high price, as is generally said. Doubtless these causes have a potent effect, but my own experience in mechanics at home and abroad leads me to think that the development of inventiveness to the position of a national trait is due in a very great degree to the superior encouragement and protection given to invention and its results by our patent system, which is of a nature calculated to foster this contrivance of minor mechanical appliances, which make the wealth of our workshops as they do the attraction of this Exhibition. Such inventions are profitable in America; they are scarcely so in England, and utterly unprofitable on the Continent. England developed the steam-engine, but the governor which one sees oftenest here is Porter's (American), and the majority of the engines at work in the Exhibition have Corliss valves. Mining-pumps are of far weightier necessity in England than in America, yet the best mining pump now in use in England (by the testimony of English engineers) is an American invention. So we might go through a list of useful inventions as long as the catalogue of any department here, and find that almost everywhere this practical sense of American inventors has made itself felt by ready adaptation of ideas previously either almost useless or comparatively undeveloped."

Nothing can be truer than that inventiveness is a *habit* with Americans. It has been said of the Italians that, however they may differ, their underlying unity may be found in the fact that every Italian will sing and make verses. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that every American at some time in his life effects an "improvement," and is a patentee either in fact or *in petto*. The universality of this trait was masked at the South by the existence of slavery, and the inventive capacity was doubtless paralyzed by long repression, but the war proved that it was not extinct. The most destructive torpedoes encountered by our fleets were designed by a native Kentuckian, who has since produced the best hot-air engine yet invented. Two things are especially to be noted in regard to American inventiveness: that it is spontaneous—not the result, as a rule, of training or of opportunity—and that it pervades all ranks. But a few months ago I read in some newspaper: "President Chadbourne of Williams College, like the late President Nott of Union College, has a practical turn as well as a high order of literary talent. He recently received a patent for tension devices for twisting-machines." In one of the glass cases at the Patent-Office we used to see, and perhaps may still, the model of a stern-wheel contrivance for shallow-water navigation—fruit of the flatboat experience of the yet unfamous Lincoln; while one of the last acts of Andrew Johnson was to take out a patent for a combination plane. The "reactionary health-lift" which is now coming into such general use, was invented by a Swedenborgian minister not unmindful of the example of his great teacher. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table is credited with that form of the hand-stereoscope which dispenses with a dark box. Our foremost Indian scholar, a Hartford Yankee, has devised the most compact arrangement of genealogical data for the display of pedigrees, to which a Boston merchant has given the finishing touch in his 'Ancestral Tablets.' Your occasional correspondent, Mr. Stillman, whom I suspect to have been the author of the extract given above, and who began as artist and art-critic, has, since the rise of photography, distinguished himself by numerous improvements in the material and apparatus of the art. Another New-Englander, Walter Channing, a physician, son of the great Unitarian divine, invented the priceless telegraphic fire-alarm in use in our principal cities. Morse was the son of a clergyman. Even a transcendentalist does not seem incapable of being or begetting an inventor. One could easily imagine Emerson whittling; and Thoreau in his hermitage must have relied upon the natural shiftiness of his race.

Of shiftiness, or the ready adaptation of means to unexpected or unusual ends, we see examples daily. Such was the improvisation of a military bridge across the Yellowstone, a year or two since, by the aid of confiscated whiskey-kegs. In our civil war it was a matter of constant observation. I do not refer merely to such exploits as the repairing, by the Massachusetts volunteers, of the road to Baltimore and the purposely disabled engine, or the taking out of the *Constitution;* there was nothing extraordinary in these except the absence of red-tape. Probably no soldiers the world ever saw stood less in need of orders; not as the result of high discipline, but because of a quick perception of what the emergency called for. I have heard an eminent Federal general speak of the admiration with which he used to see his command select a camp without instructions, and entrench themselves equally on their own responsibility, and, when making a difficult charge, show by their acts that they fully comprehended the nature of the movement, its consequences, and the best way to ensure its success. Surgeon Otis observes in his monograph on railway transportation of wounded soldiers in time of war: "There was often cause to remark on the great ingenuity displayed . . . by the line officers, quartermaster's men, and the soldiers themselves in improvising various contrivances for the comfort of the wounded subjected to these rough modes of transportation. With an intelligent adaptation of the means at hand, it was found practicable to make the condition of the wounded on freight-cars very tolerable, with the aid of articles belonging to the field equipment alone."

When we enquire whether American women exhibit an ingenuity corresponding to that of the men, I believe the answer must be in the affirmative, if we reject for the moment the test of the Patent-Office. *A priori* I think we should have to assert for them at least a latent genius for improvements and inventions, in order to account for the transmission through the mothers of the capacity which appears in the sons. Nor is there any more common observation than that the daughter inherits the mental qualities of the father, while the son in this respect takes after the mother. Women inventors and patentees are not unknown, but it seems to me that their paucity is readily explained by the general dependence of the sex, the rare opportunities they have for mechanical training, and, what is of no little importance, their divorce at once from business and the control of capital. What the world calls the independence of the Yankee woman, especially when seen abroad, is perhaps not more her freedom from Old-World conventionalities than her confidence in herself—her sense of resource. Her every-day domestic contrivances, which the world does not see, would, I am sure, set her apart among womankind as distinctively as the notorious inventions of the Yankee man do him. I was struck last summer by a little incident of which I was witness on Cape Cod. The stage stopped to pick up a passenger and a trunk at a house of which the visible head was a lady. In order to allow the passage of the trunk, it was necessary to keep the door—a light, summer sash—from blowing to. No hook and staple had been provided for such an emergency, but, close by, a morning-glory was twining itself about a string fastened at one end to a stick thrust in the ground, at the other to a nail driven into the side of the house. Without a moment's hesitation the lady broke the string from the nail and fastened it to the handle, and behold the door anchored like any fishing-smack visible in the neighboring bay! I felt that as a man I should have shrunk from disturbing the *status quo*, even if such an expedient had occurred to me. So in Machinery Hall, where the number of women among the crowds that throng it has certainly been most striking, I could not pretend that my interest in the various operations was superior to theirs, or was composed of curiosity and insight in any different proportions I have, in fact, learned to be humble since an inventor once told me that when his machine was exhibited at the American Institute no woman ever

asked him a foolish question in regard to it, while many such were put him by men.

That our patent system has enormously stimulated inventiveness there can be no sort of doubt, and the *Tribune's* correspondent rightly lays stress on its fostering the "contrivance of *minor* mechanical appliances." The fortunes which a lucky thought—we may almost say an idle thought—often brings the inventor of a small improvement, would be dazzling even to a people less prone than the American to take the short cut to wealth and to seek the greatest returns for the least exertion. As you justly pointed out the other day, too many patents are applied for and too many granted, since blackmail is now rendered easy and the illegitimate gains of invention appear even more certain than the legitimate. This is wasteful and demoralizing in many ways. I have known the case of an elderly man whose family had to intercede with a patent agency to prevent his taking out a ruinous excess of patents. On a more general view, it is apparent that the very fertility of invention is the greatest obstacle to the adoption of improvements. One is never sure that to-morrow will not see any given device thrown into the shade by something better, simpler, and cheaper. The costliness of rash adoption on a large scale, though obvious enough, is not always recognized, or we should hear less grumbling than we do because (to take a plain example) every railroad is not equipped with the Westinghouse brake, the Miller platform, or with the most approved heating apparatus. When all has been said, however, about the effects good and bad of our patent system, I believe we shall have to concede that it is itself part of the thing to be accounted for—part of the problem to be solved. It does not explain Franklin or Rumford ; nor why New England is more inventive than Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania than Virginia ; nor why "an American workman generally catches the idea readily" while "European workmen apprehend and execute new ideas painfully" ; nor why two adjoining States on this continent, like Maine and New Brunswick, should show such a marked difference in mechanical alertness, insight, and discovery. Why is the American people so ready to reward the inventor, by giving him protection and by buying the latest Yankee notion ? What is the reason of its superiority in this respect to the English and the Germans, its next of kin ?

That the climate tends to make us exceptionally eager, restless, and enquiring, I can well believe ; that the high average intelligence of the people, due to our common schools, comes to the aid of senses already sharp, is also credible. But if I were asked to name the most potent factors of our ingenuity, I should find them in the early history of this country and in the form of government which has developed out of it. We live in what is emphatically the New World, and nothing of the Old that we wanted to shake off could cling to us. From having to depend upon ourselves we arrived at a state in which anything short of self-government was intolerable. Innovation became a sign of liberty, as it was really the fruit of liberty ; it is now as natural for us to experiment as it is to breathe. Our mechanical superiority is therefore, it seems to me, the outgrowth of a moral principle for which we may take credit to ourselves ; and as it has largely contributed to our material prosperity, perhaps this prosperity is too often, by foreigners, decried as purely material. No doubt it has changed self-reliance into overweening confidence in ourselves, has increased our contempt of precedents and our ignorance of what experience has taught other nations, especially outside the domain of the senses dealing with material things. It is the function of international exhibitions to correct this natural and, on the whole, excusable failing, for, as we may exclaim with Goethe—

> " Denn was wäre das Haus, was wäre die Stadt, wenn nicht immer
> Jeder gedächte mit Lust zu erhalten und zu erneuen,
> Und zu verbessern auch, wie die Zeit uns lehrt *und das Ausland !*"

Das Ausland, on their part, will perhaps have learned at Philadelphia to discover a moral significance in our industrial advances, and in two respects at least will have had the clue to it brought forcibly to their attention. Accustomed as some of them are to railway regulations which impose a fine for opening the door of your coupé either to get in or out, and which guard the bell-rope not only with penalties but with plate-glass, they must have been struck with the safe and effective transportation of millions of people to and from the Centennial Grounds without disorder and without accident, on trains which any passenger could traverse from one end to the other, and whose bell-ropes were in reach of the most timid as of the most malevolent. On the grounds themselves, the absence of all restraint, the invisibility (so to speak) of the police, the universal good-nature and good behavior, will also, I trust, have been striking to European eyes. Between these phenomena and the American triumphs in Machinery Hall there is, I believe, a connection which is worth their studying. I. N.

THE CZAR AND FRANCIS JOSEPH.

PARIS, October 26, 1876.

THERE is in journalism something which reminds one of auricular confession. To make an examination of one's own thoughts after a long interval, is like seeing their printed expression after time has elapsed and when events have followed these thoughts. I could not help being startled when I received the last number of the *Nation*, and found my own letter on the isolation of Russia. Things have gone so quickly since, that the position of Russia appears already transformed. The Sumarokoff mission has begun a new chapter in this history of the Eastern Question, which I am afraid will have many chapters. The Czar, who is now living at Livadia, in the Crimea, has sent an autograph letter to his good brother Francis Joseph. The whole world was soon informed of its contents, as it was accompanied by letters from Prince Gortchakoff to Count Andrássy. The Russian Chancellor explained how all the Turkish promises of reform had never been anything but empty words ; the new promises of constitutions, senates, councils of state, etc., were no better than the old Hatti-Hamayouns ; the Sick Man was too sick to be cured Russia had no exclusive ambition ; she invited Austria to enter with her into the Christian provinces of Turkey ; the *real presence* of Austria and Russia could alone secure the reality of the promised reforms. There was a good deal of commotion on the receipt of these letters ; it is dangerous to resist some friends. Francis Joseph did not much like a common intervention ; he remembered the federal execution in the Danish Duchies, followed so soon afterwards by the fight over the spoils and Sadowa. But the Archduke Albert, the conqueror of Custozza, the head of the Austrian army, maintained that there was no alternative for Austria but to join Russia's effort—fight with her or against her. He, for one, was still an Austrian ; he would, if he could, save Austria, and he saw no other way than by an alliance with Russia. Much might be said about the traditional opposition to Russia's designs against the Ottoman Empire ; but it was his belief that nothing could save Turkey from destruction. If Austria tried to shield her—to protect her against Russia—she would try an impossible thing, and would expose herself to lateral attacks on the side of Italy—perhaps of Northern Germany. The Austrian army was in fine condition. A campaign in Bosnia would be a mere promenade ; a campaign against Russia would be the end of Austria. Thus spoke the last military Hapsburg. Count Andrássy was not of the same mind. Hungary, said he, would never give her consent to a joint action of this kind ; she would not shed her blood in order to build up new Slavic kingdoms. He went so far as to say that a revolution might break out in Pesth and a rebellion in the Hungarian regiments.

Matters were left in a state of uncertainty, as the Emperor finally said that he must first consult the Great Powers. To consult the Great Powers merely means to gain time. The Great Power to be really consulted is Prussia, and hence it is that, gradually, everything has centred round the "Sphinx of Varzin." The German newspapers have invented a new verb—"sphinxen." The London *Times*, whose barometrical articles on this Eastern Question are a study in themselves, made a few days ago a most solemn appeal to Prince Bismarck. England, by the mouth of the *Times*, implored the German Chancellor not to let loose upon Europe a war which would be more disastrous than the wars of recent years. The Sphinx may well have laughed when he read this ; he probably does not consider the wars of 1866 and of 1870 as particularly disastrous wars. His official organ, the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*, has answered the *Times* in the most contemptuous manner : Germany is not disposed to enter into partnership with England in the Eastern Question, and England will do well to remember that there is such a thing as the triple alliance of the Emperors. Prince Bismarck has not yet spoken for himself, and we don't know how much importance ought to be attributed to these words. If the alliance of the Emperors were still a solid reality, if Bismarck were acting as a friendly mediator between Austria and Russia, there would be little to fear from the Hungarians. Count Andrássy would have nothing to do but to resign, Archduke Albert could enter Bosnia, and the great Continental Powers could make a new partition of Poland without meeting with much opposition on any side. Such a settlement of the Eastern Question would be, so to speak, irresistible. England would probably pounce upon Egypt ; but she can hardly make, all alone, a new Crimean war.

There is no doubt that Prince Bismarck holds now in his hands the fate not only of Turkey, but of all Europe ; and speculations upon the future resolve themselves almost into speculations as to his intentions. There has been so much *inattendu* in his political career that we may expect a surprise. I have no doubt, on the one hand, that Prince Bismarck is a thorough German, that he is no ideologue, that he has consistently and intelligently

worked for the benefit and the interest of the German Fatherland; but I don't know how far he shares the views of most of his countrymen concerning the valley of the Danube. He is not the slave of what the French call the *lieux-communs*, and when he has principles of his own his prestige has become such that he can convert the Germans to his views. What conversions he has made since 1860, in Germany, everybody knows. It is not safe to make suppositions, but we are in possession of facts which have great importance. It is certain that in 1866, after Sadowa, Bismarck would not take his king to Vienna, that he would not dictate the terms of peace from the Austrian capital; and even at that time he said: "We must not humiliate Austria too much; we shall need her in the Eastern Question." What did he mean exactly by these last words? Events only will show.

I turn now to the most painful part of this perplexing subject. There is a vague feeling in France that the complications in the East have helped to leave the hands of Prussia completely free. Last year when the Czar came to Warsaw there were many symptoms of ill-humor in Germany; it was even believed that Prince Bismarck would force a quarrel upon us. Great efforts in favor of peace were made by the Czar as well as by England, and the agitation came suddenly to an end. If we are to believe our pessimists, Prince Bismarck judged from that moment that he must separate England and Russia before he undertook to attack France. The Eastern Question was a convenient tool; it operated like a wedge between Russia and England. It is certain that at this moment it would be difficult to bring about any concert between the friends and the enemies of Turkey. Fire was set first to the match of Herzegovina; the German and the Russian Chancellors united their action, and finally the mission of General Sumarokoff forced Austria to make her choice between a combined action with the German and the Russian Empires, or to fight Russia; with Prussia in a hostile attitude at her flank. Austria is, so to speak, obliged to choose between jumping into fire and jumping into water. Italy was used as a menace against her; Austria was made to understand that if she would not accept the gift of Herzegovina and Bosnia, even what she has would be taken from her—I mean the Italian Trentino, which was skilfully excluded in 1866 from Venetia. It was doubtful till a few days ago which side Austria would take; would she assume a hostile attitude towards Russia at the risk of losing the Trentino, and perhaps her German provinces? Would she side with the Russians at the risk of a Hungarian insurrection?

It seems at present that the military party, headed by Archduke Albert, is triumphing over the Hungarian party and Count Andrássy. We must, we are told, prepare for a common occupation of the provinces which lie at the north of the Balkans. What will be the price which Prince Bismarck will ask for his leadership of this Eastern affair? He must do *something* in order to reconcile German public opinion with the abandonment of the old anti-Slavic Metternichian policy. The German Liberals will ask him why he has allowed the mouths of the Danube to fall under the mastership or the leadership of the great Russian Empire. Some say that Prince Bismarck has designs on Holland, and even on Antwerp; some, that he has the means of reducing the Emperor of Austria to the state of a vassal, and will increase, by a stroke of his pen, the army of the German Confederation by four hundred thousand men; some, that he has made arrangements with Russia on the Vistula. The French naturally believe that they will pay for the Turks, and they suspect that Prince Bismarck entertains the darkest designs against the country he has already despoiled. France has fallen from the height of her new illusions into a state of despondency, and almost of despair. She sees the affairs of Europe managed without her, and she thinks that they might be managed against her. And what will be the position and the policy of England? The Germans affect to ignore her existence; they see England divided against herself—one day sending her fleet to Besika Bay, the next denouncing the Bulgarian atrocities. They believe that England, in the last analysis, will content herself with laying her hand on Egypt. Never was Europe in such a state of confusion since the time of the first Napoleon; tremendous armies and navies are in readiness, the storm is gathering, and we all expect the first lightnings.

Correspondence.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGIANS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the article contained in the *Nation* of October 26, and entitled "Clergymen as Scientific Men," clergymen are divided into two classes—viz., those who believe in the scientific accuracy of the Mosaic account of creation literally construed, and those who hold that, if rightly interpreted, that account can be reconciled with the latest results of geology and biology. Permit me to suggest that these two classes do not by any means include all clergymen who think and speak on this question. There are those who hold that as the Holy Scriptures were given as a revelation of moral and spiritual truth to the souls of men, any scientific statement occurring in them is merely incidental and illustrative. Such statements, this class of theologians consider, are not to be valued for their agreement or disagreement with the conclusions of modern science, but simply for their conveyance of the moral and spiritual truth they were meant to impart. Take, for instance, the account of creation in the first two chapters of Genesis. These theologians would say we find the supreme and excelling worth of these accounts in their spiritual conception of the origin of things. It is the view of God as above and beyond nature; as the spiritual author, by his creative fiat, of the physical universe and all that it contains; as the one eternal Being who in the beginning was, and who made all things orderly and wisely and well — it is this view of God and nature which is the revelation given, and the knowledge of which came by the inspiration of the Divine Creative Spirit. This is what the author of the accounts meant to teach, and the vehicle by which he gave expression to his thought is a matter of minor consideration. Doubtless he may have thought he was stating accurately the method of the Divine procedure; but what he did was to take the science at his hand and use it as an instrument to associate the physical universe indissolubly with the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God. God made the world—the minutest atoms and the most lordly creatures, the smallest herbs and the grandest planets. All things, all beings, had their origin in him, and he, therefore, is the supreme and only object of worship; his law is the paramount guide of men. The grandeur of this thought, the immense worth of this truth, these men would say, cannot be diminished or injured by any crudeness of scientific conception by which it is illustrated. The order may not be scientifically correct, as the making of the sun after the creation of the earth; the description may not be accurate of the incoming of various forms of life upon the earth; but this one thing stands out distinct and secure, that everything is dependent upon God, and that his invisible presence and power are not to be dissociated with anything visible in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth.

Indeed, there seem to these thinkers to be special reasons why the scientific illustrations of spiritual truth appearing in the Bible should be popular or in accordance with the scientific apprehension of the people to whom the spiritual message first came. A message, to be impressive, must be stated in a language "understanded of the people" to whom it is given. Its illustrations, to be apt, must be familiar; they must not startle by their strangeness, which needs itself to be explained, but must, by their appeal to a common thought or experience, make the new truth the more readily comprehensible. We can imagine the effect upon our forefathers, of the time of the Revolution, of a doctrine conveyed to them by means of illustrations drawn from the use of the steam-engine and the electric telegraph. To enforce a moral truth upon them by allusions to a journey to California in six days, or the receipt of news across the Atlantic in six minutes, would have been simply absurd. They must have rejected a doctrine, however true, couched in a form to them so palpably absurd. The same law holds for more ancient times. For Moses to have stated the views of modern science in an account of Creation, would merely have been to obscure the spiritual truth concerning it which it was his object to enforce. It would seem to have ensured the rejection of the special message he was divinely inspired to convey.

To those who thus look upon the Bible and its revelation as a moral and spiritual educator of men in things pertaining to God, the question of the scientific accuracy of its illustrations is not a matter of supreme moment. No one can prize more than they the spiritual import of the Old and New Testaments. They see in the Biblical doctrine of God and of man's moral relations to him unmistakable evidences of divine revelation and inspiration. If we have this treasure in the earthen vessels of rhetorical infelicity, or statistical inaccuracy, or scientific crudity, it is not the less heavenly treasure whose excellency is all the more proven to be of God and not of men. As artists do not value the less the spiritual tenderness and purity of the pictures of Fra Angelico or Perugino because of the stiffness of the anatomy or the anachronisms of the details of the landscape, so such theologians do not prize the spiritual revelations of the Scriptures the less because the form of their expression partakes of the peculiarities of the age in which they were written. They are quite willing to leave scientific questions to scientific men to determine. Whether God breathed the breath of man's life into a handful of inorganic dust, or

into an organism already started on the course of its development, makes but little difference so long as they hold that man's life is of God, and that "the Spirit of the Almighty giveth him understanding." The doctrine of evolution may or may not be true. That does not lie in their province to determine. It is to them no more an argument against man's spiritual and moral nature, if his physical organism was prepared by a development through inferior forms, than the fact that each individual comes into being through a similar embryonic development from the matrix in his mother's womb. Certainly most theologians would hold with the most eminent physicists that at present the theory of evolution is "not proven." They are willing to let Dr. Elam (see *Contemporary Review* for September and October, 1876) and Dr. Huxley debate the question on their own ground. But so long as God gives them brains and tongue they will contend, with all the reason and eloquence they can command, against any such view of the universe as divorces its all-pervasive order from a Supreme Reason. They will stand in direct opposition to any such materialistic view of man as confounds intellectual thought with the molecular action of the brain which accompanies it, or reduces conscience to the mere nervous irritation which it occasions. They not only hold that to liken the action of man's moral nature to the production of electricity from metals, or the secretion of bile from the liver, is fatal in its consequences to society, but that it does violence to reason itself. While content to leave the method of creation to the decision of natural philosophers, they claim that the origin of things and the nature of the soul must be left to the decisions of the soul, itself based on an investigation of its consciousness and a knowledge of its history, illumined by the light which streams from out the record of its highest inspiration. They cannot accept as rational any theory whose explanation is simply an explaining away of the profoundest facts of consciousness, or an elimination of those grand intuitions which have proved the guides and guards of all that ennobles the individual or makes society possible. It is not, I hope, presumptuous to assume that the *Nation* will stand by them in this task and help them to accomplish it.

CLERICUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is a great pity that the article in the *Nation* of October 26 on "Clergymen as Scientific Men" did not go a little further, and attack at once the whole subject of popularizing science through the medium of magazine articles and popular lectures. The scientific articles in our magazines are generally written by men who have but a smattering of the subject in hand; and many of our popular scientific lecturers have a great faculty for dealing with the scientific problems of the day as if they had a share in their solution. Both writers and lecturers are prominently before the public, and little by little come to imagine that by taking sides for or against a question they can settle it by a magazine article or a popular lecture.

It is becoming more and more dangerous in these days of specialties to make speculations, subject as they are at once to the ordeal of facts in so many different directions. And, while it has been the habit of philosophers to ridicule the specialists to their hearts' content, the latter have an uncomfortable way of constantly becoming stumbling-blocks and insisting upon being taken up. No one to day ought to have a hearing on general subjects who has not some special claim in the same department of science. When Tyndall or Huxley attacks the theologians on their own ground he is no more entitled to a hearing than any of the clergymen who enter the lists against him in physics or biology. When Ruskin wanders off from writing on art to botanical or geological subjects his words are not entitled to the least weight among scientific men. When Von Baer, Milne Edwards, or Owen writes against the Darwinian theory, what he has to say will command the respectful hearing of all parties.

This leads us to the distinction which should always be made, but is rarely kept in view, between the report of the condition of any scientific discussion, such as a magazine writer or a popular lecturer can give, and the exposition given by an original investigator in the same field, who has the right to question and to differ, from his own knowledge of the subject, from his co-workers in his own department. This distinction is never lost sight of on the continent of Europe. We do not find that in Germany, France, Switzerland, or Scandinavia any scientific weight is attached to popular magazine articles or lectures. It is eminently characteristic of the United States and England to find a mere magazine writer or popular lecturer aspire to be classed among the ranks of scientific men, because he has been a popular expounder of scientific subjects or has taken an interest in them.

Now, we are far from thinking that the Darwinian theory can be demolished, on the platform or in magazine articles, by a careful selection of questions and answers taken from the Darwinists themselves, and arranged with more or less skill. These very questions may simply imply (as they almost always do) a want of knowledge of the subject itself, and should not be taken as arguments for or against the theory. But no one at the present day will deny the totally different turn given to the Darwinian theory from its original direction. Little by little the mere supporters of Darwin have gradually shifted their base to the general theory of evolution, and always speak as if the latter were attacked, when the objections urged are mainly intended against the former. To read some of the writers on the Darwinian theory, one would imagine we were on the eve of another Inquisition; the imaginary martyrdom suffered by Haeckel must be nearly intolerable, and the persecution to which his followers have been subject forms a fit case for appeal to Bismarck. But are we not more in danger of running to the other extreme? Is not religious intolerance in a fair way of being replaced by scientific intolerance?

The Darwinian theory has been most ardently received in Germany, where a theory of evolution has in some shape or other been floating in the minds of most scientific men for nearly half a century, and they welcomed it as a most important factor of that general theory. The Germans are far, however, from considering all discussion regarding the Darwinian theory as closed; they are patiently waiting the answer to a whole class of questions in biology which embryology, comparative anatomy, geographical distribution, and palæontology alone can give in the course of time, and it would greatly facilitate determining the position of the Darwinian theory as regards the general problem of evolution if everybody did not feel fully competent to discuss that subject.

If the metaphysicians will leave for awhile to theologians the problem of the evolution of religion, to philologists that of language, to the political economist the problems of social science, to the biologists the problems connected with the appearance of life on the earth's surface, and, finally, to the physicists, geologists, and astronomers the early history of the crust of the earth and the still grander problem of the primary evolution of our planetary system, we shall all be the gainers. Scientific men have nothing to gain by going out of their domain; but while urging this division of labor let us not forget that "all science is one," that the limits of any one department encroach upon the others, and that philosophical speculations must of necessity extend into adjoining domains where information is to be taken at second hand. Let us leave the philosophical speculations extending beyond the boundaries of scientific research to those who have become the leaders of thought; and if magazine writers and popular lecturers will confine themselves to acting as reporters only upon subjects with which they have become acquainted from actual study, we shall be in a fair way to employ our magazines and lectures as popularizing agents of science within their proper limits.

SCIENTIFICUS.

Notes.

J. SABIN & SONS have now for sale their catalogue of the remarkable and in some respects unprecedented collection of books, etc., belonging to Mr. William Menzies, of this city, which is to be sold at auction Nov. 13 by Geo. A. Leavitt & Co. A more uniformly valuable library, without rubbish, was perhaps never disposed of in this country. The catalogue is an elegant product of Munsell's press. Of its varied contents we can only single out its Washingtoniana, including Irving's Life expanded by insertions into ten magnificent volumes, and the original letters of Washington to Gen. Joseph Reed, long since "edited." No. 1380 is a copy of the rare 'Mémoire' to which we lately referred in our notice of the *Olden Time*. No. 1728 is a copy of an equally rare 'Expostulatory Letter to George Washington, of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, on his continuing to be a Proprietor of Slaves' (Liverpool, 1797). Washington returned it "without a syllable in reply," but emancipated his slaves in his will.——Bulletin No. 39 of the Boston Public Library continues its Check-list for American Local History to Chemung Valley, N. Y., and has valuable bibliographical notes on the History of Mental Philosophy and America in the Sixteenth Century. Under the latter head will be found the materials for studying the Verrazzano controversy, which, we may remark, is discussed in No. 66 of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society.——In the *American Naturalist* for November Prof. J. D. Whitney shows that the prairie is a product not of temperature but of the soil, which may be described as exceedingly finely comminuted earth, unfavorable to the growth of trees. It is the result

of slow and generally tranquil "accumulation of detrital materials during a vast period of time," through local rather than general agencies, by which the soluble portion of the horizontally stratified rocks underlying the prairie region—rocks easily acted on by water—was dissolved and removed. Prof. Whitney calls attention to a fact often overlooked, that as trees do not grow spontaneously in prairie soil they can only be cultivated there under difficulties ——Henry Holt & Co. will publish their first juvenile book, 'The Pearl Fountain, and Other Fairy Tales,' by the Kavanagh sisters, for the holidays. Prof. Walker's 'Wages Question' is to be translated into Italian.——J. B. Ford & Co. announce a new work by Mrs. Stowe, 'Footsteps of the Master.'——An authoritative work on 'Potato Pests,' by Dr. Charles V. Riley, State Entomologist of Missouri, is in the press of Orange Judd & Co.——Scribner, Armstrong & Co. will publish 'Charles Kingsley: Letters and Memoirs of his Life,' edited by his wife.——'Animals Painted by Themselves,' edited from the French by James Thompson, F.R.G.S., with Granville's illustrations, is announced by J. B. Lippincott & Co.——Turnbull Brothers, Baltimore, announce for early publication 'Edgar Allan Poe: a Memorial Volume,' prepared by Miss Sara S. Rice, and embellished, among other illustrations, with a photograph from a late daguerreotype of the poet.——The Third Congress of the Episcopal Church, which is to meet in Horticultural Hall, Boston, Nov. 14–17, has a vigorous programme of discussion: "The True Place of Art in Christianity," "The Morals of Politics," "Freedom of Religious Thought in the Episcopal Church," "Secular and Religious Education," "Revivals and Christian Nurture."

—The present rage for old furniture is gratified in the November *Harper's* by an article on this subject by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford. It is profusely illustrated with all sorts of "Gothic" properties, but that it will do much towards forming a correct taste we have grave doubts. For one reader who will be content to follow where it leads him "the first principle to be found in Gothic furniture," namely, "absolute simplicity and truth and frankness of construction, however elaborate the ornament," a hundred will be confused and misled by Mrs. Spofford's assurance that in order to build a modern house "and furnish it accurately in the Gothic, if that is the style chosen—and unless accurately, best not at all—it is as necessary to understand something of the origin, the genesis, and method of use of each article as it is to know how to count in order to cast up a sum in addition. . . . One needs some archæological knowledge, a tolerably definite idea of the way affairs were ordered in the days that are gone." The paper on John Locke is somewhat tougher reading than we commonly find in *Harper's;* at least this is true of the earlier portion, which treats of Locke's philosophy. The biographical narrative is interesting enough, and would have been still more so if it could have embodied extracts from Locke's notes of travel on the Continent. The writer alludes to these, and it is not too late to make of them a second paper. He mentions also the curious fact that Dr. Richard Busby, master of Westminster School when Locke was sent there, was the same "Dr. Busby" who figured in a children's game of cards not many years obsolete in this country, if it be indeed wholly obsolete.

—In *Lippincott's* for November Prof. J. M. Hart finds fault with our higher education as being based on the English rather than on the German model. Much that he has to say is suggestive, as when he remarks that the breaking of the connection between the colleges and the State has led to their sacrificing "whatever direct influence they may once have possessed over national life." But here the thought which is prompted is that Prof. Hart has overlooked the fact that the State grew away from the colleges and not the colleges from the State. In Massachusetts, for instance, a learned gospel was the prime cause of the interest which the State took in the higher education, and when the attempt to make everybody go to meeting and support the minister recognized by the State was relinquished, even in that early day the breach with the college at Cambridge was begun. The extension of the suffrage, the rise of parties, the mixture of population, and the gradual lowering of the standard of public service, at last made the dependence of the college on the State not only unprofitable but dangerous. Bad as our political condition is, it would be a thousand times worse if jobbery could invade our colleges as it does our common schools. We may admit that college influence on national affairs is more indirect than is desirable—than it is, notoriously, in England. Still, we should like chapter and verse for such a statement as this:

"The workers in natural science excepted, ... it may be safely said that our progress in the arts and letters, in legislation, social reform, and even in philosophic study, has been gained without aid from the colleges. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that our real thinkers, the men who take the initiative in any given direction, are men moving wholly outside of the college sphere, and that many of them are not even graduates."

—The *Galaxy* for November contains some verses by Joaquin Miller, called "Como," which are a fair specimen of the quality of the poet of the Sierras. The subject is a simple and very old one—jealousy ending in murder, and when dark deeds are to be done we may be sure that Mr. Miller will not be at his worst. The machinery is not so old as to creak, nor yet so new as to attract too much attention, consisting as it does in the use at the beginning, and again at the end, of a burden plainly pointing to a violent death, while between this introduction and finale we are let into the secret of the crime and its motive by seeing pass before us two friends, one in love with and the other having designs of some kind against the peace of mind of a lady who gives the first sufficient cause for jealousy, and, as he thinks, sufficient reason for something more. In reading the verses, which have an undeniable strength of language, and now and then hints of rather unusual poetical fancy, and which, like a good deal of Mr. Miller's poetry, provoke the reader who has begun them to go on to the end, it is impossible not to ask what it is that, after all, is so disagreeable about it. It is not because of a lack of intelligibility, though the author does undoubtedly belong to a school of poets who look upon any doubts on this point expressed by the public as almost conclusive proof of the inherent vulgarity and unredeemed stupidity of the class known to bards as "critics." But it is not obscurity which is Mr. Miller's besetting sin, and it is somewhat difficult to find a word which expresses what we miss, or rather what we do not miss, but regret to find in his poetry. It is a defect which now and then *banal* would come nearer expressing than any English word. It is impossible, for instance, not to smile the smile of superiority at the image suggested by this description of a beauty:

> "Her presence it was majesty—so tall
> Her proud development encompassed all.
> She filled all space."

And yet instances of the same sort of substitution of the ridiculous for the sublime may be found on every other page of Mr. Miller's writing. This is the intellectual taint which runs through his verse; there is a moral one as well (if an apparently complete insensibility to moral impressions can be called a moral defect), which has been often pointed out, and which seems to us nearly related to the other. In his pages there is no apparent appreciation of the fact that among civilized people there is a close connection between taste and morality, and that the criminal propensities of the race, though admitted to exist, are not in themselves objects of pleasing speculation. With Mr. Miller and his school it is otherwise. Crime is in itself attractive to them, and in much of their verse we see a distinct subordination of the æsthetic sense to what sometimes seems almost like a criminal appetite. That he is a natural poet there can be no doubt, but he is at the same time rather a brilliant savage than a man whose tastes naturally put him into relations with the educated public. This public consists mainly of people who have been "caught young," and they are somewhat shy of their untamed kin.

—Mr. Hazard Stevens gives an account in the *Atlantic* of the ascent of Takhoma (Mount Rainier), the immense snow-clad mountain mass which overlooks Puget Sound from Olympia to Victoria. According to Indian tradition, it is an enchanted mountain, on the summit of which an evil spirit dwells in a fiery lake, while round about him rages a furious tempest against which no man can stand. Such, at least, with many more interesting details, was the account given to Mr. Stevens and his party of the difficulties of the ascent by their Indian guide, Sluiskin, who strongly objected to what he considered their sacrilegious attempt. The top, however, was reached after a long and perilous march and climb, of which the writer gives an interesting account. In going and returning two hundred and forty miles were accomplished. Expeditions of this kind in the United States are so different from Alpine climbing that we should think one would furnish small preparation for the other, one of the most serious differences being the non-professional and independent character of the guides. Sluiskin, for instance, is thus described by Mr. Stevens:

"Sluiskin was an original and striking character. Leading a solitary life of hardships amidst these wilds, yet of unusual native intelligence, he had contrived, during rare visits to the settlements, to acquire the Chinook jargon, besides a considerable stock of English words, while his fund of general information was really wonderful. He was possessed of a shrewd, sarcastic wit, and, making no pretence to the traditional gravity of his race, did not scruple to use it freely. Yet beneath this he cherished a high sense of pride and personal independence. Although of the blood of the numerous and powerful Yakimas, who occupied the country just east of the Cascades, he disdained to render allegiance to them, or any tribe, and undoubtedly regarded the Superintendent of Indian affairs, or even the Great Father at Washington himself, with equally contemptuous indifference."

The statement at the end of the article, that "we were justly regarded as the first, and, as I [Mr. Stevens] believe, the only ones up to the present time who have ever achieved the summit of Takhoma," is not perfectly accurate, as the ascent was made within a short time (we think not more than a month) after that here described by Messrs. Emmons and Wilson of the Fortieth Parallel Survey.

—The Commissioner of Education has just caused to be published a voluminous report on the condition and management of public libraries in this country—one of the centennial labors of the year. In comprehensiveness it reminds us of the parliamentary blue-books, which present from time to time masses of information, recommendation, suggestion, and criticism on the condition of the public institutions of Great Britain. Many of the very best bibliographers and librarians of the United States have made their contributions to its pages; Justin Winsor, A. R. Spofford, H. A. Homes, C. A. Cutter, W. F. Poole, F. B. Perkins, O. H. Robinson, and H. E. Scudder being among the writers whose names are given. The editorial work devolved upon S. R. Warren, a recent Yale graduate, and S. N. Clark—both adjuncts of the Educational Bureau at Washington—and they have obviously labored with marvellous patience and with signal success. To their perseverance great praise is due. Their report is issued in two very unequal parts—the first having nearly twelve hundred octavo pages, and the second less than ninety pages, being, in fact, a single tract on "A Dictionary-Catalogue," by C. A. Cutter. A few wood engravings—not very satisfactory—exhibit the aspects, sometimes exterior, sometimes interior, of a few of the principal library buildings in the United States. The index is full but not exhaustive. Among the topics which the report takes up are these: the history and statistics of American libraries; suggestions in respect to catalogues, indexes, and library bibliography; hints in respect to the organization and conduct of libraries of different sorts; selected lists of reference books; comments on the experience of different parts of the country in the maintenance of libraries; plans of library buildings. In short, there is hardly any point in respect to library management which is not discussed by a special paper or on which ample light is not thrown by incidental comments; and, as the authorship of each paper is given, the reader is enabled to consult the most experienced library-workers in the country. A single writer might have condensed the report and made it in some respects more valuable by the elimination of repetitions; but he would have thus deprived it of much of its freshness. If a good reviewer would now gather up the opinions here expressed, omitting the historical and statistical statements, and confining himself to the actual conduct of libraries, he would render a great service to the country. It would be better yet if in every town large enough or compact enough to have a public library, some bright young man or woman would go over the volume, pen in hand, and combine in a single paper the rich suggestions and the varied experiences which this volume contains, so far as they are adapted to the special locality in which the compiler may reside.

—No one can examine this report without being impressed with the rapid growth of public libraries during the last few years, with the liberal sums given for their maintenance, with their remarkable geographical distribution over even the newest States and Territories, and with the fine openings for young women which library-work has provided. Yet he must acknowledge that our libraries, like our public schools, are far enough from being equal to the requirements of the country. Half a dozen colleges and half a dozen other communities are moderately well provided with books, but elsewhere the supplies are meagre. There are more germs than trees, more acorns than oaks described in this report. As in other departments of education, there are abundant indications of general intelligence rather than of learning and culture. One of the most suggestive papers is by Mr. J. P. Quincy on Free Libraries, in which, with too much brevity, he suggests the principles on which these foundations should be conducted. He especially protests against the indiscriminate supply of *trash*, simply because "there is a call for it." Mr. Perkins, in a very practical manner, exhibits the modes of making town-libraries successful, and Prof. Frieze recommends the union of art collections with those of letters, and shows how easy it is to secure the nucleus of a museum. Besides these essays of general interest, the librarian will discover abundant technical suggestions, all the more valuable because only of value to members of "the craft." Notwithstanding its somewhat cumbersome or plethoric character, we trust this report will penetrate into every village of the land—that it will be *bound* and read. It cannot fail to whet the appetite for books, and to save the managers of libraries time, labor, and expense. The experience of the Boston Public Library alone is one of the best educational influences which can possibly be extended through the country.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.*

THIS eleventh volume of the 'Memoirs of John Quincy Adams' comprises portions of his diary during the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Congresses, and, like the preceding volumes, belongs to that very important class of publications from which history draws her narratives and her judgments. In French literature, which abounds in the best specimens of them, they fill a distinct place under the attractive title of "Mémoires pour servir." They require in the writer a retentive memory and an easy, natural style, but, still more, facility in portrait-painting and the art of reading character. As amusing reading they belong to the 'Gil Blas' school of novel; as instructive reading they approach very near to history itself. It is to them that we must go for pictures of manners and customs, of external and internal life, of the landscape and the city, and all those details without which history is often so lifeless and cold. Taken from this point of view, we cannot give Mr. Adams's work a place in the first rank. His style has no graces, and he is too diffuse for energy. Though a writer of verses he has no poetic glow, and though often eloquent in debate, seldom rises with his pen above cold prose. You never read a sentence of his a second time for the lingering pleasure it leaves upon the ear. Yet he is clear and distinct; we should hardly venture to say precise, for precision implies a higher degree of vigor than he generally reaches. In this there is a striking difference between his speeches and his writings, and greatly in favor of the speeches, which are full of vigor and movement. The presence of an audience seems to inspire him, and statement, illustration, and vigorous logic flow from his lips with equal abundance. But when he takes up his pen he takes up with it the professor's gown. He cannot forget that he once lectured on belles-lettres to a college class.

But it is not from a literary point of view that these volumes are to be judged. They are the truthful record of the acts and opinions of a very eminent man during a very remarkable period of history; a period into which more rises and falls of empire and more sudden changes in the fortunes of individuals were crowded together than in any other period since history began. This is a circumstance to be kept constantly in view as we read these pages. In many of these events Mr. Adams had borne a conspicuous part. With many of the actors he was personally acquainted. Others he had seen at a distance. He had walked side by side with the Emperor of all the Russias in his morning walks in the great square of St. Petersburg, and talked on familiar terms with nearly all the prime ministers of the kingdoms and empires of Europe. He had helped make international law, and there was not one of his American colleagues who might not have sat reverently at his feet when he discoursed of history. It was natural that he should carry this consciousness with him. It was also natural that the claim it gave was not always acknowledged.

One of the traits of character which these "confessions" bring to view is the eager desire of moral improvement. He is keenly alive to the infirmity of his temper and always on the watch to guard against it. But it was a family weakness, and was too strong for him. His father had the same hot temper and the same moral conflict to wage. We have noticed this already, and return to it now to say reluctantly that in spite of all his efforts it grew with his years and ran into a painful bitterness. We give one specimen for all, because we believe, Plutarch to the contrary notwithstanding, that such things form a part of faithful history and ought to be told:

"I revised the proof-slips of my speech delivered on the fourth instant on the McLeod resolution, the language of which, wholly extemporaneous, is mean and tautological, full of repetitions and desultory, but has the *mérite de l'apropos*. The speech has for the time saved Webster from the catastrophe which has befallen his colleagues. It has given him the means of saving himself from ruin and his country from a most disastrous war. My reward from him will be professions of respect and esteem, speeches of approbation and regard for me to my friends, knowing that they will be reported to me, secret and deep-laid intrigues against me, and still more venomous against my son. Such is human nature, in the gigantic intellect, the envious temper, the ravenous ambition, and the rotten heart of Daniel Webster. His treatment of me has been, is, and will be an improved edition of Andrew Jackson's gratitude. But there are things, according to Plutarch, not to be told in the biographies of great men."

We beg leave, as we have already hinted, to differ from Plutarch. It is only by giving such traits their true prominence that a man's real character can be known. Washington's fiery temper was no secret to his intimates; but did they not almost learn to look upon it as a virtue, or at least as an occasion of virtue, when they saw that he never performed a public act under its influence? For the same reason we give the following picture of what sometimes occurred on the floor of the Congress of those days:

*'Memoirs of John Quincy Adams. Edited by his son, Charles Francis Adams.' Vol. XI. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

"I urged the House to disagree to the Senate's amendment. Ingersoll followed, and Stanley made some cutting remarks upon Wise. Fillmore followed, but had said only a few words when Wise crossed from his seat to that of Stanley, began by hectoring and finished by insulting him; whereupon Stanley called him a liar. Wise struck or attempted to strike him, and a fight ensued; a rush of members to the spot, whether to separate the combatants or to take sides with them it was difficult to say. The Speaker took the Chair, and roared 'Order! Order!' but no order came. Many cried out, 'The Sergeant-at-Arms, the Sergeant-at-Arms!' but no Sergeant-at-Arms appeared. After about five minutes of chaos, Wise appeared in his seat, addressed the Speaker; said he was perfectly cool and most humbly begged pardon of the House, and told how he had gone over to remonstrate with Stanley, that words had ensued, till Stanley had applied to him a word which he could not brook and he had struck him. Stanley said he had no pardon to ask of the House; that he had told Wise he was a liar, and would have chastised him severely if other members had not interfered. Ingersoll offered a resolution to investigate the rencontre—a committee of seven; adopted."

Very interesting and important side-lights are thrown upon the administration of John Tyler, who is painted in unenviable colors, and we are told, though not with as much detail as we could have wished, the history of the breaking up of his Cabinet, wherein Mr. Webster appears on the stage and suggests a not very complimentary quotation from Shakspere.

Mr. Adams, in November, 1841, is looking anxiously forward to the approaching session of Congress. He finds the same anxiety prevailing among his political friends:

"I walked out before dinner," he writes on the 20th, "and called at the office of Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, with whom I had about an hour's conversation. He is under no small concern from apprehension upon two points at the approaching session of Congress: one, the rule excluding the reception of all petitions, resolutions, and papers relating to slavery; and the other, upon a revived project of which formal notice has been given in newspapers devoted to the interests and aspirations of President Tyler. I look forward to both these designs with alarm and anguish—not for the power of the South, which can effect nothing by itself, but from experience of the treachery of the Northern representation both to Northern interest and principles. I spoke also to Mr. Loring of the letter purporting to be from Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Adams, of which he sent me a copy, and the genuineness of which is very problematical. I asked him if access could be obtained to Samuel Adams's papers. His grandson, Samuel Adams Wells, has issued a prospectus of a memoir of his life and writings in six octavo volumes, but could not prevail upon any book-printing establishment to undertake it."

One of the subjects which particularly engaged his attention this session was the investment and application of the Smithsonian fund. Mr. Adams, it will be remembered, was in favor of building an observatory with it and carrying on a regular course of astronomical observations. He would have made another Greenwich of it, with a scientific bulletin of its own. He had always loved astronomy and cultivated his taste for it as far as circumstances allowed; and of his occasional addresses none interested him more than that which, in his extreme old age, he crossed the mountains to deliver at the opening of the observatory of Cincinnati. He worked hard to carry out his plan, but could not bring his colleagues to share his views. Another subject upon which he felt deeply was the fate of the *Amistad* Africans, whose protectors were trying to obtain an order for sending them home in Government vessels. He argued the question with Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, and with John Tyler, then President. We introduce Mr. Webster once more. The scene is so striking, so full of dramatic vigor, that we give it in full. It reminds us of Alfieri:

"I called this morning at the Department of State with a letter communicating to him (the Secretary) the resolution of the committee directing their chairman to ascertain whether any new correspondence or instructions have occurred since the President's annual message, relating to the search by British cruisers of American vessels on the coast of Africa. He read the letter, and said nothing. I enquired whether the report on the call of the House last winter for documents concerning our relations with the Republic of Hayti was to be expected soon. He said it was in course of preparation. I told him I should probably move a call for Stevenson's letter to Commodore Hull, and also the Navy Department for the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry and Court-martial for the recent trial of Captain Bolton. He said nothing. I observed that the state of our affairs generally seemed unpleasant, and that there was every prospect of the repeal of the Bankrupt law. He made no reply. I said, difficulties seemed to multiply upon us. 'Yes,' said he, 'difficulties on all sides.' He was evidently absorbed in deep agitation of mind."

At this time, perhaps, there was not in the whole country a man more sincerely hated by slaveholders than John Quincy Adams; nor was there one who more boldly, more firmly, and more consistently held his ground in the midst of every form of opposition than he. He held the right of petition to be an inalienable one, and the petitioner as one to whom it was the duty of Congress to give ear. From this ground nothing could move him. The hostile feeling culminated at last in an attempt to try him before the bar of the House for having presented a petition asking for the dissolution of the Union. Our space will not permit us to follow him through the details of this fiery ordeal. We recommend it to the careful perusal of those who believe in the study of great men. We give one example of the way in which he speaks of it himself:

"After dinner, at St. John's Church, Mr. Hawley read prayers for the Sunday before Lent, and preached from Matthew xiii. 47: 'Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind.' My attention, morning and afternoon, involuntarily wandered from the preachers and their discourses to the critical nature of my own position; confident of my deliverance from this particular assault upon me, so senseless that its malignity merges, by its stupidity, not into innocence, but into harmlessness, but always distrustful of my own control over my own spirit. One hundred members of the House represent slaves, four-fifths of whom would crucify me if their votes could erect the cross; forty members, representatives of the free in the league of slavery and mock Democracy, would break me on the wheel, if their votes or wishes could turn it round; and four-fifths of the other hundred and twenty are either so cold or so lukewarm that they are ready to desert me at the first scintillation of indiscretion on my part. The only formidable danger with which I am beset is that of my own temper."

We close this volume with the same feeling with which we closed its predecessors—admiration for the industry, energy, and force of character of this remarkable man. The next volume will complete the work.

The Theory of Color in its Relation to Art and Industry.—By Dr. Wilhelm von Bezold. Translated from the German by S. R. Koehler. With an Introduction and Notes by Edward C. Pickering. Illustrated by chromo-lithographic plates and woodcuts. (Boston: L. Prang & Co. 1876.)—The widespread belief in the inability of the German mind to produce books of light and elegant composition and easy style has received of late years many brilliant refutations. Professor von Bezold's work may well be added to their number. Adding the talent of unpretending and lucid exposition to German solidity and minuteness of learning, he has indeed produced in this manual a little masterpiece of scientific popularization which the masters of that modern art in England and France will find it hard to surpass. The first two-thirds of the volume are devoted to an analysis, physical, physiological and psychological, of light, and our sensations of color. The experiments and conclusions which will make Helmholtz's work on optics immortal, but which have hardly yet filtered down to the level of the "reading public," are largely given here. The chapter on contrast, in particular, is in some respects the best statement of the laws of that mysterious phenomenon with which we are acquainted. We say mysterious, for we think Helmholtz's theory of misled judgment and "unconscious inference" insufficient to explain the matter. Why, for instance, on that theory should a gray ring on a pink ground appear *most* intensely green when the ground is so pale that we are left in uncertainty as to its hue? (p. 163). Our author's tact is as much shown by what he omits as by what he includes; he gives the reader enough for a complete understanding of practical principles and no more. When it comes to the discussion of particular combinations of color, he is less minute. Brücke's little work, for example, goes more into detail. But perhaps in a manual for designers this is to err on the safe side. Fix the broader principles and let instinct fill in the chinks; otherwise you not only breed a mechanical method, but you open the door to a class of cold-blooded mistakes which an instinctive artist will never slip into. Indeed, when we think how much worse than rubbish has been written about both the theory and practice of color, how Field's utterly worthless notion of "chromatic equivalents" has reigned in England, we are thankful for an author who is not ambitious to do too much. Prof. von Bezold's book should be read by all designers and students of æsthetics. Mr. Koehler's translation is excellent, and the publishers have done their part well.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*	
A Century of American Medicine	(Henry C. Lea)	
Art Journal, November, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.)	$0 75
Barrett (E.), Carlyle Anthology	(Henry Holt & Co.)	2 00
Busk (R. H.), Roman Legends	(Estes & Lauriat)	
Brooks (Prof. E.), Normal Higher Arithmetic	(Sower, Potts & Co.)	1 33
Calvert (G. H.), Life of Rubens	(Lee & Shepard)	1 50
Daniell (W. H.), How to Sing, swd	(S. R. Wells & Co.)	50
Dufferin (Lord), Letters from High Latitudes	(Lovell, Adams, Wesson & Co.)	1 50
Essays on the Endowment of Research	(Henry S. King & Co.)	
Globe Encyclopædia, Parts VII., VIII., swd	(Estes & Lauriat)	50
Goldammer (Rev. J. S.), Luzzatto's Grammar of the Biblical Chaldaic Language	(John Wiley & Sons)	1 50
Heckewelder (Rev. J.), History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations, new ed.	(Hist. Soc. of Penn.)	3 50
Hatton (J.), Clytie: a Novel	(Lovell, Adams, Wesson & Co.)	1 50
Landor (W. S.), Imaginary Conversations of Sovereigns and Statesmen	(Roberts Bros.)	2 00
Leading Cases Done into English, 2d ed	(Macmillan & Co.)	1 00
Lippincott's General Guide-Book to the United States and Canada, 3d ed	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)	
Lippincott's General Guide for Settlers in the United States	" "	

Wagner's Art Life and Theories.

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OR,

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1876.

The Week.

THERE is at this writing no perceptible change in the political situation. The contradictory telegraphing to the newspapers from both sides continues, and makes the bulletin-boards very amusing reading. As far as our own observation goes, the public in general has become very calm over the matter, and among the best men of both parties partisan eagerness for victory is more and more dominated by the desire above all things, and no matter with what result, for a count not only "fair," as the politicians say, but above suspicion. Mr. Hayes labors in the matter under the disadvantage of having to secure the vote of all the three States, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, in order to secure even a majority of one in the Electoral College; and the Returning Board in Louisiana having been already convicted of gross frauds, and being controlled by his political friends, its finding, in so far as it goes behind the ballot-boxes, will necessarily be received with more or less distrust in case it is in his favor. As regards South Carolina, the Board of Canvassers there is more respectable, and an effort is being made by the Democrats to have it prohibited by mandamus of the Supreme Court from enquiring into the validity of returns of the vote for the Presidential electors. The motion is to be argued to-day, and, if successful, the count will be a mere mechanical matter, in which watching can prevent any fraud. The Florida Board is, we believe, entirely respectable. If Tilden succeeds in any one of them he will be elected; and without pretending to have any materials on which to base a prophecy, the increasing vehemence of the Republican allegations of fraud seems to indicate that they fear to rely on the mere mechanical count of ballots, and place much dependence on the existence of fraud or violence at the polls. The judicial powers of the Florida and Louisiana Boards are not disputed. That there was fraud and violence in all three States we suppose is hardly doubtful. The misfortune of the situation is that the fact cannot be enquired into by some non-partisan body commanding public confidence. It is at present impossible to say when the Florida Board will have completed its labors, as it has the power of adjournment. The Louisiana Board begins work to-morrow, and there is a powerful body of Northern politicians in New Orleans prepared to watch the count.

During the late campaign both Presidential candidates gave the "one-term" theory their countenance, Governor Hayes by a voluntary pledge not to accept a second term, and Governor Tilden by a recommendation to amend the Constitution in this direction. We gave some reasons at the time for thinking that the proposal rested on a shallow view of human nature and a false view of our political institutions. But the principle which underlies it has just been subjected, in the sight of the whole country, to a practical test worth a whole library of abstract arguments. The result of the test, we think, ought to be accepted as finally conclusive. Since the Cincinnati Convention General Grant has been as completely shut off from any hope of another term as if the Constitution forbade it. We ought, therefore, if the theory be sound, to have had the government administered without any reference to the political contest, in which the President has had no personal stake. But what is the fact? The whole governmental machinery has been more completely diverted to the service of a party than ever before. From the highest Cabinet officer to the lowest Custom-house clerk, the nominal servants of the public have become the servants of the Republican party. The Secretary of the Interior has devoted his time and strength to organizing the Republican campaign. The Secretary of the Treasury has tried to prove that the public credit was involved in the victory of a party. The "Custom-house" has everywhere marshalled its forces in support of the party candidates. High officials have assailed the personal character of Mr. Tilden with statements professedly based on official information. The assessments on department clerks and letter-carriers have been as extensive, as relentless, and as open as if the practice had never been condemned or questioned. And all this has been done in an election where it could scarcely be pretended that any really vital issue was at stake; it has been done by a party that professed to make "civil-service reform" one of its objects; it has been done to elect a candidate whose letter of acceptance consisted mainly of a declaration against this whole class of practices; and it has been permitted by a President who once formally committed himself with some show of sincerity and earnestness to basing the civil service on capacity and character.

We are glad to say our fears about the two constitutional amendments in this State, taking the prisons and canals out of politics, have not been realized. Both amendments have been adopted. They abolish the system of electing boards of three Canal Commissioners and three Prison Inspectors by popular vote, which has made both the canals and prisons most shameful and fruitful sources of fraud and corruption, and substitute for them the appointment of a single Superintendent of Canals with full powers, and a single Superintendent of Prisons with full powers, by the Governor with the consent of the Senate, making them liable to summary dismissal by the Governor. The result will be that if the canals and prisons are not well managed henceforward it will be easy to tell who is responsible. Considering how politicians cling to patronage and how they love "direct responsibility to the people," the success of the amendments is somewhat surprising, and must be ascribed to the absorption of the ruling class in the Presidential election. We ought to add—at the risk of "throwing our influence" against Mr. Hayes—that we are indebted for the amendments to the tricky and degraded Samuel, his opponent.

In refreshing contrast to the abortive attempt at "reform within the party" in Massachusetts, the Philadelphia Republicans succeeded in throttling the regular candidate for sheriff. This man, Rowan, had while in office, by practices exactly akin to those of Tweed, largely increased the city debt and laid the foundations for a "boss"-ship of formidable power. His nomination for sheriff was anticipated, and the Philadelphia press with almost one voice warned against it as most unfit and shocking. No sooner had Rowan captured the convention, however, than the same papers, with a few honorable exceptions, gave him the same support that they were giving Hayes. To this disgusting spectacle Forney's *Press* was, of course, not wanting. Before the nomination it had distinctly declared that, Republican though it was, it would oppose Rowan even as a Republican candidate, but the next day it calmly entered the ranks of his apologists, and was condemned to see its own dishonor posted daily in the columns of the *Evening Telegraph*, which pursued Rowan with great courage and consistency to the end. The result is instructive. Rowan was defeated by the Democratic candidate—a man of good character—by something more than 5,000 votes. Rowan ran 13,411 behind his ticket, and as Wright ran 8,243 ahead of his, it appears that 5,168 reform Republicans scratched their ticket without substituting any other name for Rowan's, while 8,243 went straight over to the Democratic side. In a total vote of 137,000 these figures seem very small, and show clearly enough the strength of party ties even in face of such a calamity as Rowan's election would have been.

We are glad to see that *Harper's Weekly* is waking up to a sense of the impropriety, to use a mild term, of the want of harmony

which is sometimes shown in its columns between its editorial articles and its caricatures. It said last week, in the course of a sermon directed against "independent journalism," which it accused of being "dishonorable" for not supporting Hayes in its fashion:

"Our objection is not to what is called independence, but to independence which is effectively Democratic partisanship. *Harper's Weekly* sincerely desired the success of Hayes and Wheeler as promoting the best interests of the country. But what proof should we have given of our faith and hope if Mr. Nast had filled the paper with trenchant caricatures of conspicuous Republicans, and we had occupied these columns with 'digs' and stabs at the party?"

We shall not presume to answer the above question, but we must remind the *Weekly* that Mr. Nast *has* filled the paper with the grossest caricatures of Mr. Schurz, representing him to the world as a base and cunning adventurer when the editor was testifying to his honor and integrity, and that in a notable instance, about a year ago, while the editor was severely criticising the Administration, the caricaturist was illustrating the humbug and rascality of all who found fault with it. It would be easy to produce several other examples of the same want of unity of purpose between the two departments of the paper. In fact, to the secular eye, this looks like a most unfortunate subject to bring up, much as one is disposed to pardon in "campaign" writing. We see the *Evening Post*, though fresh from concocting or circulating a disgraceful canard about the effect of the election on the public credit, is also troubled about the same thing. We intend in a few days, when the election excitement is over, to say a word ourselves about campaign party journalism (with illustrations), which we think one of the most immoral and debauching agencies of our time, and which has never appeared in a worse shape than in the late canvass. Its finishing up its excesses with moral reflections does not make the picture less repulsive.

With the punctuality which has characterized it from the beginning, the International Exhibition was formally closed on Friday with ceremonies in which the President and other dignitaries participated. The total attendance during the six months amounted to nine millions, and the receipts promise, if the Government loan does not take precedence, to reimburse the stockholders to the extent of sixty per cent. It is to be hoped that this may lawfully come to pass. There was nothing so remarkable about the Exhibition as the way in which it was carried through, when once determined on, by the enterprise and devotion of the private citizens of Philadelphia. And as this method was unique in the history of international expositions, so we doubt if it could have been adopted in any other city in the Union with the same heartiness or with the same conspicuous success. The management has been not more distinguished for executive efficiency than for freedom from jobbery or suspicion of any kind. Its hardest task has been, however, to avoid an open breach with the political body known as the "Centennial Commission," or, as we might say, to devise a *modus vivendi*, since the Commission was intent on getting a living out of the Exhibition, if not by interference with the finances, at least by being kept in board and lodging on the pretence of exercising more or less apocryphal functions. That this stumbling-block was got over with so little friction and public scandal, and at no greater outlay, is in the highest degree creditable to Mr. John Welsh and his associates. The system of awards has, we regret to say, fallen short of what was expected from it, and is the only miscarriage to be laid at the door of the Exhibition. But on this subject we shall have something to say when the facts are better ascertainable than they are now.

The last vestige of the Brooklyn scandal litigation has disappeared in the discontinuance of his suit by Moulton, on the granting by Judge Westbrook of a change of venue to Delaware County; this Moulton declared would increase the expense more than he could bear, and, weary of war, he has laid down his arms and returned to commercial pursuits. The judge based his decision partly on the ground that Moulton had circulated printed documents about the case in this district, but then both parties had done so indiscriminately; and, in fact, if the circulation of printed matter about the case has prejudiced the public mind in this district, it would be hard to say in what quarter of the State or Union it has not done so. If the inhabitants of Delaware County are still unfamiliar with *ex-parte* views of the scandal, they are so by virtue of total ignorance of the art of reading. The Congregational Association of New York and Brooklyn a few weeks ago vindicated Mr. Beecher on the ground that no one came forward to accuse him, so that now at last he is in both the ecclesiastical and civil forums freed from pursuit. The only consolation we can offer the press under these trying circumstances is to be found in that great resource of country editors, the "prospect of a general European war." The European despots are arming, and they and their pampered and effeminate nobles will probably soon be locked in deadly combat, to the great good of trade and the great stimulation of news-gathering.

During the early part of the week business was as nearly as possible suspended by reason of the political excitement which followed Tuesday's elections, and when the week closed political affairs had not ceased to have a disturbing influence on the financial and trade markets. Before election-day it was alleged by the partisans of Governor Hayes that Mr. Tilden's election would irreparably injure the public credit; despatches reporting his election were sent to Europe, and it was believed there, as it was here, for several days that Mr. Tilden would be the next President. United States securities in all the foreign markets were as firm as a rock, and the comments of the London journals showed that, at least, confidence in the credit of the United States Government had not been weakened. Here the price of gold momentarily advanced to 110⅛, but quickly receded to 109½, or a fraction below the average price for several days before the election. On its becoming apparent that the vote would be very close, whenever despatches came saying that the disputed States would vote for Tilden the price of gold fell, on one day even as low as 109¼. When, on the other hand, despatches came saying that the disputed States would vote for Hayes, the price of gold advanced. The speculative share market moved in the same way as did the price of gold, for the reason that, as Mr. Tilden had, by common consent, 184 votes, and needed only one more to elect him, if any one of the disputed States voted for him his election would be quietly acquiesced in by both political parties, whereas since Mr. Hayes could only be elected by means of the votes of all the disputed States, his election might be questioned, and an effort made to prevent his taking office. Before the close of the week the expectation of serious trouble under any circumstances had grown materially weaker.

In the foreign markets, which are governed more by home considerations, confidence in the peace of Europe was believed to be so well assured early in the week that there was at Liverpool such an upward speculation in cotton as has not been witnessed since the beginning of our civil war. The transactions were enormous, and the price was advanced to 6⅞*d.* for Middling Orleans—a rise of about half a penny. The importance of this advance to us, we may say parenthetically, will be appreciated when it is understood that it amounts to about $5 per bale, and on a crop of 4,500,000 bales would make a difference to us of $22,500,000. While cotton was thus advancing, British consols advanced to 96⅜. This confidence in peace was rudely shocked later in the week by an after-dinner speech of Lord Beaconsfield, and still later by a rejoinder to it on the part of the Czar. The Liverpool cotton market lost its buoyancy and became heavy, and consols have fallen 1¼ per cent. United States bonds in London have also declined a fraction in the general depression in that market. The price of gold here has, however, not responded to the changes in the London market, but in the past few days has been steady at about 109⅞ to 109¾. The

gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between $0.9080 and $0.9153. The price of silver in London has advanced to 54 to 54¼, and at the close the gold value of the old silver dollar was $0.9126, with the gold value of the "trade dollar" $0.9292.

The death of Cardinal Antonelli is a very important event in Italian politics, and has doubtless brought the relations which have hitherto subsisted between the Papacy and the Government to a close. Antonelli has for the last twenty eventful years been the real director of the Papal policy, and was probably the best living representative of the older school of Italian statesmen, an accomplished, astute, patient, indefatigable administrator and diplomatist, with just enough faith in the Church to make him devoted to the Pope, and enough faith in the world to make his devotion useful. It is now announced that the Ministry will, on the Pope's death, treat the Vatican as Italian territory, and apply to the Pope the ordinary provisions of the law regarding the inspection of the bodies of deceased persons and the care of their effects, and it is added that the building will probably be seized and the next Pope compelled to live elsewhere.

The Turco-Russian imbroglio has again assumed a threatening aspect, and apparently through the indiscretion of Lord Beaconsfield, who seems to have an inexhaustible capacity for making trouble. Russia, as our readers know, accepted the English proposals as regarded the armistice and the basis of the proposed subsequent negotiations, but then reasonably enough, as we cannot help feeling, determined to put a stop to the useless fighting in Servia by demanding an immediate cessation of hostilities, and Turkey promptly complied, and all the arrangements were made for a general conference at Constantinople, to be held by the ambassadors, with the assistance of one additional envoy from each Power—the Marquis of Salisbury representing England. Unluckily, on the 9th inst., at the Lord Mayor's dinner, Lord Beaconsfield made a speech in which after recounting all that had been done and was proposed, and holding out good hopes of a peaceful settlement, he went on, and, with the same indiscretion which made him talk of the Queen's new title as a bulwark against Russian aggression in India, pronounced the Russian ultimatum unnecessary, and wound up with a peroration which it is no exaggeration to call warlike. He said he desired peace, but that if war should come there was "no country so well prepared for war as England, none whose resources were so great in a righteous cause, and that she was not a country which would have to enquire whether she should enter on a second or third campaign. If she once commenced she would not finish until right was done."

This was, of course, promptly reported in Russia, and on the following day the Czar delivered a reply to an address of the citizens of Moscow, in which he almost paraphrased Lord Beaconsfield's speech. He recounted what had been done in Turkey, expressed his ardent desire for peace, said that negotiations for a peaceful settlement were about to begin at Constantinople in a few days and he hoped would be crowned with success; but "if he could not obtain guarantees necessary for carrying out what he determined to demand from the Porte he would act independently, and was convinced that the whole of Russia would respond to his summons should he consider it necessary, or Russian honor require it." This address was received with great enthusiasm in Russia, and has produced a good deal of sensation all over Europe. The effect produced in Constantinople is said to be unwillingness on the part of Turkey to go into the Conference until she knows what the Czar had in his mind when he spoke of guarantees he would exact even if he had to act independently. As this looks like an intention to refuse under certain circumstances to abide by the decision of the Conference the effect in London has been to depress stocks, and tod raw from Mr. Lowe a declaration of belief that England was on the eve of a war of which she would be heartily ashamed; and from Sir Stafford Northcote of belief that peace may yet be preserved. But the *Morning Post*, which has the reputation of a semi-official position, declares that Russia has designs on Turkish territory which England will resist. At Berlin the Conference is already pronounced a failure, and the rumors are all of warlike preparation.

As regards the chances of the war, if war there be, it would be undertaken by England in a half-hearted way, with an ally whom the mass of the people now despise and detest; but hostilities once begun, as usual, this repugnance would probably rapidly decline. With England to keep them well supplied and hold Constantinople the Turks are still a very formidable enemy. They are said to have now 150,000 men in Shumla, which is an impregnable position, and would have to be masked by a large army. Until, therefore, it had been in some way disposed of, an advance by land on Constantinople would be impossible, as long as Russia was not in possession of the Black Sea, and of this there is no chance against the combined Turkish and British fleets. The Russian successes would therefore probably be—at the outset certainly—in Asia. If the war lasted over one campaign, it would probably cause bankruptcy in Russia and immense issues of paper money; but then a great deal of fighting can be done by a bankrupt nation. Indeed, it is questionable whether a people do not fight better after they have "defaulted on their coupons" than before. But Russia was never financially worse prepared for war. She has been recently heavily burdened by the compensation to landholders consequent on emancipation; by the construction of several great railroad lines, and by the reorganization and new armament of the army. There is yet no sign of any movement on Germany's part. Her interference, when it comes, will probably be decisive.

The only reform proposed by the Turks which has as yet taken definite shape is the election of a National Council or Parliament, although a diplomatic circular has been sent out promising in vague terms a great many others. The Council will be composed—if it ever meets—of a Lower House of 120 members, elected by the people, and there will be a House of Lords of 36 members, nominated by the Sultan, which is to sit from December 1 to the end of February each year, and examine the budget presented to it by the Crown, and pass laws, but whether it is to be allowed to initiate legislation itself, or only to vote on bills presented by the Crown, we are unable to say. The members of the Lower House are to be elected for three years, and the qualification is to be twenty-five years of age, and a certain amount of real estate—a freehold, in short. The circular promises also a great many administrative reforms, such as were called for in the Andrássy Note, but pledges of this kind have been made so often that no faith can or is likely to be placed in these.

The probable attitude of Rumania and Greece in the coming struggle—if struggle there be—is exciting more or less attention, and the papers are full of rumors about it, now that Servia and Montenegro may fairly be considered exhausted and out of the fight. Rumania covers the road into Bulgaria and has a standing army of 33,000 men, with reserves which would bring it upon a war footing to 144,000, and it has been thought probable, in view of the recent calling out of fresh troops, that she might mean to side with Russia. The ministry, however, make the most solemn declarations of strict neutrality, and have sent missions to St. Petersburg and London asking that the neutrality of their soil may be respected. The Greek Government is doing nothing except calling the attention of the Powers orally to the fact that the Greek subjects of the Porte are as great sufferers as the Slavs, and that if there is anything going to be done for anybody they ought not to be overlooked.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CRISIS.

THERE were certain features in the political situation during the past week on which thoughtful men of both parties, we are sure, have been reflecting seriously, and we hope fruitfully. The patience, self-control, and admirable political sense of the people have prevented the crisis from being more than grave, but they have not by any means removed all cause for anxiety. The features of which we speak, too, will not lose their importance with the settlement of the pending question, or with the election of any particular man to the Presidency, or with any change or amendment of the electoral machinery. We may abolish the Electoral College and substitute a direct popular vote, or create the college in a different way, or provide better means of counting votes, but we cannot do away with the fact which burst upon us last Wednesday in all its ugliness, that the nearly equal division of parties practically in the present case throws, and may hereafter again in other cases throw, the election of the President into the hands of the passionate, ignorant, and semi-barbarous and reckless constituencies of which several Southern States are now composed. With our network of railroads and telegraphs the returns of the vote in Northern States are, for the purposes of public satisfaction, made up and the result known a few hours after dark. In the Southern States there are large districts remote from railroads and telegraphs, and in which the means of communication probably cannot profitably be improved for years to come, in which the voting cannot take place with the ordinary guarantees of fairness, and from which the returns can readily be delayed, and may be unavoidably delayed, for many days. Now, the temptation to unscrupulous party managers to use this delay for the purpose of providing such majorities as the result in other States may show to be necessary for the success of their own side, must under these circumstances be tremendous. Considering the character of the voters and the leaders in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, we would ask whether a community like the North has often before, or ever before, stood in a more humiliating position than that in which we stood from last Wednesday week to Wednesday, waiting for the delectable politicians of those States to tell us who our next President should be, and listening to the boastings and lies and mutual accusations of fraud and pillage, which they kept sending over the wires to soothe or rouse us? There are lower depths than this, but not many.

The Returning Board in Louisiana, for instance, is composed properly of five, but actually only contains three members, men of little character or position. The only white man on it is a Custom-house officer. One of the two blacks has, we believe, been a candidate in the present election, and both are men who can give no guarantees of knowledge or integrity to fit them for such momentous duties as this crisis may thrust upon them. When Louisiana was prominently under discussion we had occasion to discuss the composition and history of this Board very fully. Suffice it to say now that its powers over the returns are absolute. It can reject those of any parish it pleases, on any grounds of fraud or intimidation or violence which it chooses to pronounce sufficient, and there is no appeal from its decision. It was created in the worst days of the Carpet-baggers, as a machine that would enable them to hold the State indefinitely through the negro vote, and the Congressional Committee which enquired into Louisiana affairs last year found it guilty of fraud, and the Senate, by rejecting Pinchback last year, declared unlawful the State legislature which the Board returned and which elected him. Now, if Florida and South Carolina go for Hayes (we are writing while the result is still uncertain), it is this Board which will make the next President. We do not think the hurrying to New Orleans of prominent men, to see that it does not cheat in the count, makes the spectacle any more edifying or cheering. The Board will not need to cheat. It can throw the State vote for whichever candidate it pleases by merely exercising its unquestioned legal discretion.

Gradually, the errors and shortcomings of the Republican party in the treatment of the South are, in one form or another, "thronging to the bar, and crying, all guilty, guilty." We are learning, little by little, that "troops" cannot save us, nor vituperation, nor the negro vote, nor the "party record." There is to us, considering the history of the Federal Administration in Louisiana, with its Packards and Caseys and Durells and Billingses, something absolutely solemn in the retribution which makes it possible for that wretched Returning Board—so sternly condemned last year for its frauds by Messrs. Wheeler, Frye, and Hoar—to elect Hayes, and makes Hayes's best friends tremble at the thought of his entering the White House by such means. The time for settling this matter by the aid of old passions or memories is clearly gone by. The situation is one which needs hard, manly thinking and manly facing of unpleasant and disappointing facts.

We trust most sincerely, too, that the crisis may not pass without fixing the public attention on the point that the conduct of the Administration since Jackson's time, and more particularly of General Grant's Administration, in constituting itself a wing of the party in power rather than the trustee of the nation, and in employing the whole body of office-holders, from the President down, even to the law-officers with their semi-judicial functions, as electioneering agents, deprives us at a crisis like this of the presence of any power capable of arbitrating between the conflicting parties, or capable of preserving order without exciting suspicion of sinister designs. This really constitutes the most serious aspect in the present situation. The President and Cabinet ought to be, at a juncture like this, a body in whose fairness and impartiality the whole people would have implicit confidence, and whose use of the public force would be generally ascribed to a hearty desire for peace and fair play. But what are the facts? The President has made himself for years past the active supporter or coadjutor of one of the Southern factions which has possession of the machinery of State government, and has the counting of the votes, in the States which now have the decision of the Presidential contest in their hands. The Attorney-General who advises him on the legality of his interference by troops or otherwise in the South, and who directs the marshals who represent the United States at the polls, is fresh from the stump, on which he has been denouncing the opposition North and South as public enemies and capable of any villany. The Secretary of the Interior is actually the director of the canvass of one of the two parties, besides being a man notorious for the violence of his language and temper and the thorough unscrupulousness of his politics, and has been absent from his post for three months superintending a series of most inflammatory addresses to the public, calculated to destroy all spirit of conciliation or compromise between the parties who are now contending in hot blood for the mastery. The result is that when the President and his assistants are called by the decent, law-abiding, and peace-loving portion of the community to preserve order and keep down the angry passions of the political partisans, their appearance on the scene with the national police only intensifies bitterness and increases suspicion. Nor is this bitterness or suspicion abated, in the quarters in which it is important it should be abated, by the issue of little rhetorical disapprovals of fraud and chicane, such as came from the President's pen last week, and which, considering his official history, have had such a curiously impressive effect on some Republicans. It does not speak well for the condition of political thought among us when any portion of the people are relieved and rejoiced at finding that the President does not think his successor should be "counted in" by fraud, and have forgotten that the phrases, "Let us have peace" and "Let no guilty man escape," bore such strange fruits in practice. But, in any event, these bits of gnomic wisdom coming from a hot political partisan are not what the crisis calls for; and how little the President has gained in discretion, or in regard for public opinion, is shown by his sending down General Sheridan as a pacificator to a State in which this officer distinguished himself a year ago by asking to have whole classes of the people outlawed by proclamation, that he might afterwards hunt them down with cavalry. In short, this Executive tinkering and meddling

with elections and election returns, and sending troops hither and thither to watch canvassing boards, though it might be tolerated from a President and Cabinet distinguished for their impartiality and abstinence from party strife, is objectionable on so many grounds of principle and precedent that it has had much to do with giving Tilden his popular majority, and its continuance is helping to drown the Republican party, already seriously disabled, beyond all hope of recovery.

The duty of all good citizens now, however, both North and South, is to give that highest proof of political capacity, which consists in ability to bear patiently the errors of administrators and the omissions of legislators, and to remember that the success of this Government and the happiness and prosperity of the people do not depend on any one election or any one President. If the next President does not obtain his place in a satisfactory and fair manner, do not let us get in a passion over it. Such things will happen now and again under all political systems, and the value of frequent elections lies in the fact that each supplies a remedy for the faults or misfortunes of the preceding one. The worst that will happen, if there is any cheating now, and the worst that ought to happen, is that the party guilty of conniving at it or profiting by it will have disappeared before 1880 under a load of infamy, but it is the business of the voters to see that the Government suffers thereby no loss of credit or repute, and the country no loss of confidence in its ability to meet all emergencies whether of war or peace.

THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

THE glaring contrast between the Electoral College as an existing institution and the Electoral College as it was originally intended to be, has been over and over again pointed out and discussed. The contrast, in fact, at such a moment as the present, when the issue of a hotly-contested political struggle may turn upon the vote of a single member of this body, is so grotesque as to be almost ludicrous. Hamilton gives in the *Federalist* the reasons why this method of election (this "excellent" method, as he calls it—"almost the only part of the system of any consequence which has escaped without severe censure") was adopted by the framers of the Constitution. It appears from his account that the reasons which led to its adoption were precisely those which would to-day be advanced by nine men out of ten for its abolition. The college, as forecast by Hamilton, is a body of capable and distinguished men, well known in their several States, above suspicion of corruption or intrigue—or, as he puts it, a small body of "men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station [of President], and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements that were proper to govern their choice." This method would be better than a popular election, because it would "afford as little opportunity as possible to tumult and disorder." The "detached and divided situation" of the electors in the several States would "expose them much less to heats and ferments that might be communicated from them to the people." Had the election of President been made to depend on "pre-existing bodies of men" (*e g*, State legislatures), these "might be tampered with beforehand to prostitute their votes." Such was his expectation. Yet if to-day any one wishes to point out a clear case of political sham and humbug, he can scarcely find a better instance in any country than the Electoral College of to-day. Hamilton's capable and distinguished "college of notables" has become a clerical board which, instead of selecting a President, merely records the result of a popular vote, and in which any change of vote by "deliberation," instead of being regarded as the result of a "judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements that were proper to govern their choice," would be invariably taken to be almost conclusive proof of bribery and corruption.

The evils connected with the present condition of our electoral machinery are so patent that the only matter of real interest suggested by them is the question whether there is any remedy. Here it is important to observe that, instead of the actual system having been, as might seem likely, adopted without due care and debate, there is no part of the Constitution which was more thoroughly discussed or carefully considered. The debates of the Convention show that almost every conceivable system of selecting a President was examined. Election by Congress; election by a popular vote; by the Senate; by electors chosen by the State executives; by the State legislatures, and by electors taken by lot from Congress—all these methods were proposed, and arguments *pro* and *con.* may be found in the Madison Papers. The method finally adopted, though it was founded upon an entirely mistaken calculation as to its working, was at the time generally admitted to be, as Hamilton says, "excellent," if not perfect. As an illustration of what was supposed to be the complete exhaustion of the subject, we may mention that Elbridge Gerry pointed out as a serious danger likely to arise from the popular elections the possibility of what we should now call the permanent "capture" of the Presidency by the then powerful Society of the Cincinnati. The fact that the machinery of the Constitution as passed by the Convention was afterwards slightly altered in the amendments makes little or no difference. The principles of the arguments *pro* and *con.* apply in either case equally well. We may, in fact, say that the framers of the Constitution discussed every kind of electoral machinery except the kind which they actually put in motion—an election by popular vote, masked by a sham electoral body. With regard to this we have nothing but the testimony of experience.

The two remedies now most frequently suggested for the difficulties which this experience suggests are, first, the direct popular vote, and, second, the passage of some such bill as that of Mr. Morton's, debated last spring in the Senate, which provides elaborate machinery for the counting of the electoral certificates at Washington. With regard to the first, it should be observed that one argument against it most relied upon at the time of the adoption of the Constitution has been proved to have no particular importance. The popular "heats and ferments" so much dreaded by Hamilton we have had in every election held since. They have not, on the whole, proved serious. The argument which now occurs to most people in favor of the popular vote is that the majority on one side or the other would be apt to be so great as to put all dispute out of the question. We confess that we doubt this very much, for we have read during the past week articles in leading Republican newspapers conclusively showing that "on a fair count" Hayes has a popular majority over Tilden. If this can be said in the face of an apparent majority of more than a quarter of a million, it is easy enough to see that with a small popular majority both sides would invariably claim a victory, and that in every State in which there was not a strict registry law the managers would go to work to do with the returns precisely what they are now accused of doing in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. But we think the final argument against the popular vote is that it cannot be introduced without a complete change in the Constitution, which is in the last degree unlikely.

The changes to which it seems to us the recent political development of the country does actually point are of a different and a much graver nature than any such Constitutional modifications. Any one who will look over the debate on Mr. Morton's bill last spring will see that while no fault seems to have been found with the fairness of its provisions, there was in the speeches of the older and cooler Senators an expression of a vague sense of insecurity and alarm at the proposals of the bill, unaccompanied by any definite statement of the reasons for it. This dread had, we believe, a very solid foundation in the fact that Mr. Morton's bill is a long step in the direction of a great danger—that of the assumption by Congress of a judicial control over the electoral returns, and through them over the election itself.

According to the provisions of the Constitution, Congress has no more authority over a Presidential election than the Supreme Court has. The surprise expressed in some quarters at the ex-

treme simplicity of the constitutional provision on the subject, "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted," is founded on a confusion between what a Presidential election was intended to be and what it actually is. Had the body that elected been, as was intended, the Electoral College, the assemblage of Congress and the counting of the votes in their presence would also have been, as was intended, simply a solemn way of publishing the result to the world. Had the Electoral College now any real power or standing, the Congressional count would to this day have probably remained a mere formality. But, while the Electoral College has become a mere form, the power of Congress has been becoming steadily greater and greater; so that the able and ambitious men who manage the Senate began to see, years ago, that in their "counting power" they had a means of influencing the result which the framers of the government intended they should be prevented from ever acquiring. The first distinct attempt to make use of the power came, in the most natural way in the world, in a time of intestine disturbance, in the enactment of the twenty-second joint rule, under which the counting of the electoral vote in the last three elections has taken place. Under this rule, for the first time in the history of the country, both Houses assumed an absolute veto upon the counting of the electoral vote of any State, and, as an illustration of the operation of the rule, the Senate in 1872 refused to permit the counting of the vote of Arkansas, thus disfranchising the State, through what has been since admitted to have been a simple blunder. During the existence of the twenty-second joint rule both Houses were in the possession of the same party, and one consequence of this is worth observing. Had the Democrats in 1872 carried a considerable number of States, the Senate might, by refusing to count a State or two, have easily thrown the election, with some appearance of fairness, into the House, where, of course, Grant would have been elected. It happens at the present moment that the House is in the hands of the Democrats, so that this could not be done, even if it were attempted; but the suggestion of it shows the direction in which we are moving.

Mr. Morton's bill is intended as a substitute for the twenty-second joint rule, and defines this new right of veto still more elaborately. Under his bill no State would be excluded unless both Houses voted affirmatively, save in the single case of double sets of returns (*e.g.*, from Louisiana), in which case either House might veto the count. By other clauses of the bill speeches were to be limited to ten minutes, and the previous question might be moved after two hours' debate. The limitation of the time of debate is a necessary part of the scheme. Yet, if we were to try to imagine a way of deciding a Presidential contest wholly at variance with the Constitutional theory of it, would it be easy to think of a better case than its decision by Congress under the operation of the previous question?

Fortunately for us, the twenty-second joint rule is not in existence, and Mr. Morton's bill has not become law, and the two Houses of Congress are in the hands of different parties. The assumption of a semi-judicial right to decide the question is therefore now out of the question. But it is somewhat startling to reflect that it is only by a series of accidents that this is the case, and that we are not brought face to face with what we are inclined to think the greatest peril of the future—the usurpation by Congress of the electoral function. We have seen in our day the Executive patronage pass into its hands, and the Executive himself become the pliant tool of a Senatorial cabal. If we do not wish to see the process carried still further, we must open our eyes to the danger.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE.

SOME of the letters from clergymen which have been called out by our article on the part recently taken by them in scientific discussion maintain that, although ministers may not be familiar with the facts of science, many of them are fully competent to weigh the arguments founded on these facts put forward by scientific men, and decide whether they have proved their case or not; or, in other words, that we were mistaken in saying that the theological seminaries did not afford severe training in the use of the inductive process, and that it could not be used effectively without knowledge of the matter on which it was used. More than one of these letters points, in support of this view, to the answer of the Rev. Dr. Taylor of this city to Professor Huxley's lectures, published some weeks ago in the *Tribune*, and we believe the *Tribune* presented the author to the public as "a trained logician."

We have accordingly turned to Dr. Taylor's letter and given it a much more attentive reading than we confess we gave it when it first appeared, for the purpose of seeing whether it was really true that ministers were such dexterous and highly-taught dialecticians that they could overthrow a scientific man, even on a subject of which they knew little or nothing—whether, in short, they could really treat the question of evolution algebraically, and, by the mere aid of signs of the meaning of which they were ignorant, put the Huxleys and Darwins to confusion. For Dr. Taylor opens in this way:

"Let it be understood, then, that I have no fault to find with Mr. Huxley as a discoverer of facts or as an exponent of comparative anatomy. In both of these respects he is beyond all praise of mine, and I am ready to sit at his feet; but when he begins to reason from the facts which he sets forth, then, like every other reasoner, he is amenable to the laws of argumentation, and his conclusions are to be tested by the relation which they bear to the premises which he has advanced, and by the proof which he furnishes for the premises themselves."

We pass over, as of no consequence for our present purpose, the various exceptions which he then takes to Huxley's arrangement of his lectures, to the tone of his exposition, and to his mode of referring to the Biblical hypothesis, and come to what he has to say of Huxley's evidence, which he truly calls "circumstantial evidence." The first thing he does is to define circumstantial evidence; but here, at the very outset, we have been greatly surprised to find a logician who conceives himself capable of overhauling the argumentation of the masters of science going to a lawyer to get "a statement of the principles which regulate the value of circumstantial evidence." This is a matter which lay logicians usually have at their fingers' ends, and we have never known one yet who would not be amused by a suggestion that he should do as Dr. Taylor did—go to a "distinguished legal friend" for information as to the conditions of this kind of proof. For, as we have more than once pointed out in these columns, lawyers as such have no special skill or training in the use of circumstantial evidence as scientific men know it—that is, as evidence which derives all its force from the laws of the human mind. The circumstantial evidence with which lawyers, *quâ* lawyers, are familiar under our system of jurisprudence is an artificial thing created by legislation or custom, with the object of preventing the minds of the jury—presumably a body of untrained and unlearned men—from being confused or led astray. Moreover, they are only familiar with its use in one very narrow field—human conduct under one set of social conditions. For example, a lawyer might be a very good judge of circumstantial evidence in America, and a very poor one in India or China; might have a keen eye for the probable or improbable in a New England village, and none at all in a Prussian barrack. A familiar illustration of the restrictions on his experience of it is to be found in the rule which compels the calling of "experts" when there is a question as to any points of science or art. "The words science or art," says Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, "include all subjects on which a *course of special study or experience is necessary to the formation of an opinion*," and the opinion of such an expert is a "relevant fact." So that Dr. Taylor's "distinguished legal friend," if a good lawyer, would not, in spite of his proficiency in circumstantial evidence, undertake to dispute with Professor Huxley about the relation of the anchitherium, hipparion, and horse; and if Dr. Taylor offered himself for examination on such a point he would be laughed out of court. In none of our courts is the presentation allowed of *all* the circumstances which strengthen or weaken a probability.

A lawyer, therefore, though he might not be as ill-fitted for a scientific discussion as a minister, is, *as such*, hardly more of an authority on the force and limits of that portion of scientific proof which is drawn from simple observation. Dr. Taylor's consulting one as a final authority as to the very nature of the argument on which he was himself about to sit in judgment, is at the outset a suspicious incident. The definition of circumstantial evidence which he got from his legal friend was this:

"The process of proof by circumstantial evidence consists in reasoning from such facts as are *known* or *proved*, and thence establishing such as are conjectured to exist. The process is fatally vicious, first, if any material circumstance from which we seek to deduce the conclusion depends

itself on conjecture ; and, second, if the known facts are not such as to exclude to a reasonable degree of certainty every other hypothesis."

"Now, tried by these two tests," says Dr. Taylor, "the professor's argument was a failure." Taking this definition as it stands, however, we think it will not be difficult to show that Dr. Taylor is not competent to apply the tests, or to say whether the professor's argument is a failure or not, which is what we suspected before we ever saw his letter.

It is hardly necessary to say that all the evidence in our possession or attainable, with regard to the history of the earth and of animal and vegetable life on its surface, is circumstantial evidence. The sciences of geology, palæontology, and, to a certain extent, biology are sciences of observation, and but few of their conclusions can be reached or tested by experimentation. They are the result of a collection of facts, observed in various places, at various times, and by various persons, and variously related to other facts ; and the collection of these facts, and the arrangement of them, and the formation of a judgment as to their value both positive and relative, form the greater portion of the work of a scientific man in these fields. Professor Huxley's argument, which Dr. Taylor disposes of so summarily, consists of a series of inferences from facts so collected and arranged. They are the things "known or proved," on which, as his legal friend truly says, the reasoning in the process of proof by circumstantial evidence must rest. Now, Dr. Taylor, by his own confession, is no authority in either geology, biology, or palæontology. He has neither collected, observed, nor experimented in these fields. He does not know how many facts have been discovered in them, or what bearing they have on other facts in other fields. Therefore, he is entirely unable to say whether Huxley is arguing from things "known or proved" or not. Moreover, he does not, for similar reasons, know whether Huxley's process has been "fatally vitiated" by the dependence of any "material circumstance" on conjecture, or by the insufficiency of the "known facts" to exclude every other hypothesis ; for, first, he does not know what is in geological, biological, or palæontological induction a "material circumstance"—nor does any man know except by prolonged study and observation—and, second, he does not know whether "the known or proved facts" are sufficient to exclude every other hypothesis, because he neither knows what facts are known nor what is the probative force of such as are known. We can, however, make the doctor's position still clearer by a homely illustration. A wild Indian will, owing to prolonged observation and great acuteness of the senses, tell by a simple inspection of grass or leaf-covered ground, on which a scholar will perceive nothing unusual whatever, that a man has recently passed over it. He will tell whether he was walking or running, whether he carried a burden, whether he was young or old, and how long ago and at what hour of the day he went by. He reaches all his conclusions by circumstantial evidence of precisely the same character as that used by the geologist, though he knows nothing about formal logic or the process of induction. Now, what Dr. Taylor would have us believe is that he can come out of his study and pass judgment on the Indian's reasoning without being able to see one of the "known facts" on which the reasoning rests, or appreciate in the slightest degree which of them is material to the conclusion and which is not, or even to conjecture whether taken together they exclude the hypothesis that it was not a man but a cow or a dog which passed over the ground, and not to-day but yesterday that the marks were made.

Dr. Taylor further on makes an almost grotesque display of this inability to appreciate the logical value of scientific facts, by asking : "Where is the evidence, scientific or other, that there was evolution ? We see these fossils [those of the horse]. Huxley *says* they are as they are because the higher evolved itself out of the lower ; we *say* they are as they are because God created them in series." There is something almost marvellous in this. To recur to the former illustration, it is as if the Indian should show Dr. Taylor the marks on which he relied in his induction, and the Doctor should calmly reply : "I see the marks ; you *say* they were made by a man's foot in walking ; I, who have never given any attention to the subject, and have never been in the woods before, *say* they were made by the rain." The fact is that if there were any weight whatever in this kind of talk—if no equality of knowledge were necessary between two disputants—it would enable an ignorant field-hand to sweep away in one sentence the whole science of geology and palæontology, and even astronomy, and to dispose of every conclusion on any subject drawn from a skilled and experienced balancing of probabilities, or nice mathematical calculation, by simply saying that *he* was not satisfied with the proofs.

Dr. Taylor's reasons for believing that the appearance of fossil horses with a diminishing number of toes is caused by the creation at separate periods of a four, a three, a two, and a one-toed horse, are, he says, "personal, philosophical, historical," and he opposes them with the utmost apparent sincerity to Huxley's assertion that "there can be no scientific evidence" of such creation. The "personal reason" for believing in successive creations of sets of horses with a varying number of toes can, of course, only be the reason so often urged in ball-room disputation—that "I *feel* it must be so"; the "philosophic reason" can only be the one with which those who have frequented the society of metaphysicians are very familiar, namely, a deduction from some eminent speculator's opinion about the nature of the Supreme Being, the conclusion being apparently, that if the Creator wished to diminish the number of a horse's toes, it would not do for him to let one drop into disuse and so gradually disappear, but he would have to make a new horse, on a new design, like a common carpenter. What Dr. Taylor means by the "historical reason" we can only conjecture from his saying that it is of the same order as his historical reason for believing "that the Bible is the Word of God." The historical reason for this, we presume, is that there are various literary and traditional proofs that the Old Testament was held to be the Word of God by the Jewish nation at a very early period, and was by them transmitted as such to the modern Christian world, and that many of the prophecies contained in it have received partial or a complete fulfilment. But how by a process of this kind, partly literary and partly conjectural, and attended by great difficulties at every step, he would reach a fact of *prehistoric* times of so much gravity as creation in series, we think it would puzzle Dr. Taylor to explain. Indeed, the mere production in a controversy of this nature of these vague fancies, half pious, half poetical, conjured up in most cases as a help to mental peace, by a leading minister in the character of a logician, is a very remarkable proof of the depth of those defects in clerical education to which we recently called attention.

Dr. Taylor seems to have forgotten that the Schoolmen were very expert and subtle logicians, who did a prodigious amount of very correct reasoning in their time, and for a long period held Europe in subjection, but that their philosophy passed away like the morning mist, leaving hardly a trace in human thought or work. They argued and argued and argued, but somehow always came out of the very door at which they went in. The reason of their failure was that they did not perceive that reasoning to be fruitful must have facts for its subject, or, in other words, that no man can argue profitably about things he does not understand. His talk on such things, no matter how fine a name he may give it, or with what appearance of logical precision he may clothe it, will never in reality be anything better than speculation, which may now and then be suggestive, but will surely be for the most part vapid and barren. We see with great regret a tendency among the clergy to revive this Schoolmen's delusion for the purpose of fighting the scientific men, but we assure them that it *is* a delusion. It may make "Monday lectures" spicy and give an air of solemnity to newspaper letters, but it will do no more damage to science than a broken pane in a laboratory window. Those who wish to overthrow the Materialists must go to the same schools and submit to the same discipline. There can be no fruitful argumentation without laborious and careful observation and experiment.

Correspondence.

GOVERNOR CHAMBERLAIN AND R. B. ELLIOTT.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : In the *Nation* of November 2, referring to a Charleston correspondent of the *Nation*, you use the following words :

"He denounces Governor Chamberlain in strong terms, and makes some statements connected with the nomination of R. B. Elliott on his ticket which are, we believe, strictly true, and which account for a good deal of the odium of which the Governor is at present the object. The sum and substance of them is that Elliott, whom Governor Chamberlain has described as 'the most corrupt man in the party,' and warned everybody against, is now on his ticket as candidate for Attorney-General, and that he got the nomination immediately after declaring in the Republican Convention that 'he had documents in his pocket which would consign D. H. Chamberlain to the penitentiary as a felon.'"

I refrain from all comment on this passage, incredible as its contents seemed to me when I read it. I only ask you to permit me to say through the *Nation :* 1st, That I never described Mr. Elliott as "the most corrupt man in the party," nor in any equivalent or similar terms ; 2d, That Mr. Elliott never declared in the Republican Convention that "he had documents in

his pocket which would consign D. H. Chamberlain to the penitentiary as a felon." These statements are lies in this State, and falsehoods in the *Nation* or elsewhere.

I enclose a slip which I hope you have not before seen, and I trust your Charleston correspondent's attention will be called to my present statements. D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

COLUMBIA, S. C., November 4, 1876.

[From the Columbia *Union-Herald* of Sept. 19.]

"COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. 18, 1876.

"MR. EDITOR: Please allow me space in your columns to correct a misapprehension which has arisen on account of the following paragraph, found in an editorial which appeared in the Columbia *Daily Register* of Saturday last, 16th instant:

"'Elliott, the foremost man of his race, arose in full convention to denounce Daniel H. Chamberlain as a felon, a traitor to his party, and a conspirator against his friends, and declared that he held in his possession the damning evidence of these charges.'

"Now, Mr. Editor, I desire to state that I gave utterance to nothing that can be justly made to bear such a construction. The synopsis of the speech referred to, published in the Charleston *News and Courier* of Saturday last, is substantially correct. By reference thereto, it will be seen in what connection allusion was made to felony.

"I quote from the *News and Courier* the substance of the words used:

"'I have been warned, said he, that whatever I may say will do no good, as Governor Chamberlain has seventy-six votes that would stand by him if he was proved guilty of larceny. Great God! is that the position of the members who talk so much of love of party?'

"The term 'conspiracy' was used in a connection having no reference whatever to Governor Chamberlain.

"It will also be borne in mind that in the opening of my argument I distinctly announced that it was not my intention to discuss the personal record of Governor Chamberlain, or to bring his reputation for honesty or dishonesty in question.

"I repeat that I made no charge of conspiracy or felony, as imputed to me by the editorial in the *Register*.—Very respectfully,

"ROBERT B. ELLIOTT."

[Elliott is one of the typical South Carolina rogues against whom Governor Chamberlain has been supposed to be fighting for some time past. He was Speaker of the House at the time of the Moses and Whipper election, and took the floor for Whipper, declaring him to be "a man of learning and culture, refinement and dignity." Chamberlain was, by some means, got out of the way, and the election took place in his absence, Elliott assuring him that it should be postponed till his return. This whole business Chamberlain afterwards denounced as a "carefully concocted conspiracy," and his denunciation, taken in connection with the facts, was tantamount to accusing Elliott of being a corruptionist of the first water. So well known were Chamberlain's views on the subject of Elliott's character that the latter went to the Republican Convention for the express purpose of preventing his denouncer's renomination for Governor. The reports of the *News and Courier*, to which Elliott refers, show very clearly what took place. Elliott had been the counsel of the notorious Niles G. Parker, and was supposed to be in possession of facts damaging to Chamberlain's honesty. Public curiosity being greatly excited on the subject, Elliott went into the Convention and made a long, carefully-worded speech (as carefully worded as the above letter to the *Union-Herald*), in which he stated that he had been "approached by the friends of Governor Chamberlain *and advised not to make known what he had intended to*"; that he "did not propose to touch the personal record of Governor Chamberlain, or touch upon his honesty or dishonesty"; that he "had desired a secret session," and thought the party might regret not having listened to him; he then added what is quoted above about larceny. He then made a political harangue, and was shortly afterwards nominated on Chamberlain's ticket. These are the facts of the case, and we confess that they did at the time produce upon our mind very much the impression they produced upon our correspondent's.—ED. NATION.]

"CLERGYMEN AS SCIENTIFIC MEN."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May a clergyman ask of your courtesy admission for a few words in reply to the article in No. 591 of the *Nation* under the above title? Your first three paragraphs say, in substance, this: Clergymen, having no scientific training, should not presume to discuss scientific questions with experts. This is not more undeniable than it is irrelevant to the present issues between us and scientific men; for the discussion in which alone we take part is one that deals with questions not purely scientific, and the part we take in it is limited to the non-scientific side of these complex questions. It is some time since the encyclopædical work of physical science, the investigation and classification of phenomena, advanced so far towards completion as to lead scientific men on to comprehensive generalization and the quest of ultimate principles. They are going beyond the "scientific" region of natural fact to seek the *rationale* of nature; that is, they are going beyond the region of physics into the region of metaphysics, as Aristotle names that sphere of enquiry which comes after or lies beyond physics. The questions, then, they are now concerned with are elementary questions of metaphysics. Evolution, for instance, is not merely a *natural succession*, which might be matter of scientific observation; it is the theory of a *necessary progression*, according to which the idea of improvement is a prearranged futurity which guides forward the variation of organic forms. It is thus an ideal or metaphysical conception, and, if true, is not a truth of *nature*, unless by nature is now to be understood a system of thought-relations; unless, as Bayrhoffer says, nature itself is mind. In any case, scientific training—that concerning "the selection and classification of facts"—is as far from being the training needed for the questions now under discussion as theological training is.

No study of sensuous phenomena and material particulars can qualify one to speak of unsensuous essences and immaterial generalities. Force and law, like the kingdom of heaven, come not by observation. They are not given in that "wilderness of single instances" which is the sphere of nature, as such. In pronouncing, then, upon these questions, scientific men leave their peculiar province, descend from their professorial chairs, and disrobe themselves of the authority which they only wear as teachers of physics. When they pronounce upon radiant heat, or the structure of the organic cell, our relative ignorance gives us no claim to question their statements; but when they pronounce upon substance and causality, under the name of evolution, their statements gain no weight from the reputation acquired in a far different field of study. If we are ordered off *this* ground by men of science, and told to mind our own business, we can answer: This is neutral ground, and it is as much our business to be here as yours; and, with all respect for you, we must add that, for dealing with these metaphysical questions you have lately taken up, "there is no educated calling whose members are not on the whole better equipped" than you, whose "education we have only to describe in order to show your exceeding unfitness" for fighting in metaphysical fields over such hypotheses as that of evolution. Observe, I do not say that clergymen are metaphysicians, and entitled *ex officio* to speak with authority on metaphysical questions; I simply claim for them an equal right of speech upon those questions with that assumed by scientific men. If, however, "the study of the opinions and sayings of other men," to which you say a clergyman's time is "almost wholly devoted," include a thoughtful study of philosophy among the ancients and moderns, then he will have a better right to speak on metaphysical questions than they whose studies are wholly "of a scientific cast, and concern the selection and classification of facts."

Your fourth paragraph urges certain influences of clerical education as tending to disqualify clergymen for treating intelligently such questions as that of evolution. Your remarks in this place seem to me just, but they apply *mutatis mutandis*, quite as closely to scientific men. The influences of the scientific lecture-room are likely to give as strong a "bias in favor of one particular theory of the origin of life" as the influences of the seminary give in favor of another. If a "religious prepossession" lessens the weight of an opinion on a metaphysical question, a physico-scientific prepossession equally lessens the weight of an opposite opinion. If "reverence predisposes divinity students to accept things on authority," so that they become "advocates of a view of the universe which they have accepted ready-made from teachers," so a differently directed reverence will predispose scientific students to accept a different view on a different authority.

In short, the dangers of haste, prejudice, one-sidedness, and obstinacy are common to all men, and that scientific men always escape them is what an acquaintance with some recent literature will not allow us to maintain. You speak of your regret at seeing educated and influential men—meaning clergymen—helping to spread the delusion that training is not needed to enable a man to talk or think to good purpose on any subject. I share this regret, but since the training requisite to the intelligent discussion of evolution is as totally wanting to scientific men as to clergymen, the responsibility for "spreading the delusion" must be equally divided between both parties. You say that the Rev. Joseph Cook has been speaking foolishly against evolution; I am quite willing to believe it, but I am not

willing to have the clerical profession saddled with Mr. Cook's folly, for he speaks for himself and is in no sense our accredited representative. Moreover, one extreme is as good as another to prove an average, and it is as easy to argue from the instance of Mr. Martineau the ability of the clergy generally to deal with the metaphysic of physic, as to argue from the instance of Mr. Cook their incapacity. In the discussion going on between clergymen and scientific men the important thing is to know what is said by the ablest and most distinguished, the most thoughtful and most candid, on both sides, not what is said by the shallow and incompetent on either side. On either side—for it is not only in the clerical camp that we find those who darken counsel by words without wisdom: if we have our Mr. Cook, scientific men have their more prominent Mr. Huxley. If Mr. Cook is to be condemned for being superficial and pretentious, and so wedded to his own hypothesis as to indulge in extravagant and untenable statements in its behalf, and in ridicule of those who maintain an opposite hypothesis, then Mr. Huxley is open to the very same condemnation No discourse of Mr. Cook's could well be more weak and worthless than Mr. Huxley's well-known essay on "The Physical Basis of Life," so cruelly treated by Sir Lionel Beale in his book on protoplasm and so completely demolished by the review of Dr. Stirling of Edinburgh. No statement of Mr. Cook's could well be more extravagant than Mr. Huxley's assertion that the man who knows the true history of a bit of chalk will have a truer conception of the universe than the most learned student deep read in the records of humanity and ignorant of those of nature, and his assertion made in the New York lecture that the theory of evolution is established on as solid a basis of proof as is the Copernican system; as to which latter a distinguished scientist of New York remarked that in his opinion there was appreciably less evidence for the theory of evolution than for the undulatory theory of light, which has always been an open question. No use by Mr. Cook of "detached sentences" could well be more extraordinary than is Mr. Huxley's adducing Goethe's whimsical epigram as the sole basis for his classification of the powers of man. No clever flippancy on the part of Mr. Cook could well have in it more of dangerous recoil upon the speaker than Mr. Huxley's pleasantry about vitality and agnosity, and Martinus Scriblerus and the roasting-jack, and his nicknaming all spiritual interests questions of lunar politics. You tell us that the slightest trace of the state of mind you attribute to clergymen —"a disposition to believe a thing on grounds of feeling or interest, or with reference to practical consequences, or to jump over gaps in proof in order to reach pleasant conclusions"—discredits a scientific man with his fellows, and throws doubt on his statements. I am glad to bear testimony to this fact, for, so far as I am able to discover, Mr. Huxley, whose state of mind is precisely similar, enjoys no higher consideration among thoughtful scientific men than does Mr. Cook among thoughtful clergymen. But in that the interests of truth demand sober, steady, thorough thinking, and are only damaged by ill-considered speech-making, I am inclined to consider Mr. Huxley, from his greater activity and his command of a wider hearing, a much greater public nuisance than the Rev. Mr. Cook.

F. A. Henry.

Stamford, Conn., Oct. 30, 1876.

[Mr. Henry's letter and that of "Clericus," which we published last week, fairly represent the position and opinions of the very large number of communications we have received from ministers on this subject, and we cannot print any more. We must observe that the assertion they nearly all make, that most ministers receive in their ordinary college curriculum before they go to the Divinity Schools the learning needed to enable them to dispute with Huxley and Haeckel, is to us simply an additional proof of the soundness of our position, because it shows great ignorance of the nature and conditions of scientific training, and indeed of the nature of science itself. We must, apropos of this, point out to Mr. Henry, while allowing him to abuse Huxley to his heart's content, that, being neither a biologist nor microscopist nor chemist, he is not competent to say whether Huxley's "essay on 'The Physical Basis of Life'" is "weak and worthless," and that for a similar reason he does not know whether the work in question was or was not "cruelly treated" by Sir Lionel Beale, or whether it was "completely demolished" by Dr. Stirling of Edinburgh. A man fairly educated in any field ought not to talk in this way about a controversy of the merits of which he is ignorant. We may add, without desiring more discussion of the matter, that Mr. Henry's opening statement of the nature of the discussion about evolution is erroneous. Huxley is attacked for saying that forms are evolved, not for pretending to know why or by whom they are evolved.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

We have received, from the trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, Surgeon John S. Billings's report accompanying plans of the future hospital. We commend it to architects and to boards of charities and charitable founders everywhere. The plans deal with some of the most difficult problems in construction and arrangement, and it is somewhat discouraging to learn from Surgeon Billings's discussion of the best mode of ventilation how far we are still from mastering the mechanical difficulties of so commonplace a necessity.——The U. S. Hydrographic Office has added a fifth to its series of "Practical Papers," comprising two highly interesting reprints from the *Popular Science Monthly;* one being Lieut.-Commander Green's account of his expedition to determine secondary meridians in the West Indies and Central and South America by electric telegraph in 1874–76, and the other, Prof. E. S. Holden's explanation of the nature and cause of the so-called "personal equation" which affects the results of scientific observations.——From the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* is reprinted in one volume the admirable historical papers, by Drs. Clarke, Bigelow, Gross, Thomas, and Billings, which have appeared in that quarterly under the title of "A Century of American Medicine—1776–1876" (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea). Few Centennial retrospects are more honorable to the American character, and, we may add, to the literary attainments of the writers.——Roberts Bros. have issued the second series of Landor's 'Imaginary Conversations,' being those of sovereigns and statesmen. That between Washington and Franklin is curious reading in the present juncture of our national affairs.——Still another reprint of a work certainly not yet dead is the edition of Lord Dufferin's lively 'Letters from High Latitudes' just published by Lovell, Adams, Wesson & Co, New York.——The 'Memoir of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe,' by his widow, is procurable at the sales-room of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, 37 Avon Street, Boston. It contains a faithful heliotype portrait of Dr. Howe, and sells at $1 in paper, or $1 50 bound, the proceeds going towards a Howe Memorial Printing Fund, from the income of which books may be hereafter printed for the use of the blind.——The Novelle to the German Penal Code (Feb. 26, 1876), with commentary by Oscar Meves, forms Band II., Heft 2, of Part III. of 'Die Gesetzgebung des Deutschen Reiches' (New York: E. Steiger).——In the destructive fire last week at Mr. Rockwood's photographic establishment the Palestine Exploration Society was unfortunate enough to lose all but about half a dozen of the negatives of the fine views taken by Col. Lane's expedition. We believe, however, that there is a duplicate set of plates at Beirut which can be made available.

—There was in the collective exhibit of the Cercle de la Librairie in the Centennial Exhibition a set complete to date of the 'Archives Parlementaires,' the French *Congressional Globe*. Many if not most of the French books, we are glad to say, have been sold, and this set should certainly not be allowed to go back. The Johns Hopkins University has been a purchaser to the amount of more than six hundred dollars, gold; and the full set of his beautiful publications sent by M. Jouaust has been readily disposed of. Exactly why the French books left a more satisfactory impression on the mind than the American or German it is perhaps hard to say. It was owing probably to the skill with which the books of the collective exhibit were chosen, the beauty of the bindings, the neatness of the show-cases, and, above all, to the cheerful courtesy of M. Emile Terquem, the delegate of the Cercle, a courtesy in striking contrast to the state of affairs at the pavilion of the American book-trade, where the books were for the most part left to take care of themselves. The English display was most meagre and insufficient, being practically confined to the case of the Cassells, the *Punch* pavilion, and the albums and screens of the *Graphic* and *Illustrated London News*. It was inferior in quantity, quality, and interest to the exhibits of either Belgium or the Netherlands. There was a cheap look about the German display, which, of course, vanished on close inspection, when the solid strength and real richness and value of the volumes became evident. But the effect of the rows of stiff muslin bindings, embossed and stamped with gilt, was unattractive and monotonous. The German catalogue contains the names of one hundred and forty-three exhibitors, including, however, map-makers, lithographers, etc. The names of thirty-five publishers and eleven dealers in ink, paper, etc., are to be found in the French catalogue, which is a beautiful specimen of printing, worthy of the

presses of M. Claye. Many of the French houses furnish information—often curious—about themselves as an introduction to their list of books in this catalogue ; thus we learn, for instance, that the famous establishment of Mame at Tours can turn out twenty thousand volumes a day or six millions a year, and that the equally famous house of Firmin Didot, which dates back into the seventeenth century, has had its collection of Greek classics set up entirely by female compositors, of whom it employs two hundred and fifty.

—From an 'Historical Notice' of the house of Hachette & Cie., printed in English for the benefit of visitors to their exhibit at the Centennial, we take the following announcements of forthcoming works : Two Dictionaries of Geography and an Atlas, by M. Vivien de St. Martin ; a 'Universal Descriptive Geography,' by M. Elisée Reclus ; a Botanical Dictionary, by M. Baillon ; a translation of the 'Orlando Furioso,' illustrated by M. G. Doré; a 'Histoire du Mobilier,' by M. A. Jacquemart, with illustrations by his son, M. Jules Jacquemart ; and a 'Dictionary of Literature,' by M. G. Vapereau, which, from the abbreviated prospectus here given, is seemingly to be a sort of universal "Allibone" in one royal octavo volume of about two thousand double-columned pages, to contain full biographical and bibliographical particulars of all the leading authors of all the leading literatures of the world.

—The Pennsylvania Historical Society have done well to republish, in elegant style, Heckewelder's 'History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States.' It is a work which will always hold a high rank among original sources in relation to the aborigines, and we are glad to learn that the present edition meets an already existing demand. Heckewelder was a shrewd if also what would be called a simple-minded man, and his personal observations may be trusted as implicitly as those of a more recent apologist for the Indian, the late George Catlin. In relating events that did not fall within his cognizance he was of course liable to err, and undoubtedly he gave the unfortunate Crawford a character which he by no means deserved, and misled by his authority a host of subsequent writers on the Indian campaigns in Ohio. His editor, Rev. William C. Reichel, whom we take to be a Moravian like himself, has pointed out his injustice in this particular case, and has constantly supplemented the narrative with valuable notes, biographical, topographical, and historical. The linguistic portions of the work, however, stand unannotated, though not because the science of the present day has nothing to add to or detract from them. Heckewelder tells of his unsuccessful endeavors in the beginning to master the Indian tongue. The advice he received on this point from a learned savage contains the secret of all modern linguistic acquirement : "'The first thing,' said he, 'that you are to do to learn our language is to get an Indian *ear ;* when that is obtained, no sound, no syllable will ever escape your hearing it, and you will at the same time learn the true pronunciation and how to accent your words properly ; the rest will come of itself.'" The good missionary is ever frank and interesting, and one reads his chapters almost as much for the glimpses they give of his own character as for their information about the red man. We take leave of him with an extract not from the present work but from his diary, date of January 16, 1793, as bearing on a question which has been lately discussed by Prof. J. D. Whitney : "The site of Gnadenhütten can scarcely be distinguished, the whole town-plot and adjoining land being overgrown with honey locusts, and the prairies or plains are thickly covered with brushwood ; a satisfactory proof that these prairies were caused by bush-fires."

—The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July and October contains two papers by Rev. George F. Wright of Andover, on "The Divine Method of producing Living Species" and "Objections to Darwinism, and the Rejoinders of its Advocates." They are in substance an exposition of the principal arguments for and against the evolutionary origin of species, with incidental reference to the consistency of the theory with theistic belief. The tone of the discussion is temperate, and the style is clear and exact ; the weight of the statement is on the whole in favor of Darwinism, but the difficulties are not ignored or belittled. The writer's tone is conciliatory and sympathetic toward the theologians ; in one or two instances rigid scientists would take exception to his willingness to admit "divine intervention" occasionally ; but in the main his presentation of scientific theories to his theological readers and his claim for a theistic interpretation of these theories are presented in a way to command respect and attention from both sides. These two papers are a very favorable example of the treatment of scientific questions from a religious standpoint, and their appearance in one of the chief organs of New England orthodoxy is a hopeful sign. In future numbers Mr. Wright is to continue the discussion.

—In the national canvass just concluded the lyric muse has not been excited to unusual frenzy. Whether the age is losing its interest in "war-cries" and "slogans" and "battle-hymns of the campaign," or whether these are found to have lost their efficacy as inducements to vote the straight ticket early and often, we need not discuss, but it is evident that less attention is now paid to vocal efforts and pictorial effects than was deemed necessary in the days of our fathers. A rhyme to Frelinghuysen or a jingle about Tippecanoe and Tyler too will hardly sweep a State now. The blue jeans of the Democratic Governor-elect of Indiana and the white coat of the late Mr. Greeley were used to infuse a spasmodic picturesqueness into politics, but hardly with the old success. In the crop of "campaign songsters" there seems to have been an especial falling off. In the 'Index to American Poetry and Plays in the Collection of C. Fiske Harris,' privately printed in Providence in 1874, we find about fifty of these little pamphlets, from the titles of which a list of the successive campaign catchwords could easily be drawn up. We note, for instance, 'Log Cabin and Hard Cider Melodies' and 'Tippecanoe Song Book' (1840) ; 'That same Old Koon's Roarer' (1844) ; 'Free Soil Minstrel' and 'Rough and Ready Melodist' (1848) ; 'Rocky Mountain Song Book' (1856) ; 'Wide-Awake Vocalist' (1860) ; 'Little Mac Campaign Songster' (1864) ; 'Brick Pomeroy's Democratic Campaign Song Book' (1868) ; and 'The Farmer of Chappaqua Songster' (1872). Mr. Harris has also in his collection many of the song-books of the anti-slavery agitation, the earliest being 'The Anti-Slavery Harp,' Boston, 1848. And in a line somewhat collateral with this we find many of the earlier of the negro-minstrel melodies, 'Lucy Neal's Nigga Warbler' (1843) ; 'Dandy Jim and Dan Tucker's Jaw Bone' (1844) ; 'The Jim Crow Song Book' (1847) ; and 'Christy's Negro Serenaders' (1848). These ephemeral trifles are not at all without interest or—considering the rapid rise in price of Americana—without solid value in the future.

—What we lately had to say about admission and graduation examinations in professional schools, would be incomplete if we failed to call attention to two principles concerning examinations which are essential to their usefulness in this country. The first principle is that every examination must be in writing, upon questions which are printed and subsequently made accessible to the public. It is absolutely essential that an examination should be public in this sense, if it is to offer the least guaranty whatever to the community. For instance, at the present moment, every medical and nearly every law school in the United States pretends to have an examination for the degree. An oral examination upon questions not made public is a very convenient and very widely-used cloak for scandalous inefficiency. Such examinations are now doing American education more harm than good, because they give an appearance of decency to the most outrageous and mischievous shams. The second principle is that the results of examinations for admission and graduation should always be made public to this extent—so many candidates, so many successful, so many rejected. Without such publication examinations, whether written or oral, may be simple farces. Indeed, the great majority of college admission examinations are farces which result in accepting all comers on some terms or other. At present there is no way in which the results of admission and graduation examinations can be ascertained even at some of our most respectable institutions. Indeed, we know of but one which systematically publishes all these facts in an annual report.

—We trust that our readers will share our regret that the death of George Smith, the Assyrian scholar, has left his family in straitened circumstances. Steps have been taken to raise a fund for their assistance, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Dr. Samuel Birch, of the British Museum. The discoveries of Mr. Smith interested a much larger circle than is ordinarily concerned in the somewhat dry details of researches into the forgotten records of the past, throwing as they did a flood of light upon Biblical as well as Assyrian history, and giving us glimpses into the sources of the narrative of Genesis. For this reason we hope it is not too much to expect a liberal contribution from this country in aid of those whom his early death has deprived of their support. No man has ever had a better claim to the title of a martyr to science than George Smith, and the untimely end of his short but brilliant career is a loss which it will not be easy to replace.

—"If the success of M. Parodi's 'Rome Vaincue' at the Théâtre Français," writes a correspondent from Paris, "may be taken as a pledge of the prosperity of the season of 1876–77, the present winter will, in theatrical matters, be brilliant. If we may be allowed to make the distinction, however, it is the success of M. Parodi's tragedy that has been brilliant rather than the tragedy itself. The latter is a highly

respectable production, but it certainly would not have been much talked of if Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt had not given it the aid of her extraordinary talent. The play is pompous and tedious, and it is already the fashion among fastidious spectators to arrive only towards ten o'clock, in time for the last two acts, in which Mlle. Bernhardt comes out, as the phrase is, 'very strong.' The presumption, beforehand, was certainly against the success of M. Parodi's drama. A tragedy in five acts, in verse, on a fine old Roman subject, would hardly have been said to fall in with the taste of the period. Add to this that the author is a foreigner—an Italian—who has been living but two or three years in Paris, where he has exercised the modest function of teacher of his native tongue. His play, given the almost intolerable restrictions of its form and the fact that its author was not to the manner born, is a very honorable performance. There is too much talk and too little action, but there is a great deal of dramatic feeling, some very fine tirades, and some very happy lines. The author's style has often a masculine ring, and his mastery of the formidable art of French verse is proof of a truly impressive combination of ambition and industry. There is every reason to expect that he will go on to greater things. The story of the play is the crime of a vestal virgin who has lapsed from chastity, and who, Hannibal being at the gates of Rome, is denounced by the oracles as the cause of the city's peril. This can only be averted by her submitting to the orthodox punishment—burial alive. At the supreme moment she is rescued from her horrible fate by her grandmother, a blind octogenarian, who stabs her to the heart. Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt plays not, as might be expected, the guilty vestal, but the heroic ancestress. The manner in which she renders the part is one more proof of her extraordinary intelligence and versatility; it is in the highest degree picturesque. She muffles her youth and beauty in long veils and grey tresses, until she looks like a perfect Mater Dolorosa—a Madonna of a *pietà*. How it is that, to simulate blindness, she contrives for half an hour at a time to show only the whites of her eyes, is her own affair; the effect is highly relished by the audience. Her narration of the accident by which she has lost her eyesight provokes immense applause by its terrible tranquillity—applause which is equally bestowed upon the movement and exclamation by which, when in the presence of the consul and the decemvirs, who are quite *au courant*, and who are assembled to judge the crime, her granddaughter whispers her dreadful secret—'Ma mère, j'ai failli'—she instantly bids the young girl speak lower lest she be overheard. I may add that 'Rome Vaincue' has had the good fortune to be 'endorsed' in the highest terms by the critic whose weekly manifesto, in the *Temps*, makes and unmakes the success of plays—M. F. Sarcey."

—The love of iconoclasm enters so strongly into the editorship of *L'Art* that its *livraisons* may be commended with special confidence to readers who dislike the monotony of fixed opinions. Whether political predilections are kept quite clear from art-criticism may be doubted, as when we find poor Cabanel, the court-painter of the late Empire, called "the leper of the French school," and again (Vol. 5, page 106, quotation from Bürger), "mucous," and "good for the service of agglutinating the rival styles"; his "Florentine Poet" is, however, inserted without rebuke on page 94 apropos of an auction-sale. Another piece of scepticism possibly not without political bias occurs in relation to the "old masters" sold with the estate of ex-President Schneider after his decease. It is asserted editorially (among other exposures) that the Rembrandt portraits, representing the pastor Ellison and his wife, dated 1364, and assigned to a period just after the "Anatomy Lesson," are so bunglingly signed that the autograph employed is one imitated from the handwriting of Rembrandt towards the close of his life. In the matter of these guilty Rembrandts, even Charles Blanc, who had said that his favorite Hollander was represented by "works of price," receives a rebuke couched in a mocking sarcasm. On another page there is a boiling column of amenities poured upon M. Beulé, the amateur ethnologist of the Acropolis at Athens; and even the fine work on Michael Angelo, published by the rival of *L'Art*, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, gets a rub at the hands of an Italian journalist, who is quoted as wondering that Garnier, the sugar-candy architect, should have been chosen as one of the critics of the grand Florentine. This gibe at an elder art-journal might have been gracefully foregone. The embellishments of the fifth volume have been superb, none being better than the illustrations of pictures in the W. T. Blodgett collection, as the "Fontainebleau" Marsh, etched by Chauvel after Rousseau, and Otto Venias's Madonna, etched by Martinez. The exceptionally large page of *L'Art* gives room and verge enough for these extensive illustrations, and, combined with the luxurious adornment of nearly every leaf, makes the volumes seem like a thing rather to be framed than bound. The American representative of this brilliant and unconventional art-weekly is Mr. J. W. Bouton. The *Portfolio* for October contains four etchings, the unusual number offsetting a slight deterioration in quality; the largest is by Lalauze from Reynolds's "Robinetta," whose bad preservation—it was painted in 1786—is not dissimulated by the etcher. The series of notes on Technic have not the advantage of giving us the method of artists whose works are of much importance to the world. The life of Turner, by Mr. Hamerton, continues to be singularly acute, dispassionate, and readable.

—A correspondent writes us from Baltimore: "There are half-a-dozen expressions in German and Dutch meaning a blow on the head, in the face, etc., which contain the names of fruits. They are: German, *Dachtel*, *Ohrfeige*, *Nuss* or *Kopfnuss*; Dutch, *oorvijg* and *muilpeer*. Here are the date (*Dachtel* and *Dattel* come from Middle High German *Tahtel*), the fig, the nut, and the pear. Will you allow me to enquire through your columns if any of your readers can explain the peculiar use of these words? Are there names of fruits used similarly in English or any other language? I am aware that by the side of Dutch *oorvijg* occurs *oorveeg*, as if from *veeg*, 'blow,' and that Grimm's Dictionary says that *Feig* in *Ohrfeig* is related to *fegen*, 'to sweep,' and *Dachtel* to *decken*, 'to cover.' But these seem unsatisfactory explanations to me. They ought, I think, to be explained on the same principle. What is the principle?"

—The Minister of Public Instruction appointed Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis, the official delegate of the Italian Government, to the third International Congress of Orientalists, held last September at St. Petersburg, with instructions to prepare for the occasion an historical résumé of the course of Oriental studies in Italy. The result of Prof. De Gubernatis's labors is before us—a handsome volume of 446 pages, bearing the modest title, 'Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des études orientales en Italie' (Paris, 1876). Although from its very nature the book is little more than a biographical and bibliographical list of Italian Oriental scholars, not merely will it be found useful for reference, but parts of it are very interesting reading for the general scholar. Such, for instance, is the sketch of the vicissitudes of the "Tipografia Medicea," which wandered from Rome to Pisa, Florence, and Paris, and back again to Florence, and such are the lives of De Rossi, Gorresio, Rosellini, Miniscalchi, and of the band of still living scholars who are shedding such glory on Italian scholarship—we mean Ascoli, Flechià, Teza, Lasinio, De Gubernatis himself, and many other young and ardent spirits whose first-fruits are noted in these pages. The Italians have, from religious and commercial causes, always been strong in the Semitic languages; the other Oriental languages have not attracted so much attention until a comparatively recent date. On the whole, if modern Italy has produced no world-renowned scholars like Bopp, Bournouf, or Wilson, it has a very respectable list of men whose influence will be felt before long in Oriental studies.

HOPKINS'S PURITANS AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

THIS work is a republication. We are not surprised that it should have been undertaken, because Mr. Hopkins's book contains a good deal of information about the Puritans, and the Puritans, if they are not all that Protestant fancy has painted them, played a very important and a very grand part in history. The introductory note, however, avows that one aim of the work and of the republication is to keep alive the Puritan spirit as the creative and sustaining spirit of American institutions; which amounts, in effect, to an admission that the writer's attitude is sympathetic, not judicial. This is one serious defect. Another is the form, which is partly dramatic, an attempt being made to give life to the narration by the introduction of a number of imaginary scenes and conversations. The editor pleads that this form, as to which he has evidently some misgiving, does not prevent the work from being one of great research and historically accurate. It does, however, prevent us from feeling confident that we are reading history. Imaginary conversations between historical characters, even when more in their place than they are here, are, we confess, to us generally uninstructive and unattractive. It is not by peppering a dialogue with such phrases as "I ween," and "gramercy," and "by my halidom" that you can give a really antique color to language or sentiment; while the effort to make the salient points of character display themselves is almost certain to degenerate into exaggeration and absurdity. This is eminently the case with a fictitious dialogue in the work before us between Leicester and his confidant Julio, which for melodramatic extravagance

* "The Puritans and Queen Elizabeth; or, The Church, Court, and Parliament of England, from the Reign of Edward VI to the death of the Queen. By Samuel Hopkins." With an introductory note by Mark Hopkins, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

might almost seek its peer in vain at the Bowery Theatre. Leicester was a very bad man, and so, no doubt, was his confidant; but they did not say to each other, "Go to, let us be dark, malignant, and bloody villains!"

The question between Queen Elizabeth and the Puritans, whom she strove first to repress, and then, finding them irrepressible, to crush by persecution, which forms the subject of discussion in these volumes, will in the present day be settled on different principles by different classes of readers. Those who continue to believe in religion and to regard spiritual interests as paramount, unless they are High Anglicans, and as such religious enemies of the Puritans, can hardly help sympathizing with any set of really religious men against a persecutor with such a character as Queen Elizabeth. Those, on the other hand, who regard religion as an illusion from which the world is being gradually emancipated by science, and who read history in the light of that theory, looking on the question between governments and religions merely as one of policy, would be more divided in opinion.

Amidst all the revolutions which criticism and research have been bringing about of late in our views of history, none has been more remarkable than the change produced in our estimate of Queen Elizabeth. The catastrophe of her reputation is most distinctly perceived on a comparison of the earlier with the later volumes of Mr. Froude. When Mr. Froude began to write, not only was he ignorant of general history (as the most ludicrous blunders testify) but he had not even studied his special period. His equipment for his task, apart from his great literary skill, was, in fact, a fancy, or rather a mania, for the Tudors. Under the influence of this mania he, in narrating the birth of Elizabeth, styled her "the great nature which in its maturity was to remould the world." She was to be the noblest, the most beneficent, and the most fascinating creature which his imagination could suggest—a Henry VIII. in petticoats. But when he came to study her reign, the state papers and other documents revealed facts which defied even his extraordinary powers of manipulation. The appearance of Mr. Motley's history rendered the case still more desperate. The result is that in Mr. Froude's later volumes Elizabeth appears as a paragon of vulgar vanity, duplicity, perfidy, mendacity, and weakness; as repeatedly bringing the country by her folly to the verge of ruin, from which it is saved by the wisdom of her council in her despite; as possessing, in fact, no considerable virtue except courage, her reputation for which is sadly diminished by Mr. Motley's discovery that the Tilbury harangue was hurled not in the face of an advancing foe, but at the tail of one already defeated and retreating from the coast.

It is difficult indeed to understand how that which Mr. Froude somewhere calls "the little figure of the Queen" can ever have appeared great. But she had the good fortune to be at the head of the nation during a period of extraordinary energy and splendid achievements, while her sex, as it caused her courtiers to assume the guise of lovers, exalted flattery into worship. She had the further good fortune of being contrasted in the national mind with the Stuarts, though in truth she sowed the seed of that harvest of calamity which was reaped by her less fortunate successors. We have witnessed in our own day a somewhat similar illusion. Queen Victoria has been at the head of England during a period of immense prosperity, and she, like Queen Elizabeth, has been exalted as a great ruler even by such writers as Mr. Mill, though it is perfectly well known that she has had nothing personally to do either with legislation or with government, while the craving for such a piece of tinsel as the title of Empress of India on the part of one who wears the crown of Alfred and the Edwards is as conclusive an instance of littleness as it would be possible to suggest.

The moral character of Elizabeth is not a savory subject of discussion. That her relations with Leicester, or any of her other lovers, were criminal has never been proved and is not probable. Scandalous they were, even in the opinion of those days, though far less scandalous then than they would be now. That which it seems hardly possible to deny is that the Queen was twice morally tainted with the guilt of murder: once in the case of Amy Robsart (unless Mr. Froude has utterly misconstrued or misquoted the Simancas archives), and again, still more palpably, in the case of the despatch sent in her name by her two Secretaries of State to Sir Amyas Poulet, instigating him to assassinate Mary, Queen of Scots. Her last days were those of a heartless coquette come to the natural end of her coquetries, and probably haunted by one or two spectres besides. That her melancholy arose from the failure of her fiscal and economical system, or from any cause connected with the public interest, is surely a philosophic dream.

Such a woman could have no religion worthy of the name; and, having no religion worthy of the name, it was impossible that she should create a religious system deserving of respect and fitted to be the organ of spiritual life to the nation. The only thing approaching a religious sentiment which found place in her breast probably was a Ritualism scarcely more respectable than her general love of pageantry and dress. This of course brought her into collision with the Puritans, who, widely as they differed in some other respects among themselves, were united in the determination to make clean work of sacerdotalism, sacramentalism, and everything that remained of Rome. She certainly did not seriously believe in the authority of the episcopate which, as congenial to monarchy, political instinct led her to maintain; for she never scrupled to insult, bully, and degrade her bishops. The condition of the state Church during her reign appears to have been wretched both in a material and in a spiritual point of view; nor was life of any kind infused into these dry bones till Laud came and infused life of a certain kind with a vengeance.

The defence of the Elizabethan system, if there is any, must rest on political considerations. It may be pleaded that the system, combining after a fashion Catholicism with Protestantism, gave something to everybody, at least to all except the two extremes, and thus held together the different elements of a very divided nation in face of a great national peril. This is an argument to which Mr. Hopkins should have paid more attention if he wished to deal satisfactorily with the whole case. It can hardly be met on the Puritan side by insisting on the principle of religious liberty. The Puritans almost without exception were as much in favor of a national church as the Queen or as any Catholic power, and a national church is a negation of religious liberty, though it may not go the length of enforcing conformity with the faggot. When the Puritan régime came, it was by no means a régime of religious liberty even for Protestants, much less for Roman Catholics or for Romanizing Anglicans, though during the Protectorate it was practically liberalized by the personal influence of its large-minded and magnanimous chief.

On the other hand, even looking at the matter from the most secular point of view, it seems clear that Elizabeth, in her passion for supremacy and uniformity—the two keynotes of her ecclesiastical system—went far beyond the requirements and the real interests of her own policy. Her suppression of the preachers was the mere dictate of her own arbitrary temper. Not only did Grindal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to his great credit, oppose her on this point, and endure for doing so the effects of her termagant displeasure, but Burleigh and Bacon, two cool-headed statesmen if ever there were such, took the same view as Grindal. A policy which degrades religion into an engine of state is in a poor way when it is condemned even by the wisest and most worldly of politicians.

Dean Hook, in the voluminous Anglican pamphlet which he styles the 'Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,' is always impressing on us that the bulk of the English people at this time were neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants, but "Catholics." The fact, we apprehend, is that the bulk of the people, after all the revolutions and counter-revolutions they had gone through, had been left with hardly any religion at all. The only spiritual life in England, excepting Ultramontanism, was that of Puritanism, which rapidly drew into it all the highest elements of the nation. The general life and greatness of England in Elizabeth's time were Puritan. The energy and public spirit of the House of Commons were Puritan. Walsingham and all the greatest statesmen were Puritan. Maritime adventure, so far as it had a religious cast, was Puritan. Puritanism saved England from Spain, and would have saved her far more speedily and signally if Elizabeth, with her half-heartedness, had been out of the way and the ruler of the English councils had been a Puritan chief. Not only would England have been more easily saved, but far greater results would in all probability have been achieved upon the Continent. Flanders as well as Holland would have been permanently rescued from Spain and Rome. It is not unlikely that a definitive triumph would have been secured to Protestantism in France. We know that to "Positivists" as well as to Roman Catholics the triumph of Protestantism in France appears the most disastrous of contingencies; so disastrous, in fact, that Positivists as well as Roman Catholics are sometimes inclined to devise excuses for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. But history is ordinarily written on the hypothesis that the total defeat of Philip II. and the League was desirable for humanity.

Anglicans are naturally inclined to represent the Elizabethan settlement as the work of the English Church and nation. But it appears to have been the personal work of Elizabeth, as far as any system can be the work of an individual mind. She framed it "in the dormant privy council of her own royal breast," with the aid only of a few advisers entirely submissive to her will, and then imposed it upon the representatives of the Church and the nation. Such being its origin, it is preposterous to suppose that it could in any way challenge the reverence of religious men. Palpable novelty and arbitrariness as palpable were fatal to it, apart from the personal character of its author. Roman Catholicism may plausibly lay claim to immemorial an-

tiquity. Its origin, if known to the learned, is at least not visible to all. Superstition may worship a Nile the source of which is beyond its ken; superstition itself will hardly worship a Nile the source of which is in the sod beneath your feet. Perhaps no more impudent demand was ever made upon humanity than Elizabeth's demand for submission to a spiritual system of her composition. Mr. Hopkins has hardly spoken with sufficient severity of the coarseness and virulence of the Martin Marprelate tracts, though he passes a formal condemnation upon them. They reveal a bad side of Puritanism, and one which continues to exist through the whole history of the party. But, on the other hand, it must be owned that to be persecuted by a hierarchy so palpably devoid of spiritual authority as the hierarchy set up by the will of Elizabeth, was enough to provoke beyond endurance a temper far more meek than that of the ordinary Puritan, especially as the Queen herself treated with the grossest indignity the bishops through whom she exercised her insolent domination over the consciences of the people.

Nor has the subsequent history of the curious compound of Catholicism and Protestantism set up by Elizabeth and resisted by the Puritans been such as to ratify the sagacity of its foundress or to stamp its opponents with the guilt of needless schism and unprovoked rebellion. Its heterogeneous and contradictory parts have never coalesced. Sacerdotalism and Anti-Sacerdotalism, Sacramentalism and Anti-Sacramentalism, clamp and hammer them together as you may, never have united and never can unite. Laud and the civil war were the natural and almost immediateou tgrowth of the essentially Popish elements which the Puritans, one and all, strove to eliminate from the national religion, and which Elizabeth was determined to retain. Nor did the antagonism end with the civil war and its immediate consequences. The Anglican Establishment has never enjoyed any peace but that of occasional torpor. Whenever there has been spiritual life in her the conflict between the party generated by her "Calvinistic Articles" and the party generated by her "Popish Liturgy" has been renewed. It is raging at this hour, not only in the Established Church of England but wherever Anglicanism exists.

What is quite certain is that Elizabeth by her hatred and persecution of the Puritans sowed, as we have said, the seed of which the Stuarts reaped the harvest. James I. was a weak man, with the same autocratic and hierarchical propensities as Elizabeth, and certainly not fitted to improve an untoward situation; but in justice to him it must be remembered that he inherited from his predecessor an almost hopeless quarrel with a party which was the very core of the nation. A Puritan king, putting himself at the head of his people and embodying their dominant tendencies, might have averted the fatal collision and saved the throne. Had Prince Henry lived and fulfilled his early promise he would probably have played that part with immense advantage to England and to Europe. But he would have been a happy accident. The natural course of things was from Whitgift to Laud, from Elizabeth to Charles I., and from the cutting off by Elizabeth of Puritans' hands to the cutting off by Puritans of Charles's head.

RECENT NOVELS.*

THE reader of 'Clare Lincoln' does not need the author's asseverations of the fact to feel sure that this is the work of an inexperienced hand. It was written, we are told in the dedication, "in leisure hours while seeking rest from arduous labors on the Bench," and there are signs that the writer found he had undertaken a heavier task than he at first imagined, if we may judge from his continually spurring the flagging interest by vague questionings and despairing ejaculations; as, for instance, "The last year of the course! Will it ever come to him? Will he ever enjoy it? Will he renew again the bright life at college and meet his associates there? The oracle is dumb, and only answers—will he?" which is very well for a dumb oracle. Richard Pembroke, the hero, is the descendant of a long line of Pembrokes who have lived in their homestead in New England since early colonial times. His father and mother had inherited a mortgage on the family estate which threatens their ruin. Richard takes charge of a country school while a student in college and falls in love with a little girl of thirteen, whom many years later he finds with some difficulty and soon marries. By a singular complication she has become the owner of the Pembroke homestead, so that all ends as it should. The requisite bulk is given to the volume by the introduction of a good deal of legal by-play in the shape of an attempt to oust the rightful owner of a "beautiful villa" in Jamaica Plain, near Boston. A curious thing in the novel is the report of a conversation in Berlin in 1866, in the course of which was shown "the beauty of a well-balanced, cultured mind," for one of the characters "came forward as the champion of Auerbach, and maintained that Dickens had written nothing to surpass 'On the Heights,' and, being a true American, put in a good word for Howells's 'Chance Acquaintance,' and the other writings of that gifted author." His patriotism or his culture, however, ran away with him, for even in the capital of Germany it must be impossible to discuss novels seven years before they are published. While the plot is feeble, the conversations are pompous and unnatural, and on page 170 are to be found such words as "illy" and "revelator." In short, there are far better occupations for leisure hours than writing or reading novels like 'Clare Lincoln.'

In 'At the Councillor's' Miss Marlitt has recovered a good deal of her former agreeable skill, and she has given us a story that compares well with the best she has already written, while it is far better than her worst. She always runs the risk of overdoing whatever she takes in hand, of exaggerating the goodness of her heroes and heroines, and the villany of the wicked ones; but if we overlook this fault, we find her capable of interesting the reader and of giving a fair picture of German life. On this occasion she has drawn upon her experience of the turmoil which has arisen in her native country since the late war with France, and has shown the disturbance caused by the new sudden gain and sudden loss of wealth. The councillor himself does not belong to one of the fine old families, but in spite of that he accumulates a large fortune and illustrates admirably the fate of those of his class who are put on horseback, by riding rapidly in the familiar direction, expediting his journey by the awful explosion of dynamite. The main interest of the book lies not in him but in the heroine, Kitty, who is young, rich, handsome, fascinating—in fact, faultless; and in the silent, uncomplaining, but able Dr. Bruck. Flora, who was for a long time engaged to Bruck, was a very mischievous young person, and is the object of the utmost virulence on the part of the author. She is aggressively wicked; and this exaggeration is the more to be regretted because she is a well-imagined character who only needed to be more carefully drawn to be really impressive. As it is, however, she is so very bold a coquette, so excessively worldly, that, with her vixenish airs added, she becomes an impossible person. The other characters are well drawn, and it is not often that the reader finds in a German novel so many that are life-like characters, and a tolerably complicated plot so well handled.

The reader will heartily sympathize with the confusion of the mother-in-law who had to encounter the three brides at once in Miss Yonge's novel of that name, and he will share the difficulty she must have had in distinguishing Cecil from Rosamond and Anne. When their names are once learned, however, the difficulty is over, and there can no longer be any possible mistake about them. Cecil's priggishness, Rosamond's sprightliness, and Anne's solemnity are all clearly marked, and lend to the novel the mild excitement which Miss Yonge's readers know so well and admire so much. It is superfluous to say that this never amounts to hilarity; at the most there is a faint echo of high spirits in the liveliest scenes in which these young people appear. Any little appearance of the Old Adam, however, seems like serious crime in their pallid, bloodless characters. They are not "earnest," like Mrs. Whitney's youthful heroes and heroines; they are genteel in a simple, rustic way, and there they stop. And yet there is a dash of coquetry in Rosamond, and Lady Tyrrell is a genuine flirt, but their motions are languid and the air they all breathe seems heavy with the abundance of their social duties, their responsibilities to the rector, to the poor whom they aid with elegant patronage, and to their friends whom they see at archery-meetings, etc. It would be absurd to criticise the social customs described in Miss Yonge's novels, but the life these people lead is so dull, their interests are so petty, they are so often showing photographs to their visitors, that when the fever which occasionally makes its appearance in her stories is at last announced, we rejoice and think that soon there will be a "new deal," and that a certain amount of tiresome respectability will be thrust out of the book. This heaviness is more or less hidden beneath copious records of talk which is certainly lifelike, but, like the talk of the vast majority of the hu-

* 'Clare Lincoln: a Novel. By Decius S. Wade.' Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press. 1876.

'At the Councillor's; or, A Nameless History. By E. Marlitt. Translated from the German by Mrs. A. L. Wister.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

'The Three Brides. By Charlotte M. Yonge, author of 'The Heir of Redclyffe,' etc.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

'The Dwellers in Five-Sisters Court. By H. E. Scudder.' New York: Hurd & Houghton; Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1876.

'The Merchant's Wife; or, He Blundered. A Political Romance of our own Day, and other Miscellanies. By "A Looker-on here in Vienna."' Boston: Printed for the Author. 1876.

'Theophilus and Others. By Mary Mapes Dodge, author of 'Hans Brinker; or, The Silver Skates,' etc.' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

'Phœbe, Junior. A Last Chronicle of Carlingford. By Mrs. Oliphant, author of 'Chronicles of Carlingford,' 'Innocent,' etc., etc.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

'The Two Destinies: a Romance. By Wilkie Collins, author of 'The Woman in White,' 'Armadale,' etc.' Illustrated. New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

man race, it has streaks of dulness in it. The brightness of the novel, too, it should be said, suffers from the excess of conversation, and the effect of even Rosamond's sarcasms is lost in the clatter of many tongues.

'The Dwellers in Five-Sisters Court' contains some good work while it is hardly a successful novel. Perhaps it would be fairer to say that it contains some good workmanship, for the book is carefully written, there are here and there bits of agreeable humor, and there are no signs of slovenliness or haste in the execution; but then the plot is slighter than the superstructure, and only fills out the book by the aid of such an ungenuine imitation of Dickens as the introduction of Mr. Manlius and of similar devices. Much better than this is the uncertainty in the heroine's mind between her two lovers, Le Clear and Nicholas; this is the more difficult part of a novel, the representation of people who must seem lifelike, and they are treated with more fairness than some of the unreal caricatures. But at the best the informing spirit is lacking, and we have for the most part the ways and tricks of speech of people rather than the people themselves, while for much that we are told they do it is not easy to feel any warm sympathy.

"A Looker-on here in Vienna" has written a novel—"a political romance of our own day"—in which he tells us how a merchant blundered. He did not make any errors in his office, but it was at home, in the management of his domestic affairs, that he fell into trouble. In telling his story the looker-on makes frequent use of French words and phrases; he quotes freely different writers, of both prose and poetry, and as for asterisks, dashes, and italics, every page is alive with them. The merchant, to make what is fortunately a short story even shorter, was the possessor of enormous wealth, and throwing over Miriam, the girl he loved, he married another woman from ambition. Miriam became a missionary in Japan; his wife spent his money in a lady-like way, and, after securing a divorce, married "one of princely title and princely person." The moral of the story is, "women are happier and better women in a sphere best suited to their characters and temperament." This startling fact is further illustrated by various remarks on manners, which are also the subject of some appended essays. The following may serve as an example of this writer's views: "As a stone skipped across the Narraganset waters will sooner or later be felt by the waves gently washing in at Cowes, so a Princess de Metternick (*sic*) has only to shorten the kilt of her walking-dress, or despoil note-paper and envelopes of *chiffre* and monogram, and, before the season is over, American fashion-papers will have told Lowell factory-girls and Western farmers' daughters what they are to wear if they are to remain *à la mode*; and we shall no longer receive business cards illuminated with monograms, or observe them on bakers' and butchers' carts as they stop at our area-doors." The necessity of writing just such a book as this may be questioned even by those who are not fanatical utilitarians.

Mrs. Dodge's 'Theophilus and Others' is not fairly a novel; it is a collection of short sketches, and it is, with the exception of 'Phœbe, Junior,' by far the most amusing book of our whole list. It is full of humor, and, although there are at times signs of watering the jokes, there is hardly one of the sketches which is not entertaining. The first and longest one, 'Dobbs's Horse,' is a fair sample of Mrs. Dodge's humor in its derision of the seeker after pleasure in the country. But perhaps the best is 'Miss Malony on the Chinese Question,' which first appeared, if we are not mistaken, in *St. Nicholas*. 'Our Debating Society Skeleton' also shows how a good story can be well told. The book is not one of great importance, and the humor is of an irresponsible kind which does not strike very deep, but it is always innocent and agreeable.

When Mrs. Oliphant writes about young girls she is sure to be entertaining, and generally she shows herself in her best novels a worthy follower of Miss Austen, while there is hardly one, even of those most hastily written, into which she does not put some few pages of such simplicity and apparent artlessness that the reader wonders why all domestic tales are not like hers. She is one of the most industrious of novel-writers, and frequently she has two or three books on the stocks at once, so that it is no wonder that careful execution is often lacking. 'Phœbe, Junior,' shows both the excellences and the faults of Mrs. Oliphant. There is a great deal in it that is clever. Phœbe herself is well drawn, and all of the family life of Ursula and her young sister is well described. The difference between the two young men, one of whom is a Nonconformist while the other is a Churchman, is set before us in a most lifelike way. But what is disappointing is the upshot of the whole story. Why should Phœbe, after all, marry the man she does? That termination is a very disappointing one, and, if it was intended for satire, it is too suddenly thrust upon the reader to make him sure of the intention. We become too fond of Phœbe not to pity her fate, and, with all her faults, she seems too sensible a girl to choose such a fate of her own free will. Still, Mrs. Oliphant knows her public better than we do, and she may be right.

In 'The Two Destinies' Mr. Wilkie Collins solves a rather difficult problem in turning ghost-stories, like those which abound in Mr. Robert Dale Owen's 'Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World,' to practical use in the construction of a novel. Mr. George Germaine has this superiority over the rest of us, that he has the gift of second-sight, which is of considerable service to him in his love affairs. He pays dearly for it, however, by lacking even the usual amount of common sense, so that when the account is closed most readers will see but little reason for envying him his exceptional quality. The girl whom he loved when he was thirteen and she ten flirts with him in his mysterious visions, and finally he marries her—probably, if he has an eye to the main chance, to start in life as a spiritual medium, a position for which he is well adapted by nature. It is strange to notice, with all the supernatural communications Mr. Collins has brought into his novel, that he has made them no more alarming than telegraphic messages, which they resemble in brevity and obscurity.

The Student's English Grammar. By Charles H. Pearson, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and some time Professor of Modern History in King's College, London; and Herbert A. Strong, M.A., Oxon., Professor of Classics in the University of Melbourne. (Melbourne: Samuel Mullen. 1876. 12mo, pp. 156.)—We have from Australia an admirable little manual of English grammar, by the historian, C. H. Pearson, and Prof. Strong, of Melbourne. There is the same freshness about it that we have remarked as characteristic of Mr. Pearson's historical style; it is a book in which one who opens it at random reads on because he finds it interesting as well as profitable. It is intelligible for any one that is old enough to study English grammar at all—by which we do not mean children—and is at the same time full of instruction for those who think they know the subject already. Perhaps the most original feature of this grammar is found in the conjugation of the verb, in which the use of auxiliaries is extended far beyond what we have ever seen in a paradigm. For a paradigm to be recited, it must be bewildering beyond measure, with its futures of obligation, purpose, circumstance, duty, and necessity, and its subjunctives of freedom, possibility, obligation, and purpose; but we do not suppose it is intended to be learned by rote, and, as an analysis of the uses of auxiliaries, it is very instructive. All parts of speech and all distinctive terms and words of grammar are analyzed with the same originality and acuteness. It is not to be expected that the analys's should in all cases be found equally satisfactory by every one. We question, for example, the correctness of referring all the uses of "of" (p. 99) to its partitive force; as well make the Latin genitive primarily a partitive case. By the way, we must think it a defect in the book that, while Anglo-Saxon is freely introduced, and German and French occasionally, by way of illustration or derivation, Latin is wholly ignored. No doubt English grammar has suffered seriously from too much reference to the Latin, but the opposite fault we think equally bad. Again, we doubt whether, in the phrase "after Titiens (?)" we have the idea "holding Titiens before one, and copying him," but rather the simpler idea of *following*. On page 54 we find a sentence that we cannot understand: "*that* is the Anglo-Saxon Neuter of the Demonstrative Pronoun, and *whom* is the Anglo-Saxon form, but follows the French analogy." We should have been glad, on page 59, to have a fuller discussion of the distinction between "some" and "any," a distinction which is the despair of foreigners. In the definition of "concrete" (p. 21) it would have been well to mention that adjectives give the concrete force of qualities, as distinguished from abstract nouns. If we are not mistaken, "Walloon" should be added (p. 10) to the words cognate to "Welsh"; and in speaking of "worth" (p. 77)—"woe worth the chase"—its relationship to the German *werden* should be noticed.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Price*
Barnum (Rev. S. W.), Vocabulary of English Rhymes	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Bell (A. M.), Poems Selected from Robert Burns	(Rivingtons)
Bentham (J.), Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation	(Macmillan & Co.) $3 00
Blaserna (Prof. P.), Sound in its Relation to Music	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Brooks (N.), The Boy Emigrants	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Bryant (W. C.), Poems. Illustrated	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Deirdrè: a Poem	(Roberts Bros.) 1 00
Dement (R. S.), Napoleon and Josephine: a Tragedy	(Legal News Co.)
Diculafait (Prof. L.), Diamonds and Precious Stones	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Foster (Dr. M.), Elementary Practical Physiology	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Globe Encyclopædia, Part VIII., swd	(Estes & Lauriat) 50
Griffin (S. P.), System of Marine Signals, swd	(D. Van Nostrand)
Hamerton (P. G.), Wenderholme: a Tale	(Roberts Bros.) 2 00
Hauser (Mrs. I. L.), The Orient and its People	(I. L. Hauser & Co.) 1 75
Howe (Mrs. J. W.), Memoir of Dr. S. G. Howe, swd	(Boston) 1 00
Hunt (Mrs. H.), Bits of Talk for Young Folks	(Roberts Bros.) 1 00
Mahan (Rev. A.), The Phenomena of Spiritualism Exposed	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 2 50
Mellor (Rev. E.), Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 4 00
Mivart (St. G.), Contemporary Evolution	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Moberly (Rev. C. E.), King Lear	(Rivingtons)

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1876.

The Week.

MESSRS. Stanley Matthews, J. A. Garfield, J. A. Logan, W. D. Kelley, J. A. Kasson, Evarts, Stoughton, and others, were invited by the President to go down to New Orleans on the Republican side, and see fair play at the counting of the votes by the Returning Board. Some of them went, and were met on their arrival, on the 14th inst., by a letter from a number of more or less prominent Democrats who had gone down on the same errand. The letter assumed that the persons to whom it was addressed had come down, at the request of President Grant, to "see a fair count of the votes actually cast"; that they and "all good citizens considered an honest count and true return of the votes actually cast as of greater moment than the success of any candidate for office"; that they looked on the making of such a return in Louisiana as "a matter of national importance, on which at this crisis the very existence of constitutional government might depend." They (the Democrats), therefore, in view of its importance and of the controversies which had before arisen on the action of the Returning Board in that State, on an occasion when its action could not change the result of a Presidential election, and in view of the desire of all good men for fair play, invited the Republicans to a conference, "in order that such influence as they possessed might be exerted in behalf of such a canvass of the votes as by its fairness and impartiality should command the respect and acquiescence of the American people."

This seemed on its surface a reasonable and attractive proposition, but the Republicans were too wary and too good lawyers to be caught in this way, so they replied that they too desired "an honest and just declaration of the results of the recent election by the lawfully constituted authorities," but added "that they knew of no reason to doubt that such declaration would be made"—not having heard, apparently, of the frauds of 1874 by those same "constituted authorities"; but they declined the proposed conference on the ground that they had no duty in the premises; that at best they could only be witnesses "without power or legal influence," and had no right "to control or influence any of the State officers as to the manner in which they should perform ministerial or judicial duties," and declared, with apparent solemnity, that if they, "strangers and without official functions," were to attempt such a thing they would be condemned by the people "for an improper interference with local administration." They then made a long citation from the State laws, showing the ignorant Democrats that the Board had complete judicial as well as ministerial authority, and had, therefore, a right to pass on all charges of fraud or intimidation; made a cutting reference to what the Democrats would have said if similar interference had been attempted by the citizens of other States with the Canvassing Board in New York after the frauds of 1868, but made no mention of what any one would have said if the New York Legislature had been twice organized in that year by a United States military force, once under an order issued at midnight by Judge Barnard, and once under a simple request addressed by Governor William M. Tweed to the commanding officer. They closed with a protest against the assumed design of the Democrats to confound "votes actually cast" with votes legally cast, and altogether comported themselves as a band of very smart, shrewd attorneys arranging a compromise in a criminal court in a whiskey case.

The Democrats, on the 17th, returned to the charge, and, in opening, expressed some natural curiosity as to what brought the Republicans there, so far from home and from their lawful affairs, to become simple "strangers, without legal functions," in a large and wicked city, and showed that they (the Democrats) followed, in their invitation, the language of President Grant in asking these simple-minded men to go down there, and that if the term "votes actually cast" might be made to cover votes illegally cast, it was he who was responsible for it, for it was he who used it. They disclaimed, for their own part, any such use of the phrase, and declared that by votes actually cast they meant "votes legally cast"; acknowledged the correctness of the Republican view of the legal powers of the Board (this being really the source of all the trouble), but assumed that though there was influence which strangers could not properly exert on the Board, there was also influence they might exert; that by their mere presence they might support such fundamental rules as these: Nobody should be judge in his own case; both sides ought to be fully heard; questions of law ought to be decided on established principles, questions of fact by the ordinary rules of evidence; the trial of disputed questions should be public; the impartiality of the judges should not only exist, but be *manifest*. They then called attention to the fact that widespread distrust of the Returning Board *did* prevail, and brought to the knowledge of their correspondents the painful truth that the reason of this distrust was that this same Board—and not a Board in Guatemala or Costa Rica, as some of the Republicans may have supposed—was the one found guilty of fraud by a Congressional committee in the year 1875. They closed with the hope that, conference or no conference, the Board would act fairly. The subscribing Democrats are, among others, Messrs. Palmer, Lyman Trumbull, Morrison, Randall, Curtin, Bigler, and Oswald Ottendorfer. The correspondence leaves a very unpleasant impression as to the spirit which the Republicans are carrying into the controversy, which is strongly Butlerite. In fact, their letter was just such as one might have expected Butler to dictate.

The Innocent Strangers subsequently wrote another letter to the Democrats, expressing their gratification at learning that a request to confer, "in order that such influence as they possessed might be exerted in behalf of such canvass of the votes actually cast as by its fairness and impartiality should command the respect and acquiescence of the American people," did not mean "a purpose to interfere with the legally constituted authorities of the State in the discharge of their duties." They (the Strangers) were, they said, requested by the President "to attend there to witness, not to influence, such canvass" (perish the thought!), and "they knew that such request was not intended by him to limit them to witness the count of votes actually cast, but the entire proceedings of the Board in reaching a result as to the votes legally cast to be counted." But why did the President request the Strangers to do anything of the kind? Did they not show in their first sweet pretty letter that they had absolutely no authority whatever in the matter; that it would be a gross impertinence for them to exercise or seek to exercise any influence on the Board; and, lastly, that there was no reason for suspecting the Board of a desire to do wrong? We must, therefore, conclude that in asking them to leave their homes and make a long journey to witness the vote, the President wantonly disturbed the repose of a simple-minded, shy body of men who have never heard of an election fraud. Just before sending this last letter an invitation came from the Returning Board asking each committee to send a deputation of five to witness the count, which was accepted, and the Board is now counting in the presence of these ten delegates. But no one must imagine that the Republican Strangers are there to influence the Board in any way. They are there simply to keep the Board company and let the President know, as an act of courtesy, that they have seen it exercising judicial functions in the presence of certain Democrats. We hope he will see them safely to their homes, and

that General Sheridan will detail as many "troops" as may be necessary for the purpose.

The election returns in South Carolina have been taken in hand by the Supreme Court, which directed the Canvassing Board merely to "aggregate the statements furnished to them by the boards of county canvassers" and certify the result to the court. This order did not apply to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the votes for which are to be counted by the Legislature. The result was, however, to show that Hayes had secured the electoral vote of the State, and Hampton been elected Governor, by slight majorities. Most of the candidates on the Republican State ticket, except Chamberlain, appear also to have been elected, and the Legislature to be Democratic, on joint ballot, by a small majority. The Democrats, however, protested against the certificate of the count made by the State Board, on the ground that material errors and omissions exist in the county returns, which can only be corrected by a comparison of them with the original returns of the "managers" at the election precincts. Such a comparison, fairly made, would, they say, show that Tilden had carried the State, and make other important changes. The Court has, however, issued a peremptory mandamus, directing the State Board to issue certificates to the Senators and Representatives appearing to be elected. The election of Hampton, even if Hayes got the electoral vote, would, of course, be the last of the Republican régime in the State, and South Carolina would have to be added to the long list of States in which the reconstruction process has ended by turning the government over to the whites; and on this account the party in power will make a desperate struggle for existence. But if Hampton gets his certificate of election, nothing can prevent his being inaugurated except troops, and we doubt whether Kellogg's Louisiana *coup d'état* can be done over again in another State.

In Florida, the Democrats want to have the State Board of Canvassers canvass the returns as they come in, while the Republicans say they need not do this, taking the legal ground that they have the whole of the five weeks allowed by the local law to begin operations. The Board has only one Democrat on it—the Attorney-General—and is certainly not in haste to begin work. Governor Sterns also declares that there is a grave legal question about the canvassing still undecided, and that is whether the Canvassing Board has any jurisdiction as to returns for Presidential electors. The latest law on the subject directs the Board to canvass the returns for "State officers," but whether this term covers electors, or whether another older law is in force, are questions still *in gremio*, and, in the present condition of parties, they could not be in a safer place. The Democrats have published very full returns, showing that the State has gone Democratic, but the Republicans say that they dare not publish the figures on their side, as, if they did, the Democrats would at once proceed to alter the returns from the distant counties not yet heard from officially, and so deprive them of their lawful majority. We regret very much to repeat it, but they say this has been done before in similar cases. The last move in the game in Florida is the service of an injunction on the Governor, at the instance of the Democrats, to prevent his canvassing the votes.

There appears to be no doubt that troops are being concentrated at Washington, and that General Grant has begun the preparation of his annual message. There is no connection between these two facts, but they have caused a good deal of consternation, and not unnaturally. There is no constitutional provision against either, but it has been one of the most generally admitted virtues of General Grant's somewhat unpopular administration that while he has never hesitated to perform what he believed to be his duties under the Constitution, he has never tried, as in this case, to do them all at once, and what the consequences may be no man can tell. Fortunately, however, the forces now concentrating at the Capital are few in numbers, and constitute what the *World* would call "troops for one."

The announcement that the person fixed upon as the successor of Mr. Green in the Comptrollership is Mr. John Kelly, our late Boss, seems to have a curious effect on our Reform contemporaries. They have, as we know, hitherto taken a dark view of Mr. Kelly. According to their accounts his record was as follows: As Sheriff he committed extensive frauds, and thus laid the foundation of an ill-gotten fortune; determined to corrupt the virtue and thus undermine the liberties of his fellow-citizens, he has since been using his money and the low influence that money brings to surround himself with a band of desperate and determined men, who have made him Boss. As Boss he has engaged in a career of tyranny and crime; he has "fixed" primaries; he has interfered with the course of justice by helping his friends in difficulties through the courts; he has, instead of "letting the people rule," ruled the people by having printed large numbers of tickets containing the names of candidates for office, and, by representing them to be, and persuading the public to believe that they were, the "regular" or "straight" tickets (or, in other words, tickets of a kind for which much public affection is always manifested), has induced the public to vote them in such great quantities as to elect to office all the candidates whose names were printed upon them, thus (as the *Evening Post* would say) hiding a Catilinian ambition under a decorous pretence of respect for the forms of law. Being familiar with this damning history, and having been called upon at least once a year for some years to "rise" against Mr. Kelly as a public enemy and "trample out the one-man power," we cannot conceal our astonishment at the mild way the story of his intended appointment as Comptroller has been received by the Reform press. They either say nothing about it at all, or else they refer to Mr. Kelly as a well-known New Yorker who has many qualifications for the post, among which sterling integrity is the most prominent. We confess that this strikes us as the most alarming instance of the apathy produced by tyranny, when endured too long, even in a free community, that we have ever noticed. But we do not propose to sit quiet under this last outrage. Will no one help us to expose it? We call upon the *Evening Mail* to explain its position on this question.

The *Franklin*, it seems, was driven out to sea by the recent storm, and, as we go to press, has not yet come in. Tweed, however, has been heard from through a *Tribune* correspondent, who sends from St. Thomas a report of his life and conversation on shipboard. According to his own account, he has been deceived and abused ever since he left home. His "most trusted adviser" had told him to go to Spain, because there was no extradition treaty, and he learned that, besides this negative advantage, there was "good old sherry," "very cheap," in abundance. He had got no farther than Havana, however, when Jovellar got wind of his arrival, and intimated to the Boss that it was customary in Cuba, as in New York, for persons of wealth to "see" somebody. This the "Old Man" did not mind much. He says that he did not begrudge the money to Jovellar, whom he affectionately calls "Old Jovellar"; but what he does think is an outrage is being made a prisoner by Mr. Fish and the King of Spain, and placed in confinement on board an American man-of-war. This, he says, is a "violation of every principle of international law." He threatens astounding revelations about Tilden, and says he wonders whether the wretch remembers "the proposition he made to me to bring testimony to support and establish any statements I might choose to make if I would only 'peach' on Sweeny and Hall." This adds subornation of perjury to the long list of Tilden's crimes. By the way, as a whole, is it not black enough already to justify his being "counted out," without regard to the returns? Can a man as bad as Tilden be considered eligible to the Presidency under any constitution?

The unsettled condition of political affairs continues to have an injurious effect on domestic trade, and the last has been one of the dullest weeks of the year. In the foreign trade the exports have

again been stimulated by European complications. The imports during October, according to the official figures, show a decided increase over the corresponding month last year, and reflect the more confident feeling as to the future which prevailed among merchants before the Presidential election. At the Stock Exchange there has been an advance in the prices of the speculative stocks of the trunk-line railroads, as negotiations for an advance in rates have been reopened. The shares of the coal companies have been pressed for sale, the price of coal having again fallen so as to preclude the possibility of dividends out of earnings by even the best of the coal companies. The gold market was steady through the week; commercial considerations favored a decline in the premium, but they were neutralized, chiefly by the uneasiness respecting home political affairs. With no political trouble here the gold premium might at first advance on the outbreak of war in Europe, but the ultimate effect would be to reduce it. The gold value of the legal-tender note of the United States has ranged during the week between $0.9132 and $0.9101.

The news from the East since the armistice has not varied very much in character. The Russian mobilization of the army continues, but it is not believed that the force mobilized will exceed 250,000 men. The other preparations, such as the accumulation of stores and organization of transportation, are of the most extensive character. Nevertheless, preparations for the meeting of the Conference at Constantinople at the end of this month apparently still continue. There is little light as yet as to the nature of the demands which Russia is going to make, but report from St. Petersburg speaks of the disarmament of the population of all creeds in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, the disuse of irregular troops, and the transfer of the Circassian colonists to Asia; the use of the local language in the courts and public offices, and the appointment of a native Christian as governor in each province, aided by a Supervisory Council composed of the foreign consuls. It cannot be said that there is anything unreasonable in all this. What England is going to do it is difficult to make out, as the public and press are divided upon the policy to be pursued. The drift, as well as we can make out, is towards co-operation with Russia and acquiescence in her plans, as long as they do not involve the acquisition of Constantinople, and towards forcible resistance to this or anything like it. The *Times* cites the French occupation of Syria, in 1860, with the consent of the other Powers, as an example of armed intervention on behalf of the Turkish Christians by one European Government, which it may be wise now to allow Russia to follow, under proper guarantees that she will withdraw when the end is accomplished. The probabilities seem to point to an occupation of Bulgaria until the desired changes in the internal economy of the Turkish Empire have been effected; and the Czar is sufficiently anxious for peace to try to make the step palatable to the other European Powers. Whether anything can make it palatable to Turkey remains to be seen. Austria will probably prepare a corps of observation, and Rumania, which has had some fears of being used as a battle-field, still calls lustily for neutrality. There are rumors of another rising in Poland, and the conscription is being enforced there mercilessly.

The Servians have been completely beaten. The storming of the heights of Djunis seems to have made an end of their army, which now no longer exists. It completely dissolved in the retreat, and the inflow of Russian volunteers has ceased, and those who have participated in the late conflicts are either going home or have gone home, in disgust. The Russian battalions, indeed, seem to have borne the brunt of the recent encounters, and to have shown the stubbornness and tenacity in defence for which they have always been distinguished. The Turks find, therefore, the more complete their success has been the worse they are off, and are now, when they have completely destroyed their enemy, waiting to have terms imposed on them as if they were themselves the vanquished. The case on the surface seems a hard one, but in reality Russia is acting as their best friend in bringing home to them, in this direct and palpable way, that no excellence in fighting which they can ever display can enable such a power to exist and be independent any longer in Europe.

One of the collateral results of the excitement in England over the Bulgarian "atrocities" has been a controversy of extraordinary acrimony over the comparative barbarity, as conquerors, of the Turks and Russians. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which represents the conservative, if not pro-Turkish, view of the relations of England to the Turkish Empire, and has done its best to belittle the atrocities, has fished out from Mr. Schuyler's book on Turkistan a story of the Russians having imposed on a Turkoman tribe a fine of such enormous amount that they could not pay it, and then massacred them wholesale, by formal and deliberate order, as a penalty, showing that the rulers whom the Sentimentalists were willing to substitute for the Turks in European Turkey were not a whit more humane. To this Mr. Gladstone replied, with great severity, in the *Contemporary Review*, accusing the *Pall Mall* of garbling the authority. The *Pall Mall* rejoins, in an article which recalls some of the famous fights of our contemporaries in this city, and really seems to get the better of the ex-Premier, who, if he means to continue the conflict with effect, must transfer his flag to one of the daily papers. But it must be confessed that Mr. Gladstone is losing prestige and dignity in these conflicts.

Perhaps the singular thing in this crisis is the complete absence of France from any share in it, but that she is to stand apart was formally announced by the Duc Decazes in his recent statement to the Assembly. No such phenomenon has been witnessed since the "Eastern Question" became one of the problems of European politics. When England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia signed the convention in July, 1840, leaving France "out in the cold," and compelling Mehemet Ali Pasha to surrender Syria and the Turkish fleet to the Porte, the rage of the French public was so great that Louis Philippe only avoided war at the cost of a serious weakening of his dynasty. Now there is universal acquiescence in the policy of peace and abstention. The Powers may settle the question as they please; France has other fish to fry. Almost as remarkable and significant as showing the change which has come over French politics is the speech made by M. Gambetta to his constituents, the voters of the Belleville district of Paris, which has come out by the last mail. He told them that they had had enough of violent language leading to violent deeds; that what he desired was to "separate sentiment, tumult in the streets, declamation, and disorder from politics." He then glorified compromise and the spirit of compromise; pointed out what the Republican cause had gained even since 1871 by peaceful agitation; and finally gave them the following programme, which may fairly be called wonderful, coming from the leader of the French Radical Democracy:

"Direct attention to solid and fundamental matters; lay the foundation of a democracy truly mistress of itself; put your hands to business; do not for one moment lose sight of the national education; take heed to the reconstitution of the military power of the country; sweep away the fetters which still weigh heavy on the liberty of thought and writing; struggle against the return of audacious clericalism; spare neither care, time, nor trouble to develop and regulate the rights of meeting and association, the most indispensable of all in a democracy, for those who labor ought themselves to elaborate and carry out the solution of economical and social questions one by one, with wisdom and fulness; while taking into account all the difficulties and the interests of all, make haste, above all, to bring about certain reforms. March straight to the enemy, and do not take the shadow for the substance."

THE CAMPAIGN.

WE write again in uncertainty as to the result of the election, but in the belief that no matter who is elected the sceptre has passed away from the Republican party, most likely forever. Whatever work there is left for the party to do can hardly be done by it as it now is. There will have to be much reofficering and reorganizing before it can again leave its mark on national legislation. If Hayes has been elected, and proves the President he has promised to be, he will not be supported by the party as it stands to-day. If he proves the President that some fear he may be—that is, the minister of the Group who have managed General Grant's Administration—both he and the party will totally disappear from the political arena in 1880. We do not need again to go over all the agencies which, in our opinion, have brought the party to its present plight. Our readers are by this time sufficiently familiar with them. The seeds of the fatal disease were sown when "Tom" Murphy became Collector of the New York custom-house. The attempts since made at recovery have been like the runnings from clime to clime of a patient in an advanced stage of consumption. There have been weeks when things looked better, and weeks when they looked worse, but the progress from month to month has been steadily downward. We are not now, however, about to write an epitaph or engage in any process of analysis or interpretation. We wish, before the public mind is wholly turned toward the future, to say one word in reference to our own connection with the melancholy events of the last four months.

We believe the *Nation* is, though only in its twelfth year, in one sense the oldest Republican paper in the United States—that is to say it has advocated longer than any other the principles on which the party stood at the nomination of Mr. Hayes, as expressed in its platform at Cincinnati and in his letter. It advocated civil-service reform before any other paper in the country ever mentioned it, or mentioned it otherwise than jestingly as a Prussian whimsey. It advocated a prompt and steady return to specie payments before any of the party leaders were fully satisfied that it made any difference whatever when we returned to specie payments; and it was certainly one of the first to call attention to the ruin which the attempts to maintain a branch of the Republican party at the South by the aid of carpet-baggers was bringing on that unhappy region, and one of the most earnest in calling for a conciliatory and impartial policy towards it on the part of the Federal Government. In fact, when we read Mr. Hayes's letter and the Cincinnati platform, and recognized our old and well-worn doctrines in their new suit of party English, we experienced a feeling of "soundness on the main question" running through our political frame to which we had been long a stranger. We seemed to be once more in good and regular standing in the church. The members were all around us with a grave and reverent air, and though we perceived several suspicious characters among the assistant pastors and deacons, we thought we could well afford to keep silent about them, as they would be sure to withdraw when they saw that "reform within the party" had actually begun. Mr. Hayes, though by no means our favorite candidate, we accepted honestly and hopefully, and spoke of him in as strong terms of approbation as a somewhat limited knowledge of him would permit. In fact, in our good humor, we began to feel a little sorry for "the bad men," who now after so many years of office and management would have to pack up their tools and clothing and retire from active politics.

Now comes a part of the story which our pen almost refuses to write. This was the last we saw of Mr. Hayes, or the last we heard of the platform and the letter, from any authoritative source, until a few days before the election. The proceedings which took place in the church simply filled us with amazement. Little was said about reform by anybody, and the suspicious-looking deacons and assistant pastors, instead of withdrawing, got out packs of soiled cards and began playing "seven-up," and swearing lustily at the "ex-rebels," and offering to thrash anybody who interfered with them. Perceiving Mr. "Zach" Chandler in the pulpit, "telling stories" and chewing tobacco, and exercising the functions of a chairman, we asked the bystanders whether they really meant to say that "Zach" was a reformer, and learned that he wasn't much of a reformer, but was a good fellow, had plenty of money, and knew how to "run the machine"; and then they laughed, and punched us in the ribs, as if we too must enjoy the joke. Turning to Mr. Wheeler, the nominee for the Vice-Presidency, we asked him when the exposition of Republican doctrine was to begin, and he said he would begin it now himself, and "Zach" thereupon rapped for silence; and we heard, to our amazement, that the campaign was not about civil-service reform, or currency, or pacification at all—that it was a continuation of the civil war, and that we had all to vote as if we were actually on the battle-field. Seeing Mr. Blaine, who appeared looking vigorous and active, we asked *him* what the campaign was about, and he said entirely about "outrages" on negroes, on which subject he had reams of evidence. Enquiring of Mr. Boutwell if this was true, he said very gloomily that it was not half true enough. Here the editor of the New York *Times* came up, and declared that the whole thing really turned on Tilden's income and the condition of the once smiling village of Brady's Bend, and became very violent and abusive. Mr. Blaine then added that, now that he thought of it, he must say the campaign was really about Southern claims for damages during the war, which he put down at $2,000,000,000, and which we should have to pay at once if Tilden was elected. This delighted the whole company greatly, and they all shouted "Claims, claims!" at the top of their voices.

When silence was restored, Mr. Murat Halstead, whom we last saw at the Greeley Convention at Cincinnati trying to pacify the South, arose, drew a large manuscript from his pocket, and said he should be happy to read an essay on claims, showing that they were almost immeasurable in amount, and that no earthly power could prevent their being paid if Tilden was made President. During the reading, however, we were sorry to perceive much winking between Chandler and Blaine. At this point the editor of the *Evening Post* arose, and declared that the real reason for electing Hayes, after all, was that if we did not, the conversion of the six per cent. bonds in London would stop. This he knew was true, because somebody in Washington had read it in a letter from some one in London, and that he would advise an "uprising" of bankers and merchants. Mr. Chandler thereupon called upon the bankers and merchants to uprise about the public credit, and ask Mr. Evarts for a speech on it. This gentleman delivered a speech accordingly, but said nothing in it about the public credit, which made the company again laugh, and they said they supposed it was just as well, and that they would get the Secretary of the Treasury to say when and how the Republican party would resume specie payments. The Secretary appeared accordingly, and said that he could not say exactly when it would resume, but that it would probably be in the night; that they would wake up and find resumption going on; if they did not, they might rely on it they would never see him again. This caused great merriment, and it was generally agreed that nocturnal resumption was a capital idea and that Mr. Morrill was a great financier. Here Mr. Chandler and Mr. Jay Gould—whom we had observed sitting with him in the pulpit all along—both began to look pale and uncomfortable, and Mr. Chandler, in answer to enquiries as to what ailed him, said "good news was coming in from every quarter," that "the skies were brightening all around," and that he felt that some prompt measures must be taken to save the party. On the suggestion of the *Evening Post* and *Tribune*, it was resolved, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to publish Hayes's letter once more, and advocate his election on *that*, and this was done for about a week before the election.

As we came away sorrowful, we asked ourselves whether if in July last we had been invited to support Hayes on a platform composed exclusively of outrages, claims, Tilden's income-tax, Terre Haute and Brady's Bend frauds, danger to the public credit, and nocturnal resumption, with Chandler, Blaine, Morton, and "Bob" Inger-

soll as head preachers and managers, we would have consented, and we found we had no difficulty in saying decidedly, no. We should never have had any hesitation about it. As matters stood we did the best we could. We protested against the course things were taking; we reminded Mr. Hayes and his friends that this was a reform campaign, and that though he might doubtless mean well, and was not going to commit himself to the hands of bad men, he must not tax too severely the faith and patience of that really small body of independent voters to whom, if elected, he would owe his election. Dignity is a very desirable thing in a candidate, and etiquette has its uses, but there are occasions when dignity and etiquette have to be sacrificed for more important things, and it is in knowing when to sacrifice them that judgment is shown. To the question why did Mr. Hayes allow Chandler and Blaine the complete discretion they apparently enjoyed in carrying on the canvass, the answer usually made us has been that he had too much dignity to interfere, and that anyhow he could not at present afford to offend these men. The result, we think, shows that on this point he was mistaken. The thing he could not afford to do was to put his political fortunes into their hands. The lesson of the election is that the only way to convince the people that you are to be a reform President is to begin by showing yourself to be a reform candidate.

We do not *know* exactly what Mr. Hayes ought to have done, because we do not know what he did do. But we think that he might in some manner have saved reformers from the intolerable mortification of having either to pretend not to see Chandler at the head of the canvass, or to pretend that he was a proper person to be there. The eminent man himself, we believe, made a show of hesitating about holding both the Secretaryship of the Interior and the Chairmanship of the National Committee, and this hesitation gave Mr. Hayes an opportunity of putting in a word that might have decided him in the right way. The prominence assumed by Blaine added to the difficulty. In short, without going any further, reformers found themselves called upon, within a month of the opening of the canvass, to include in their support of the Republican candidates approbation of Chandler, Morton, Blaine, Cameron, and all the Group, and general forgetfulness of the past, and trust to Mr. Hayes's personal firmness, of which he refrained from making any exhibition, to protect them against the consequences of their folly or dishonesty. The only upright course seemed to us to be to continue, in season and out of season, to call attention to the real causes and real aims of the reform movement, and at the same time give Mr. Hayes as much support as it was possible to give a man whose political surroundings were in the main bad. If he is now elected, we shall be delighted to see him carry out the programme laid down in his letter, and in doing it he will have our hearty support. But with regard both to him and Mr. Tilden we shall wait for performance before beginning our praises.

THE WATCHERS IN LOUISIANA.

THE want of confidence felt in the decision of the Louisiana Returning Board caused a certain number of men more or less prominent in their respective parties to go down to New Orleans to "watch the count." Of the Republicans, we believe the greater number went at the invitation or suggestion of the President. The reasons why the Democrats and independent Republicans, at least, feel no confidence in the Returning Board are these: (1) that in 1875 a Congressional committee, containing such members as Messrs. Wheeler (the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency), Hoar (G. F.), and Frye, went down and enquired into the manner in which this Board had performed its duties in counting the vote of the election of 1874, and united in an emphatic condemnation of its proceedings as illegal; (2) that the composition of the Board remains now the same as it was then—that is, the men who compose it are a portion of the men who composed it in 1874, and now constitute the entire Board; (3) that all its members to-day belong to one of the two political parties now contending for the Presidency, and one of them is, in addition to this, a custom-house officer, holding his place, under "the spoils system," at the pleasure of the head of the Republican party, while another was a candidate for office at the late election. These are facts which are, we believe, not disputed by any one.

Now, that they furnish just grounds, not only for distrusting the Board, but, if there existed any legal means of doing so, for turning it out of office, no honest and intelligent man can deny. There must not be any pretense that this is a party view of the case. It is the moral view—the only view a man can take who believes that civilized society must rest on justice and good faith. It is the view on which contracts are made, causes tried, character built up, and on which mutual confidence reposes in all orderly and progressive communities, and nobody, as he cares for his soul's health, ought to be frightened out of it by being told that it is "what the Democrats say," or that in expressing it you "throw your influence" against some good man or good cause. Your influence is always thrown for good causes and good men when you speak the truth and follow the right.

The distrust of the Returning Board is, therefore, well founded. But this is not all. It is most important that at this juncture this distrust should find expression. In 1874, when the Board committed its last fraud, the returns it manipulated were only those of the State of Louisiana; this year the returns on which it is to pass are those of the vote for the President of the United States, and not only this, but things are so situated that the Board may return the casting vote, or, in other words, may make the next President. Now, we are not sure that watching will produce much effect on its members. They belong to a class, mostly of recent growth, which is not much affected by public opinion, and is too characterless and positionless to be much damaged in any way by social reprobation. Moreover, they are clothed not simply with ministerial but judicial functions. They not only count the votes, but decide what votes are valid, and may throw out the vote of a whole parish in their discretion; and they fill their own vacancies. The temptation to do wrong presses on them with greater force at this juncture than ever before. The use of having them watched, therefore, by respectable men from both sides at the North is, in our eyes, not so much that they may be prevented from cheating as that the country may, if they do cheat, have satisfactory evidence of the fact.

We think people here at the North were glad, therefore, when the watchers from both sides went down, and were in hopes that they would act harmoniously. For let us assure the "workers" and "managers," great and small, that they make a great mistake if they suppose the honest and intelligent men of any party are going to be satisfied with any trick or sharp practice in this matter, or any device which simply stops short of open fraud. They want fairness, in the highest and best sense of the word—the fairness not of energetic politicians, but of the most honorable and upright ministers, lawyers, or business men; the fairness not of committee rooms, but of respectable homes. We must add, too, that the suspicion of unfairness will tell soonest against Mr. Hayes. The burden of proof lies on him. His own friends and supporters are going to sit in judgment on his cause, and their finding, therefore, in order to be satisfactory, must not only be honest but above suspicion.

Under these circumstances we confess we were a good deal surprised to find that when the Democratic watchers in New Orleans the other day sent a respectful and in every way proper invitation to the Republicans to united action for the better satisfaction of the Northern public, which they both in a certain sense represented, they received a reply which it is difficult to avoid calling tricky and evasive. What other epithets, for instance, can we apply to the statement that they "knew of no reason to doubt" that the result of the election would be honestly declared, made with the history and composition of the Returning Board before their eyes? To what can we compare such talk except Judge Barnard's telling the lawyers in a partition suit, when he made Tweed receiver, that he did not know what they had against him? And what are we to say to the candor of men who make long citations of the Louisiana

law, giving the Board full powers, and then indulge in the following delectable cant?

"It is, in our judgment, vital to the preservation of constitutional liberty that the habit of obedience to the forms of law should be sedulously inculcated and cultivated, and that the resort to extra-constitutional modes of redress for even actual grievances should be avoided and condemned as revolutionary, disorganizing, and tending to disorder and anarchy."

This was in reply to the Democratic invitation to a conference, "in order that such influence as we possess may be exerted in behalf of such a canvass of the votes actually cast as by its fairness and impartiality shall command the respect and acquiescence of the American people of all parties," and it came from men who have nearly all, on grounds of necessity, supported the Administration in its irregular interference at the South. They sought to fortify it afterwards, Blaine fashion, by pretending to think that by "votes actually cast" the Democrats meant whether legally cast or not, but this construction the latter promptly disavowed.

This quibbling, evasive, and crooked tendency of Republican politics, which led to the piecemeal concoction of a fresh platform by the stump-speakers during the canvass, is the natural and almost inevitable result of the inability of the leaders to face the public on the new declaration of principles into which the party has recently been forced, and the insufficiency of mere dread of the Democrats to take the place of positive beliefs and promises. It furnishes, too, so striking an illustration of the obstacles to self-reform by a political party that we shall reserve it for future discussion, adding once more a warning which has in one shape or another been so often found in these columns during the last four or five years, viz.: that the stock phrases of the Republican orators—the abuse of the Democrats, and the prophecies as to what they will do, and the manufacture of fresh charges against them—are doubtless all that is necessary to hold *the bulk* of the Republican party. But the bulk of the Republican party cannot either keep or put it in power. Elections are decided by a few thousand sceptical and exacting persons, who cannot be beguiled by stump-speeches, who will not take a sentimental view of the party, any more than of a locomotive or stage-coach, and who see straight through all the rhetoric and sophistry and apology with which of late years it has been necessary to cover its weak points. These must be considered.

THE AWARDS AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

THE managers of our Exhibition discarded the system of awards hitherto prevailing, and substituted for the classified medals and prizes of their predecessors a method by which all meritorious exhibits should receive uniform bronze tokens, accompanied by certificates or diplomas setting forth the degree and character of the qualities for which the awards were given. If three sewing-machines were selected for commendation, the judges would not say that one was the best, another the second best, and the other the third best, but would give an award to one because of its adaptability to the whole range of domestic work, to another (of high cost) as working perfectly in cambric, cloth, or leather, and to the third because, although less effective than either of the others for their special purposes, it was sufficiently good for ordinary family use, and could be furnished at a price within the reach of very poor people. So, through the whole range of the Exhibition, and in every department, the good qualities of the selected exhibits were to be authoritatively described, and this was supposed to constitute a value, especially for advertising purposes, far beyond the mere statement that an exhibit had received the "first" prize—no reasons being stated.

At the meeting of the judges in May, when they received their instructions, the director-general made an address concerning the system from which the following is quoted:

"In place of the anonymous verdict of a jury, we have substituted the written opinion of a judge. On this basis awards will carry the weight and guarantees due to individual personal character, ability, and attainments, and to this extent their reliability and value will be increased."

Two hundred and fifty judges were selected, one-half of them foreigners, receiving a compensation of $1,000 each, the others Americans, receiving $600 each. Including the office expenses of the Bureau, the judging cost the Commission about $300,000. The system itself, and the work done under it, promised, up to the time of the separating of the groups, a very satisfactory result. As a rule, the judges were experts selected only for their capacity, and their work was faithfully done. The instructions permitted each Group to place its standard of merit as high as it pleased, but required that everything which should come within this standard should receive an award. So far as we know, they were complied with in every case except that of the Group on the Fine Arts. This Group took it upon itself to begin its work by deciding to award a certain number of medals—to be divided, so many among oil paintings, so many among water-colors, so many among sculptures, etc. One of the absurdities of its method was shown by the early developed fact that there were not medals enough in its scale to "go around." England, for example, could not receive out of the limited number of medals for oil paintings assigned to her as many as the merits of her works demanded. Instead of increasing the number of awards, which the Group not only had the right to do, but which under their instructions they were bound to do, they are said to have telegraphed to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, President of the Royal Academy, suggesting that, as the older academicians had already sufficient glory and reputation to give honor to our Exhibition rather than receive honor from it, they could well afford to allow the medals assigned to England to be allotted among the younger and rising artists. This arrangement was adopted, with the result, presumably, that the awards in the English department were given to the second-best paintings. To a certain extent the reopening of the art awards remedied the injustice done, but the total action of this Group has resulted, so far as the fine-arts exhibits are concerned, in a practical defeat of the intentions of the system. This was almost the only instance of failure in its practical working, and this was a failure of apprehension on the part of the judges of Group 27.

There arose more recently, however, a danger which threatened the entire subversion of the plan of awards. This took the form of a scheme on the part of a few individual Commissioners to overturn the system to which all of the exhibitors were subjected, and under which the expensive corps of experts had done their best for a just distribution of medals. At the eleventh hour—after the better members of the Commission had gone finally to their homes, and after the judges had dispersed to the four quarters of the globe—these persons succeeded in reopening the whole question and in securing certain rulings, which, but for the firmness and the honest indignation of Gen. Walker, Chief of the Bureau of Awards, and of Mr. Goshorn, the Director-General, would have defeated the whole scheme. A resolution was even passed to the effect that the awards should be signed *not by the judges*—as the exhibitors had been promised—but by the executive officers of the Exhibition. Happily this action has been rescinded, and the original scheme will be carried out in its integrity. As an illustration of the operations of this rump of the Commission we may take the case of California wine (Group 4). This Group consisted of eighteen experts detailed to examine animal and vegetable products. The judges on wines decided that the Californian product was not wine, or at least not such wine as could be properly recommended for public consumption. Every effort was made and every influence was brought to bear to change their opinion, but in vain. The group more than once voted unanimously that this product was not worthy of an award. Influence with the judges being unavailing, it was brought to bear on members of the Commission, several of whom set seriously to work to overturn the decision. Finally, the Italian member of the Group, an amiable gentleman, being approached on the subject by individual Commissioners, and being made to believe that the request came from the Commission, that kindness should be shown to a rising American industry, signed a certificate giving a qualified commendation to this exhibit. These few Commissioners, acting as a "Committee on Appeals," hereupon gave an "award" to the wine. The next step was to do away with the necessity for signatures of the judges, and the rump passed a resolution that only officers of the Commission should sign any awards. Good faith went to the winds; and the interests of all worthy exhibitors and the honor and credit of all the judges must stand aside for the "influence" which had succeeded in "fixing things."

We cite this as an illustration of the *modus operandi* of the whole fraud. Happily this action has been nullified, and the question of "appeals" has been limited to cases in which a new group of judges, strictly honorable experts and largely members of the original Groups, will give a few awards to meritorious exhibits, which, owing to the wretchedly bad character of the speculation Catalogue, were overlooked at the original examination. Practically, the system is restored in its entirety, and the results of the

new American method of judging will be such as to commend it for future use. The question of the fine-arts award remains a muddle, but this is due, as we have pointed out, to the view which the judges in that Group took of their duties and not to any defect in the system. Such injustice as falls upon exhibitors will be mainly chargeable to the miserable character of the Catalogue, and to the failure of the Executive Department of the Exhibition to secure, immediately upon the entry of exhibits, or upon the assigning of space, a proper filling out of the information papers for the guidance of the judges. Indeed, the labors of these gentlemen were largely increased by the necessity of hunting through the Exhibition to find the exhibits which they were to examine. They were obliged to do a vast amount of routine work which could have been better done, and which should have been done, by the clerical force of the Commission. We mention this not by way of complaint, but rather as an illustration of the difficulties attending the performance of such work by men unaccustomed to such duties. With the same officers to manage another Exhibition these minor details would receive better attention.

MR. FROUDE ON THE USES OF A LANDED GENTRY.

LONDON, Nov. 4, 1876.

THE short and gloomy days of November have long been regarded in this country as appropriate to that form of intellectual excitement produced by listening to lectures. There are, in most of the large towns of England and Scotland, associations or institutions formed on the model of the Royal Institution here. They call themselves Philosophical, or Literary, or Scientific, or Mutual Improvement Associations, or by whatever name they choose to take, and their object is the intellectual culture of the members without any exertion on the part of those who are to be cultivated. The members consist to a large extent of shopkeepers and spinsters. Both classes are yearning for improvement, but the one has not the time to improve itself, and the other does not know how to go about it. They form themselves into an association ; they secure the names of some of the leading men in the town for their honorary office-bearers, and they appoint an active secretary to take care of them and cater for their wants ; and they start their association with its meetings in November and the winter months. There are always at hand men who have something to say, and who are on the outlook for an audience. Some of these are men of established reputation in the world who are willing to give of their stores of information for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen and women. Others are young men with Parliamentary aspirations who wish to keep or bring themselves before the public. Others, again, are of the regular oratorical sort who take to the platform as ducks take to water, and to whom it is a necessity of nature to make public appearances at periodical intervals. Out of these several classes the secretary has no difficulty in securing lecturers, and the lecturers have no difficulty in securing audiences. And if the lecturers happen to be men of mark, their audiences are not limited to those whom they address. They speak to the whole kingdom.

Edinburgh has long held a high reputation for successful efforts of this kind. The society there is an idle, but it is not a frivolous, society. It is always in search of excitement, but for the most part the excitement sought after is not an unworthy excitement. No town of its size has produced so many eloquent preachers, and the people like the excitement of preaching. The audiences both in the theatre and in the music-hall are remarkable for their critical acumen and their appreciation of what is good. Mr. Macready, in his Life, frequently speaks of the satisfaction he invariably experienced when he appeared before an Edinburgh audience, and Miss Helen Faucit, the tragedian (now Mrs. Theodore Martin), speaks with unfeigned pleasure of her professional visits to Edinburgh ; long after she had given up appearing on the metropolitan or on any other provincial stage, she used to give a series of her old Shaksperian characters on the Edinburgh boards.

As the Edinburgh theatre has always held a high place among provincial theatres, so its lecture-room, called the Philosophical Institution, has always drawn to itself each year the ablest and most distinguished among those who employ this method of imparting information to their countrymen. It has almost become a fashion among notable men, statesmen, scholars, experimentalists, philosophers, and travellers to address themselves to audiences assembled in the hall of the Philosophical Institution. This year Mr. Froude, the historian, opened the annual course of lectures by an address on "The Uses of a Landed Gentry." Mr. Froude, as you know, has led an active life—for a student and literary man, an unusually active life. Early in his career at Oxford, where he was a distinguished student, he published a couple of strange, clever novels called 'The Nemesis of Faith' and 'Shadows from the Cloud.' These remarkable books were recognized at once as works of genius, perhaps a somewhat distorted genius. But as years went on they were forgotten, and he next came before the world as the author of a history of England, or rather of a portion of a history of England, which at once made him a reputation second to that of no living historian in this country. There are odd twists and quirks in the work, which are regarded as inseparable from his peculiar genius, and which excite the jealous wrath of his rival historian and unfriendly critic, Mr. Freeman ; but these are more than counterbalanced by the fascination and witchery of a style which carries you over paradoxes and into labyrinths of ingenious special pleading in a way that cannot be resisted. Of late years he has appeared once or twice on the borderland of practical politics. Only last year he went out officially as commissioner to the south coast of Africa to settle certain colonial questions which had emerged, and which the present Colonial Secretary imagined could be cured by his panacea for all colonial troubles—federation. Since Mr. Froude's return he has not been much before the public. His appearance, therefore, in Edinburgh was looked for with some interest. The subject is itself an interesting one in this country, and the intellectual classes both in Edinburgh and elsewhere had been looking forward for some time to hear what Mr. Froude had to say upon it. For some years past men's thoughts have been much turned to questions affecting land. As wealth has accumulated in this country the desire to own land has increased. Those who held no land of their own before they made their fortunes, have become possessed with a longing to acquire estates now that they are rich, and those who hold small estates long to make them larger. Before the days of railways, and before London became the huge human hive it now is, a shopkeeper or tradesman in London never thought of going outside the town. Now the wealthy shopkeeper has his villa and his acre or two of land within ten or twenty miles of London as a matter of course. And it is not the wealthy only whose attention has been turned towards the acquisition of land. Since Mr. John Stuart Mill broached his doctrines in favor of a peasant proprietary the theme has been a popular one with that class of men who like to have a standing grievance and to have it widely ventilated. Agitators and itinerant orators have found no more congenial topic to dilate upon before miscellaneous audiences than the absorption of land in a few hands, and the wrongs inflicted by landlords upon tenants, and by tenants upon laborers. Questions regarding game, questions regarding trespass, questions regarding taxation of land, questions regarding county government, and questions regarding generally the rights and duties of landowners and the politics of landholding, have been simmering and bubbling up to the surface from time to time. All this created an interest in the subject which Mr. Froude proposed to discuss. People believed that his sympathies and political leanings were with the landlords and the feudal, or at least the historical, idea, but they expected that he would deal fairly and impartially with both sides of the question. Nor were they disappointed.

Mr. Froude did not shirk his work. He took for his text the present and the past condition of the Scilly Isles, which lie off the coast of Cornwall, and described what these islands were before the late proprietor, Mr Augustus Smith, bought them, and after he regenerated them. They were in all respects as bad as they could be. Their inhabitants were useless, idle loafers, existing on little holdings, and spending their time in smuggling and drinking. The land was not cultivated. There were no schools, no houses suitable for human beings to live in, and no industries. Mr. Smith in one generation changed all that. He spent money freely upon houses, schools, and churches. He banished all the useless characters from his kingdom, and kept only the sober and industrious. He, though a radical, exercised a benevolent despotism over his people—did not allow them to do anything prejudicial to their health, interests, and well-being, and the upshot is that the Scilly Isles are now an earthly paradise, peopled only by the virtuous and the well-to-do, and the value of the islands is more than three times higher than it was before Mr. Smith bought them.

From this instance of what may be done by a benevolent but despotic landlord Mr. Froude appears to judge all others. He is favorable to the growth of large estates in the hands of one or two men. Large estates are always better managed than small estates. When you pass through a country possessed by one potentate you see everything in good order, and your soul is filled with an air of plenty ; when you pass through a country cut up into small possessions you see the gates broken down, the cottages squalid, the hedges and fences untrimmed, and an absence of good schools, good churches, and such things as public opinion demands. In France small holdings answer. There are six millions of freeholders in France, and these freeholders turn a desert into a garden. But Frenchmen can live only in France, whereas Englishmen have the whole globe for their

inheritance ; but yet the French system does not always answer. The six million freeholders are so many units. They are not bound together by any traditionary organization ; they have no landed gentry to take the lead in any crisis and no groups of tenants and dependents to rally round such leaders. Hence when the trials of the late war came upon them they went to pieces. So in Spain, since the class of the Hidalgos has disappeared the country has been given over to priests, political charlatans, and military adventurers. In England the landed gentry are kept up by means of certain artificial laws and customs—the law of entail, for instance, and the custom of primogeniture ; for primogeniture is a custom, inasmuch as ninety-nine men out of a hundred who have anything to leave make their wills before they die, and most of them, from a desire to keep up their family, leave their land to their eldest sons. Fashion, tradition, and love of family, and a desire to have, as it were, a stake in the country, produce this tendency in the English mind, and no amount of legislation will eradicate it. So with the law of entail ; abolish it, and what will be the result ? Land will pass more readily into the hands of the few who are wealthy. Simplify the transfer of land, and the same result will follow. The lawyers might possibly suffer, but the poorer classes will not be benefited. The tendency of things in this country is to make land a luxury which only the rich can enjoy. Money invested in land brings in no return, or, at best, a small return of only two per cent. A poor man, or, indeed, a man who has not a substantial income independently of his land, cannot afford to keep it. It is inevitable that it should fall into the hands of the wealthy, and the more you legislate in the matter the more you facilitate the absorption of the land by the few.

Such is the drift of Mr. Froude's address. There is much truth in the views which he expresses, and it would be well if some of our half-educated politicians realized the facts and admitted the inferences from them. But what is the remedy for this state of things ? Mr. Froude, who has larger and more diversified experience of our colonies than any man of real philosophic intellect among us, has one at hand, and is not backward in prescribing it. I give it to you in his own eloquent words. More fitting language has rarely been used before a British audience to enunciate the advantages of colonization :

"Who, in his senses, even if it were possible, would be the peasant proprietor of half-a-dozen acres in England, when for the sum for which he could sell them he could buy a thousand acres in countries where he would still be under his own flag, among his own kindred, with an unexhausted soil, and a climate anything that he preferred, from the Arctic circle to the tropics ! Let those who were impatient of what they called a dependent position at home go to Australia, to Canada, to New Zealand, or to South Africa ; there work for themselves and gather wealth, as all but fools and sluggards were able to do ; come back, if they would, as rich men at the end of twenty years ; then buy estates here for themselves, and when they belonged to the landed gentry in their own persons they would find their eyes opened as to their value to the community. Here, as it seemed to him, lay the true solution of the British land question. There was already a New Scotland, so-called, in South Africa, a land of mountains and valleys, and rocky streams and rolling pastures ; there was gold there, and coal, and all the elements of wealth. Let that country, let any part of any of our rich colonies be peopled from the younger sons who complained that there was no room for them at home ; let them match the New England across the Atlantic with a New Scotland in South Africa, or anywhere else, only holding tighter on to the old country. Let them spread out there and everywhere, take possession of the boundless inheritance which was waiting for them, and leave the old island to preserve its ancient memories under such conditions as the times would permit."

Correspondence.

THE ASCENT OF MT. RAINIER.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : In your notice of my article in the November *Atlantic Monthly* on the ascent of Takhoma (Mt. Rainier) you state that "the ascent was made within a short time (we think not more than a month) after that here described by Messrs. Emmons and Wilson, of the Fortieth Parallel Survey."

I still think we are the only ones who have ever achieved the summit of Takhoma, for the following reasons :

Soon after our return from the ascent of Takhoma I met Mr. Emmons, and gave him all the information and suggestions I could to facilitate his trip to the mountain. He and Mr. A. D. Wilson, with a well-equipped party from Mr. Clarence King's Survey, "pushed through the forest to Mt. Rainier with very great difficulty," as he reported, and made a survey of the mountain and its glaciers. A little pamphlet published by Mr. King, "On the Discovery of Actual Glaciers in the Mountains of the Pacific Slope," contains Mr. Emmons's account of his survey. In that he nowhere states that he reached the summit, and in describing the mountain he says : "The eastern peak, which would seem to have formed originally the middle of the mountain mass, is a crater, about a quarter of a mile in diameter, of very perfect circular form," etc. Now there are two craters, side by side, neither of which is nearly a quarter of a mile in diameter. The ascent of this mountain is so perilous a feat that I feel sure no one who accomplished it would refrain from announcing the fact with natural pride ; and how could a scientific man so strangely misdescribe the summit if he ever set foot upon it ? Upon this point let Messrs. Emmons and Wilson speak for themselves, and if you can show where they assert that they ever reached the summit of Takhoma I will admit that my belief, above expressed, may be erroneous. I have heard, however, that Mr. Emmons ascended upon our track until he came to the rope we left hanging on the precipitous side of the mountain, and upon giving it a pull to test its strength it came down in his hand, and he thereupon turned back.

Very truly yours, Hazard Stevens.

85 Devonshire Street, Boston, Nov. 10, 1876.

[We have asked Mr. Emmons to speak for himself.—Ed. Nation.]

To the Editor of The Nation :

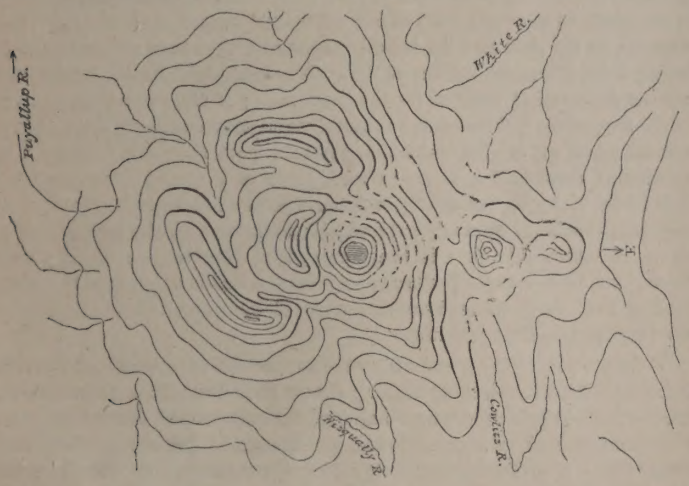
Sir : I am not a little surprised at the above statements of General Stevens, and still hope that it may be shortness of memory, rather than a lack of that gentlemanly feeling that has hitherto characterized him in his intercourse with me, which has led him to charge me indirectly with a false statement. Let me refresh his memory by recalling to him the afternoon and evening of October 30, 1870, which I spent at his home in Portland, Oregon, *en route* from Mount Rainier to Mount Pitt, during which I gave him a detailed account of the ascent of the former mountain by Mr. Wilson and myself on the 17th of October, exactly a fortnight previous. He will remember that I then told him that we found the rope he had left at the bad passage of the ascent, strong enough in itself to support many tons' weight, but so insecurely fastened that upon shaking the lower end the whole came down upon me, and that, winding it round my waist, I took it to the top of the "chimney" and there tied it through a hole in the rock so securely that it would be found reliable whenever he might wish to make the ascent again, as he then thought he might do. His statement, therefore, that "he heard . . . that we turned back" may be merely an expression of his disappointment that we did not see the engraved plate which he states he left on the summit ; but we were too much occupied when there with our instrumental work to attend to such (to us) unimportant details. Moreover, the highest point, as determined by the level on our theodolite, which we took to the summit, is not a boulder, as described by General Stevens, but a knob of ice and snow on the northwestern edge of the crater. I repeat here the explanation I then made to him, that his idea of two independent craters is not geologically accurate, but that the more recent crater which now forms the eastern summit has broken through and partly filled a larger one, part of whose rim still encircles its western flanks, enclosing a semi-circular crater-like depression, which, masked as it is by ice and snow, he mistook for a perfect crater. A difference of opinion as to the diameter of either, which was only estimated by the eye by each of us, is not worthy of discussion.

No popular account of our trip has ever been published. In a paper contributed to the *American Journal of Science* for March, 1871, "On the Discovery of Glaciers," etc., mentioned by General Stevens, the statement is not, indeed, directly made that we "achieved" the summit, but I hardly thought that we, with whom during seven years' work in the Rocky Mountains mountain ascents had been matters of daily occurrence, should be suspected of describing what we had not seen without acknowledging our authority. In his trip General Stevens did not see the northeastern side of the mountain, but he nevertheless describes the White River glaciers, and in words strangely resembling those used by me in the paper above mentioned. To be able to announce the accomplishment of so really dangerous an ascent as that of Mount Rainier might occasion a feeling of "natural pride" in one even less experienced in mountain climbing than General Stevens. Our announcement has been delayed in the hope of some day finishing the survey then undertaken, which was rendered incomplete by the breaking of our barometers and by the advent of the winter snows,

which drove us away, after a month's hard work, and before we had visited the northern and western slopes of the mountain.

Before closing let me, in a friendly way, correct certain technical inaccuracies in General Stevens's article. The mountain is composed of trachyte, and has no basalt at all, although perhaps the dark color of some of this rock might mislead a more scientific observer than General Stevens. In regard to its drainage, there is *no* water flowing eastward from its slopes, either through the Wenass, or any other stream; its most striking peculiarity is the fact that, even from its eastern slopes, it drains westward through the White and Cowlitz Rivers into Puget Sound and the lower Columbia River.

The subjoined topographical sketch of the upper part of the mountain, taken from my field note-book, though rough y made in camp to illustrate



the structure of the volcano, will show to one familiar with contours the general character of the summit, and the partial crater west of the main one which misled General Stevens.—Very truly yours, S. F. Emmons.

New York, November 17, 1876.

THE POSITION OF LAYMEN IN SCIENTIFIC CONTROVERSIES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Do you realize how discouraging are your criticisms of Mr. Henry's position in your last issue? You say that he, "being neither a biologist, nor microscopist, nor chemist, is not competent to say whether Huxley's essay on the 'Physical Basis of Life' is 'weak and worthless,' and that for a similar reason he does not know whether the work in question was or was not 'cruelly treated' by Sir Lionel Beale," etc. Permit me, then, to ask the following questions in good faith:

I. If a man must be a biologist, microscopist, or chemist before he can judge in any way of the relative merits of conflicting scientific statements, how can a layman looking for truth ever decide upon which side of the fence truth lies? If he inclines to Huxley, he is told he is not competent to weigh the argument; and if he leans to Sir Lionel Beale, he is again met in the same way.

II. Must he then wait until all scientists are fully agreed upon any one point?

III. Must the same rule apply to all "specialistic" studies, such as metaphysics, history in certain of its phases, theology, etc.?

IV. If the unscientific man is incompetent to judge in such matters, why do scientists condescend to become popular lecturers, since then they speak to audiences confessedly incompetent to grasp and weigh their reasonings?

Will you please give your opinion on these points to your readers, many of whom, though neither scientists nor clergymen, see that your last strictures apply to all *their* efforts to arrive at some rational conclusion. Must we leave as "open questions" all debated points which lie out of our sphere of actual investigation? A Discouraged Reader.

New York, November 16, 1876.

[In speaking, September 14, of the newspaper practice of trying law cases in advance of the courts, we said: "There are opinions to be kept to one's self, opinions to be stated modestly, and opinions to be promulgated as loudly as one can." This is as true of scientific as of legal matters, indeed more true.

I. "A layman looking for truth" cannot, in a dispute between two eminent scientific men, "decide on which side of the fence truth lies." The fact that two investigators differ about a matter ought to be to him a sign that *he* cannot settle it. He may have an opinion about it, but it is emphatically an opinion which he ought to keep to himself, and not one to announce in a violent, positive, and denunciatory manner. If positive conclusions could be reached on such subjects by non-scientific men in their libraries, where would be the use of scientific research?

II. Yes, he must, if he does not wish to exhibit himself in an absurd light. Let him console himself with reflecting how long the world waited for the Copernican system, and for the law of gravitation and the science of chemistry.

III. It must apply to all studies which you have not studied. The rule not to talk about things you do not understand is of universal application. But studies are of various degrees of difficulty. A layman arguing with a theologian about theology, with a metaphysician about metaphysics, or with an historian about a point of history when he (the layman) has not thoroughly examined it, and, still more, telling any of them to consider himself "demolished" or "cruelly treated," is acting unreasonably.

IV. We believe, partly to entertain people and partly to instruct them. In so far as they give accounts of the discussions raging in the scientific world, they are entertaining; in so far as they communicate positive and ascertained results of research, they are instructive. Any scientific man who calls on a popular audience to act as a judge between the supporters of two conflicting scientific hypotheses is so far forth playing the charlatan.—Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

Robert Carter & Bros. have in press a small volume by President McCosh entitled 'The Development Hypothesis: Is it sufficient?'——Scribner, Armstrong & Co. make an illustrated holiday book of Dr. Holland's 'Mistress of the Manse.'——We have more than once noted the rapid reproduction in Germany of the works of American writers of the present day. A late circular of Fr. Wilh. Grunow, in Leipzig, shows a series of 'American Humorists' in ten volumes, embracing Mark Twain, T. B. Aldrich, Artemas Ward, and Max Adeler; another of 'American Novelists' in five volumes, including Henry James, jr., and Bret Harte, who is also honored with two volumes apart from either series. Mr. Moritz Busch is the industrious translator of all these diverse works, and ought by this time to be well qualified to define American humor, and to throw light on the question, Why cannot the Americans maintain a *Punch*?—— The Signal Service have lately published in book form a series of tri-daily observations for the month of November, 1873, taken at eighty-eight stations. The value of this continuity in so many stations so near together will be obvious to every one interested in such records. A tri-daily map accompanies each day's record. These maps would be more suggestive than the tables if the arrows were larger. Following each map is a statement of the "verification of probabilities" predicted at the given date. If this last exhibit was the main object of the book that object has failed, for the discussion is in every case chaotic, because different sorts of predictions are treated simultaneously.——In the *Athenæum* for November 4, Mr. W. R. S. Ralston announces the early publication of what he believes "will prove the best book ever written about Russia." Happily for us, it is by an Englishman, Mr. D. Mackenzie Wallace, who has spent nearly six years in Russia, making a study of the country. The *Athenæum* also learns that Ivan Turgenef is to publish in the January number of the *Vyestnik Yevropy* a new novel, depicting Russian society of five or six years ago, and more mindful than his previous works of the susceptibilities of the younger generation of Russian doctrinaires. In due time, doubtless, we shall be able to read this in the French or in English.——Dr. Draper's 'Conflict between Science and Religion' has met the eye of the Congregation of the Index in the Madrid edition, and has been placed on the proscribed list "quocumque idiomate."

—The "Geneva Pamphlet" on the Cuban question, published in an English translation by the Appletons, proposes a new remedy for the Cuban troubles, with which, could it be carried out, we in this country should certainly have no fault to find. This is a semi independent colonial government, free from the abuses which have grown out of the present system.

The new constitution proposed by the author of the pamphlet would comprise a general guarantee of civil rights and abolition of military tribunals, as well as decrees of exile, confiscation, embargoes, and other cruel and unusual means of attaining political ends; an executive to be appointed by the Crown, a local colonial assembly, with full power over the taxes, tariff, the press, the administration of justice, and the adoption of measures for the "final abolition" of slavery. That this plan, if carried out, would end in independence as the author in one passage suggests, seems hardly probable; the success of reforms introduced by the mother country would, in proportion as they pacified the Cuban discontents, be likely to stimulate a revival of the old loyalty to Spain, rather than a desire to throw off her protection. The pamphlet is said to have had a semi-official origin; but whether any such reforms as those proposed in it are seriously contemplated in Spain we have no means of knowing. Whether, if contemplated, they would be carried out, is also another serious question. The right of the Spanish Government to squeeze money out of Cuba, and the right of the army of constantly "rotated" officials to squeeze fortunes out of the Cubans, are among the most valued privileges of Iberian sovereignty; and the abandonment of them would be little short of revolutionary. With regard to annexation, the writer of the pamphlet seems to be aware that the political difficulties presented are considered insuperable among intelligent Americans. The pamphlet will be found to contain a good deal of information on the subject of recent Cuban history, from the Cuban point of view.

—"Sardanapalus," at Booth's, is, it seems, to be counted as one more success added to the triumphs of the realistic-spectacular drama. It has been running for over a hundred nights, and has been "witnessed by three hundred thousand people." It is a peculiarity of the realistic-spectacular manager that, like the proprietors of quite a different class of entertainments, the claims he prefers to the support of the public are almost always certain to be of a distinctly moral nature; and we are therefore not at all surprised to find our present benefactor assuring us that what he calls his "offering," and what he might, considering the sad fate of the principal characters in the play, have called his burnt-offering, "was submitted with deep respect to that portion of the community who believe the theatre is dignified, and its higher mission fulfilled, by making all its illustrations truthful, beautiful, and instructive." We confess this seems to us to go pretty far. The fallacy upon which the realistic reformers always proceed is that the object of dramatic art is direct imitation. Actors know very well that this is not true even of their part of the business, mimicry being but a poor proof of the possession of dramatic talent—some people would say an indication of its absence. The same thing is true of the accessories—scenery, dresses, etc., etc. It is not, as Lamb long ago pointed out, imitation but suggestion that is wanted. The feeling of reality is given, when given at all, not by the chairs and tables and walls and doors and dresses but by the acting, and the only effect that the pursuit of realistic effects has in the end is to call the attention of the spectator to the fact that after all they are unreal. In "Sardanapalus" there are two or three comical illustrations of this—one, for instance, in which while a magnificent moon is rising in the background the lights behind the scene throw all the shadows towards the luminary instead of away from it. The introduction of an Italian ballet with the Ninevese court as spectators is another slight defect in local color which might have been avoided. As a spectacle we cordially agree that "Sardanapalus" is a great success, but that it has "dignified" anything or fulfilled any "higher mission," we doubt.

—A correspondent sends us the following comment on 'Daniel Deronda,' which it has doubtless occurred to many readers of that novel to make:

"Why is it that George Eliot has not a word to say upon the change in the relations of her hero to Christianity consequent upon his discovering himself to be a Jew? Is her silence explained by the fact that Deronda, being identified with no form of belief, and having made no professions of a religious kind, passes from a mild scepticism or tolerance before the Church to an equally easy attitude in the synagogue? It seems impossible to suppose so earnest, conscientious, and devotional a nature indifferent to the system of religion in which he has grown up. He must inevitably regard Christ as one of the greatest figures in history, if not the greatest helper of man; and, in any event, a spiritual conflict seems unavoidable, unless, indeed, like the wise Nathan, Deronda stands upon some elevated moral plane from which all forms of faith are seen blending beautifully together. But how are we to take so much for granted with regard to one so subtly analyzed for us in every other particular? We should at least have followed with interest an attempt to seek out and set in order Deronda's situation in its distinctively Jewish and Christian aspects."

—The *New Quarterly Magazine* is in some respects an experiment in magazine literature. As its name denotes, it is not monthly; it contains no serial tales, but each number has two complete stories, varying in length and strength from a flimsy sketch to an extended novel covering over a hundred of the two hundred and eighty pages of the magazine. Upon these two works of fiction it has apparently relied for success rather than upon the half a dozen other articles, which have rarely risen in point of merit above the average of their class. Six months ago the *Magazine* began a venture hardly likely to increase the amenities of criticism: it added a new department—"Current Literature and Current Criticism." In this the leading books of the quarter are carefully considered by the editor, who subjoins to his own review of each book extracts from the often conflicting criticisms of the leading literary journals—that is to say, the editor, C. J., tries the work and delivers a written opinion, and the concurring or dissenting opinions of the other judges are appended. The object of all this is obviously to show the drift of current criticism, and as obviously its value depends on the skill and the honesty of the editor—whom we understand to be Mr. John Latouche, author of 'Travels in Portugal.' In the October number the department appears for the third time; it fills more than a quarter of the magazine, and seems to be carefully and conscientiously done; but the commingling of original criticism, extracts from the work criticised, and quotations from half a dozen reviews, gives it a rather "scrappy" look. It is likely to be of use chiefly to those who are willing to "cram" in this way for the sake of appearing thoroughly familiar with the criticism of the hour. Whether this class is large enough in England—a country where dining-out is a regular profession—to lend valuable support to the *Magazine* or not, we of course have no means of knowing, but in this country the venture would be precarious.

—In the year 1871 a commission was appointed to examine into the boundaries and legal relations of Epping Forest in Essex, with a view to its disafforesting; it being quite near London, the existence of forest rights is an anachronism, and no doubt is found an obstacle. This commission has recently made a preliminary report, giving the results of its enquiries thus far, but asking for an extension of time to prepare a complete report. This preliminary report is a pamphlet of seventy-one folio pages, besides a number of elaborate maps. Forest law and forest rights still form a difficult portion of the history of legal rights, and this report, especially as illustrated by the maps, will be found of great service in the study of them. The right of common within the forest, as disputed between the lords of manors and the commoners, forms the most important subject of controversy, and although its full discussion is reserved for the final report, we have here an instructive summary of the arguments on both sides. The maps are peculiarly interesting, as showing the territorial relations of parishes and manors, and give—at least to an American—a more distinct notion of their divisions than it is generally easy to get. We will observe that most of the pages are made up of a list of the different parcels of enclosed waste, with their owners or lessees.

—The readers of the fourth volume of Max Müller's 'Chips' will remember that he gives, in an appendix to the article "On the Migration of Fables," an interesting account of the manner in which the Syriac version of the Panchatantra was lately discovered. This version has recently been published under the title: 'Kalilag und Damnag. Alte syrische Uebersetzung des Indischen Fürstenspiegels' (Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1876.) It will be remembered that the Indian original of this famous collection of fables has been irrevocably lost, its place having been usurped by a later Sanskrit version, the Panchatantra. Before the former had been forgotten it had been translated into Pehlevi (531–579 A.D.), which translation the Arabic version of Almokaffa (d. 760) made familiar to Western Asia and Europe. There was known to be in existence a very old Syriac translation which was supposed to be made directly from the Indian original, and Müller thought that the work before us would, on examination, confirm this supposition. It does not, however, but turns out to be merely a translation from the same Pehlevi version used by Almokaffa for his work, which it exceeds in accuracy and critical worth. Benfey, in his introduction to the present translation, warmly says of it that "it is the oldest specimen preserved to our days of a work which, as translated into various languages, has been more widely disseminated and has had a greater influence on the development of civilization than any other work except the Bible."

—From Albert Lévy, 77 University Place, we have received the first number of what promises to be a curious book—M. Charles Garnier's monograph of his own work, the new Grand-Opera House at Paris. This gentleman had previously published a treatise of considerable interest upon the disposition, arrangement, and machinery of modern theatrical buildings. The present work may be expected to renew the consideration of these mat-

ters, apropos of the most costly and magnificent theatre, and, by general consent, the best-planned and most perfectly appointed one that exists. The first number of the text may be only prefatory; the rest of the two large octavo volumes of letter-press may be very different; but what we have before us is a curiosity of literature. The author avows his intention to criticise his own building freely, to blame it and to praise it as if it were not his own. Without any apparent reason for the order adopted, he devotes the first chapter to the façade, which he defends warmly and admires heartily, and finds fault with in a few details; the second chapter to the gilding of the interior, which he shows to be less in quantity and cost than had been alleged; the third to the *Foyer de la Danse*, and so on. Those persons who think the building pretentious and unsuccessful as an architectural monument, however admirably contrived for a lyric theatre, will think that the author has too lofty an idea of his own work and its importance to the world. But that is natural, and no one will go to this book for colorless criticism. If all the descriptions of the plates are to be filled with such frank comments of the artist upon his productions, it may be that this very odd style of discussion will call attention to the lessons to be learned as no other manner of writing would. But it is to be hoped that this will confine itself in a measure to practical details. Argumentation over the architectural character of the building cannot aid the student much. It is *le théâtre* and not *le monument* which will interest him. We do not speak of the paintings and statuary of independent character; with these this book can hardly deal, because its illustrations do not include representations of them. Moreover, in criticising work so independent of architectural limitations as the paintings of Baudry or the sculpture of Carpeaux, M. Garnier would be merely a critic like another, and no longer the special expounder of his own composition. Four albums of photographs are announced as for separate sale, and these are naturally devoted to decorative details of all kinds, such as the architectural engraver can hardly cope with. The plates of the work proper are to be one hundred in number, of large size, and it appears that the general plans and sections will occupy double plates, so that these, the most important parts of the work, will be on a scale sufficiently large to be intelligible.

—The British Arctic Expedition, which left England in May, 1875, under the command of Captains Nares and Stephenson, has returned after an unsuccessful attempt to reach the Pole. The expedition encountered ice off Cape Sabine on July 30, and from this point to the north end of Robeson Channel they were constantly struggling with the ice, which was so closely packed that the channel by which the ships advanced very soon closed behind them. The *Discovery* wintered in a well-sheltered harbor on the north shore of Lady Franklin Bay, in latitude 81 deg. 44 min. N. The *Alert*, pushing onward, rounded the northeast point of Grant Land, but instead of finding a continuous coast-line extending 100 miles northward, as had been expected, Captain Nares found that he was on the border of an extensive sea, with impenetrable ice on every side. No harbor being obtainable, the ship was secured for the winter as far north as possible, in latitude 82 deg 27 min. N., inside a sheltering barrier of grounded ice. In lieu of finding an "open Polar Sea teeming with life," the ice was of unusual age and thickness, resembling, both in appearance and formation, low floating icebergs rather than ordinary salt-water ice. It has now been termed the "Sea of Ancient Ice"—the Palæocrystic or Palæcruic Sea—and a stranded mass of ice broken away from a floe has been termed a floeberg. Further advance being impossible, all the energies of officers and men were directed to sledge work. Sledge parties were sent out to the north, east, and west. A party, headed by Commander Markham and Lieutenant Parr, made a gallant attempt to push northward. They were absent from the ship 72 days, and on the 12th of May planted the British flag in latitude 83 deg. 20 min. 26 sec. N., within 400 miles of the Pole. From this position there was no appearance of land to the northward, but the depth of the water was found to be only 70 fathoms. The result of their labor is thought to prove the impracticability of travelling over the Polar Sea to any great distance from land, and also that Baron von Wrangell was correct in his opinion, that before the North Pole can be reached it is necessary to discover a continuous coast-line leading towards it. The coast-line to the westward of the *Alert* was traced to a distance of 220 miles by a party under the command of Lieutenant Aldrich. The extreme point reached was in latitude 82 deg. 10 min. N., longitude 86 deg. 30 min. W., the coast-line being continuous from the *Alert's* winter quarters. The most northern land, Cape Columbia, is in latitude 83 deg. 7 min. N., longitude 70 deg. 30 min. W. The coast of Greenland was explored by parties from the *Discovery* under Lieutenants Beaumont and Rawson to a position in latitude 82 deg. 18 min. N., longitude 50 deg. 40 min. W., 70 miles northeast of Repulse Harbor. The land extended further (latitude 82° 54′ N., longitude 48° 33′ W.), but very misty weather prevented accurate observations. Lady Franklin Bay was explored and found to terminate at a distance of 65 miles from its mouth, with lofty mountains and glacier-filled valleys to the westward. Petermann Fiord was found to be blocked up with a low glacier. Smith Sound has now been explored from north to south, with the exception of Hayes Sound. President's Land has been found to have no existence, though Lieutenant Aldrich from a mountain 2,000 feet high sighted land towards the northwest extending to latitude 83 deg. 7 min. N. Although the two ships were but 70 miles apart, no communication was established till last March. Owing to the high latitude the winter was unusually long and dark, the sun having been absent 142 days, and the cold was more intense than that experienced by any previous expedition. Captain Stephenson hoisted an American ensign at Polaris Bay, and placed a brass tablet on Hall's grave.

—The scientific information derived from this expedition is most valuable. Ancient Eskimo remains were traced as far as lat. 81 deg. 52 min. N., from which point they had probably crossed into Greenland. Six musk oxen were shot at the *Alert's* winter quarters, and fifty-four were shot near Discovery Bay. Ermine and owls were seen opposite the *Discovery* on the Greenland coast. The *Alert's* game list shows that seven hares and ninety birds of different kinds were shot. The birds certainly do not migrate beyond lat. 82 deg. 50 min. N. Very few seals were seen north of Cape Union, and no bears, dovekies, or loons ever reach the Polar Sea. Amongst the flora were the saxifrage, sorrel, and dwarf oak, and late in summer a few poppies were found. A seam of coal of good quality was found near the *Discovery's* quarters. Very large collections of natural history subjects were made. The observations on the physics and meteorology of the Arctic regions will prove of great value when published. The cairns of the *Polaris* were visited, and a box chronometer by Negus, New York, was found to be in perfect order after an exposure of four winters, and has since been keeping excellent time on board the *D covery*. But four deaths occurred during the absence of the expedition. The Austro-Hungarian expedition of 1874 reached a point in lat. 83 deg. N.

—A considerable number of Tennyson's poems have recently been translated into Italian by Carlo Faccioli under the title: 'Enoc Arden, Idilli, Liriche, Miti e Leggende di Alfredo Tennyson' (Verona, 1876). The translation does not seem to be very successful, and is sharply attacked by an English writer in the September number of the *Rivista Europea*, who accuses Faccioli of an imperfect acquaintance with English, and a tendency to amplification and rhetoric, at times very amusing. For instance, the lines in the 'Brook':

> "Poor lad, he died at Florence, quite worn out,
> Travelling to Naples,'

are rendered:

> "Infelice garzon, pallido, emunto,
> E dal malor lento inclinato al suolo,
> Nella città dell' Alighier moria,
> Mentre accigneasi con febbrile ardore
> Al viaggio di Napoli."

In a passage from 'Enoch Arden' the hero is made to quote a line from Dante, which, in the place where it is introduced, is the height of absurdity. The lines in the original are:

> . . . "but when he turned
> The current of his talk to graver things,
> In sailor fashion roughly sermonizing
> On providence and trust in Heaven"; . . .

in Italian:

> "Enoc la prorompente onda sospinse
> Del suo discorso a ben più gravi cose,
> E alla foggia degli aspri marinari
> Sermoneggiò della Bontà infinita,
> *Che prende ciò che si rivolge a Lei.*"

The translator has also taken the most unwarrantable liberties with the form of the original, and has actually translated the 'Lady of Shalott' into Italian blank-verse!

—In the *Nation* of April 22, 1875 (No. 512), we gave an account from the German periodical *Im Neuen Reich*, of the pretended appearances of the Virgin in Alsace-Lorraine. In a recent number (41) of the above-mentioned periodical, A. Schricker supplements his former account by an incident which took place about the same time as the other events therein described, and which illustrates very well one phase of the excitement—that in which deliberate fraud took the place of honest self-delusion. A girl thirteen years old, named Johanna H., professed to have seen the Virgin for which she was sharply reproved by her pastor, one of the few priests in the district who attempted to overcome the delusion. It became necessary to convince him that there was some truth in it; Johanna therefore declared that while she was at early Mass the Virgin appeared to her and handed her a book, which she was to give to the pastor. The book con-

tained some pictures of the Virgin, and three letters from a certain Nicholas Höllinger, who had died a few years before in America. He asked to have Mass said for the repose of his soul, and directed his child to be baptized at Marienthal. He also confirmed the truth of Johanna's assertions that she had frequently seen the Virgin, which confirmation was still further strengthened by the Virgin's autograph at the end of two of the letters: "Ich bin die Mutter der Barmherzigkeit; Ich bin die Mutter der Gnaden." The pastor made Johanna copy a few lines from the book, and, as the writing was exactly the same, he accused her of writing it herself. She at first denied it, but afterwards, when the matter was judicially investigated, confessed that she had invented the whole thing and carried it out with her parents' aid. Her object, she said, was to bring her family into consideration.

THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE.*

MR. GRIFFIS has given us a panoramic view of Japanese history, bringing into prominence many of the most important periods. He accompanies this with a running commentary, which is enlivened by the fact that it is the language of one who, living among the people, has attempted to unravel the causes of recent events in the light of the past. A great part of the first or historical portion of the book has the charm of historical romance. No doubt many threads of romantic fiction are woven into the rich fabric of the mediæval as well as of the earliest chronicles of the Japanese; but in the most important portion, the past ten or twelve centuries, these threads affect only the coloring, while for the mythological period many of the fictions have come to be corner-stones of the social, religious, and political structure, and, as such, are real factors, for the mythology is the early history of the ruling family. Japan must be a rich mine for the student of history as a general science, for the important reason that it has attained a high plane after passing through more than twenty centuries of indigenous development from a low plane. The introduction of Buddhism, Chinese philosophy, and some Chinese and Corean industries form almost the only foreign elements in the problem. Here is a land which has been practically wholly insulated; a dynastic government, not merely originating in divine right, but being itself divine. This heavenly prerogative, vested for twenty-five centuries in one family, beginning its rule over a people in whom the elements for class distinction existed, and with a hostile race to overcome, has resulted in a social, political, and religious system possessing the most marked individuality, which is its logical outgrowth. The great range in latitude, and consequent variety of climate, and the topographical subdivision into mountain-girdled provinces, caused a differentiation in the natural and industrial products and in the traits of the people. These same causes aided the growth of the clan system, which, under the stimulus of frequent wars against the aborigines and of civil feuds, resulted in a feudalism such as the world has not seen before. Feudalism is necessarily based on loyalty to the liege, but never was the idea of loyalty carried to such extremes as among the Samurai of Dai Nippon, who made it the one paramount virtue. The really grand native drama, 'Chiushingura,' of which a good translation was lately issued by a New York house, gives an unexaggerated picture of the Japanese ideal in this respect.

Surely, in this self-developed growth we have a history almost free from the influence of extraneous forces, and one in which the problem is reduced to its simplest form. But it is rendered even more important for the student of the laws of history by the fact that this type of the past was brought suddenly face to face with the civilization of the nineteenth century, and underwent an almost bloodless revolution. If history is a science, it is as dependent upon the most careful study of all that relates to society, in its earlier and in its lower forms, in its relation to time and to nature, as anatomy is on palæontology, or philology on the dead languages. And it does not seem too much to say that in future those who aspire to a knowledge of the laws which have moulded nations, the forces whose resultants constitute the history of mankind, must, like the naturalist, pass less of their time in the library, and much of it in studying the fast-fading societies amidst the surroundings in which they have been nurtured. The historian should not leave this to the ethnologist. Among these forms of society none can be more important than those which in Eastern Asia have gone through long periods of independent development, culminating in dissimilar complex forms, and now representing different stages of progress or of decay. The importance of this is felt by Mr. Griffis, in so far as the special history of Japan is concerned, and the reader can be as thankful as he expresses himself to be that he has "felt the pulse and the heart of New Japan," after seeing the last days of the old order of things.

In a chapter on the recent revolutions in Japan the author explains that most remarkable political proceeding—the sudden and almost bloodless abolition of feudalism. In the previous chapters he traces the government through the great phases of its growth. The first of these was that in which the Mikado was the immediate ruler and warrior-chief; then followed a period during which the functions of government came to be divided as hereditary prerogatives between a few great families of the imperial blood, one assuming the civil offices, another the military. This division became traditional, and after the fierce wars between the rival families of Taira and Minamoto, resulting in the extinction of the former, the office of Sei-i-tai Shogun, or generalissimo, became hereditary in the Minamoto. Lastly, this separation of the camp and the court was the starting point of a process of differentiation in the development of the government which resulted, on the one hand, in the seclusion of the Mikado as a sacred being, controlled by ministers in the interest of the Shogun, and, on the other hand, in the remarkable system of feudalism and the Shogunate, which lasted till 1871 and 1868 respectively.

Mr. Griffis shows that the revolution which changed all this was sudden only in its appearance to us; that it was the necessary result of internal forces which had been at work within the empire in part during the present century and in part since the beginning of the last century. These aimed at the reduction of the Shogun to his proper position as a vassal, and the restoration of the Mikado to real supremacy; the abolition of feudalism and Buddhism, and the return to the ancient imperial régime, with a restored pure *Shinto* as the national faith and the engine of government. Our author thinks that these causes would undoubtedly have resulted in the attainment of the more important ends aimed at even without the complication produced by the recent arrival of foreigners. The influence of the West upon the crisis was of three kinds: first, through the use of the technical literature the disaffected daimios like Satzuma were enabled to provide themselves with Western instruments and methods of war, etc.; secondly, the unwelcome arrival of foreigners and the signing of the treaties by the Shogun merely precipitated the revolution, one of the aims of which had come to be the expulsion of the hated foreigner; thirdly, the revolution brought to the front and was guided by the best thinkers of Japan, many of whom had been educated in Europe and America, and nearly all of whom saw the necessity of bringing their country into accord with the civilization of the West. While these men flooded the country with original treatises and translations on questions of political economy, religion, etc., those of them who had become ministers brought the Mikado into accord with their ideas, and the sovereign, abandoning for ever his seclusion of centuries, came forward and promised a government based on a deliberative assembly and upon public opinion. The next step was the abolition of feudalism. Four great daimios—Satzuma, Choshin, Tosa, and Hizen—offered to restore their fiefs to the Mikado; the lesser daimios were powerless to resist such a movement, for, besides these greater princes, the ministers were determined to use the whole power of the state to destroy a system which prevented all real progress. An edict called the daimios to Tokio to retire to private life, and feudalism was a thing of the past.

From a chapter entitled "New Japan" we learn much of the condition of the country since the revolution. The scenes it presents to us are indeed startling contrasts to the past: railways and telegraphs; the Mikado in European costume receiving an address (and replying to it) from native merchants who stand in his presence; the Government arresting a Peruvian ship loaded with Chinese coolies, and returning to their native country the victims of this worst form of slave-trade; the elevation to citizenship of the *eta*, or social outcasts; the establishment of legations and consulships abroad; a thoroughly-organized postal system; a successfully executed expedition to destroy piracy on the distant coast of Formosa—does any one say that these are all acts proceeding from the Government rather than from the people, and that, as such, they are not a proper measure of real progress? Mr. Griffis, in answer, tells us of the press, which has "passed from the realm of experiment into that of an estate." At the time of his writing, "ten daily papers in the capital and two hundred periodicals in the Empire were flooding the country with information and awakening thought." The mail carried 2,629,648 newspapers in 1874, against 514,610 in 1873. All this in a country which was opened to foreigners only seventeen years ago, and in which the dominating political aim only eight years ago was the expulsion of foreigners and a return to the ancient order of things.

We can hardly consider the revolution a thing wholly accomplished, for the old order of things has left as a legacy a Pandora's box of evils and of knotty problems, which are likely to test severely both the stability of the

*'The Mikado's Empire. By W. E. Griffis.' New York: Harper & Bros. 1876.

new government and the statesmanship of its ministers. A recent copy of the Japan *Mail* gives the edict capitalizing the incomes of the nobles and gentry, a stroke by which the Government rids itself of the burden of pensions to the nobility by giving them, in bonds, amounts equal to from five to seven years' income—in the smaller pensions, to fourteen years. This movement, in itself wise, is pregnant with future trouble, for it will leave an immense number of hereditary retainers with means too limited for their subsistence. They are of a generation born and nurtured under the feudal system, and that too during stirring times; and, sharing in the inherited prejudice against labor, they are not likely to make a quiet element of population. But the Government has less to fear in this direction than from the ultra-progressive men, that restless class of the present, the world over, whose incessant attacks on existing institutions are the more effective because, moving with the stream of real progress, they add its momentum to their own. Large numbers of Japanese youths have for years been scattered through the schools and universities of Europe and America; they have been notedly among the ablest of the students, and have shown a zeal in study that has brought many of them to the grave. Many have returned to Japan enthusiastic admirers of one or another theory of Western government, religion, and society, to say nothing of those who have imbibed an admiration for Utopian ideas. The revolution and the rapidly-growing native periodical press bring all these zealots into mental action. The articles in the native newspapers are, at times, such as to cause one to shiver. One, for instance, advocates assassination of corrupt officials, placing this method above the right of rebellion as a corrective for bad government. But all this shows that the nation has the sap of youth and a strong vitality. The same causes that produce ultra-progressionists also give to the nation real statesmen. We may confidently expect great things from our nearest, though distant, Western neighbor. How little Western governments have done to aid this struggling people is shown very clearly by the inhuman bombardment of Kagosima, of the despicable part played by our own and other ministers in the Simonoseki affair, and the delay of our Congress over the proposition to return to Japan the money then wrung from her with no more reason than can be given by a bandit. While Mr. Griffis contributes his strong condemnation of these governmental sins, he goes behind them to bring to light their true causes, which are rooted in the selfishness and brutality almost habitually shown by part of an influential class of foreigners towards both the Japanese and Chinese. It seems high time that a change should be made in regard to the ex-territoriality clause. As it now stands there is little chance of a native getting justice as against a foreign brute.

The historical portion of the book contains a short but very interesting chapter on the various sects of Buddhism in Japan. Another, on Christianity and foreigners, treats of the introduction of Christianity from 1542 to 1637. We know what a foothold this religion took among that impressionable people. "The annals of the primitive church furnish no instances of sacrifice or heroic constancy, in the Coliseum or the Roman arena, that were not paralleled on the dry river-beds and execution-grounds of Japan." And yet, as Mr. Griffis and all other writers state, that century of Christianity and foreign intercourse has left almost no other apparent record of itself than the habit of smoking, sponge-cake, and certain new and strange diseases—among them the venereal scourge. It left also a name, the mention of which "would bate the breath, and blanch the cheek, and smite with fear": "that name was Christ." Thus do the gods of one faith become the demons of another.

The second part of the book, somewhat carelessly put together, is composed partly of the author's personal narrative, and largely of chapters on various topics of interest connected with the life, games, and folk-lore of the people. A chapter on the position of woman is full of interest; in it, and in other parts of the book, the author concedes to the maiden and matron of Japan a very important position from early times till now. Aside from his tributes to her moral and social worth, he shows that she has been the preserver of, and an important contributor to, the pure Japanese literature. The whole book bears evidences of being the work of an intelligent and thoughtful observer, who was determined to be impartial; and it is undoubtedly the most important contribution that has appeared with regard to Japan. Since we have done but slight justice to its real value, we shall dwell lightly on the less important defects. Prominent among these is the personal attitude assumed by the author in the preface, and the inexcusable reproduction of woodcuts from Alcock and others when there are such abundant native sources to draw from. It is a slight compensation for this injustice to the buyer of an expensive book that the author has given some new information concerning these illustrations. But the few faults are thrown into the shade by the real excellence of the book as a whole.

PORTUGAL.*

WE believe that there is one country of Europe that has not yet been overrun by the hordes of Cook's tourists, and that is Portugal. It is too much on one side of the beaten track, and has not the wealth of cheap attractions which invite the incursions of that modern Attila and his tribes. We should think that this circumstance would recommend that beautiful land to the sated appetite of travellers who have exhausted worlds and would be glad to imagine new if they could. We have always had a kind of personal interest in Portugal ever since we first visited Lisbon with Henry Fielding, in 1754—the year before the great earthquake. His 'Voyage to Lisbon' was well named, for he only saw enough of the place to pronounce it "the nastiest city in the world," when he had to break off his delightful book in the middle of a sentence and with a fitting quotation from Horace:

"—— hic finis chartæque viæque."

"Vitæque," he might have added. The whole book, up to the last half-dozen pages, consists of his very commonplace adventures in England before his ship could get to sea and on his voyage. And yet the magic of his genius throws the same charm over it all that it does over Sophia Western's flight to London and Tom Jones's wanderings with the sapient Partridge. Dropsy and asthma could not quench his sweet spirit or his genius, but they soon ended his life, and left him to rest in unconsecrated soil in a foreign land. His journeying and his voyaging give one a lively notion of the discomforts of travel in the middle of the last century. He indeed traces "the humor of travelling" back to our first parents, who "were scarce settled in Paradise before they disliked their own home, and became passengers to another place"—whence he infers that this "humor is as old as the human race, and was their curse from the beginning." Perhaps he might have gone even a step further back, and, as Dr. Johnson said "the Devil was the first Whig," claimed him as the first traveller.

The next time we visited Portugal—in an elbow-chair, of course, by the fireside, a mode that can be recommended as securing the traveller from sea-sickness, bad inns, overcharges, dirt, fleas, and fatigue—was more than thirty years later, in company with Beckford—"Vathek, England's wealthiest son." He was a man of genius as well as Fielding, though of a different and infinitely inferior vein from "the prose Homer of human nature." Still, he was a charming companion, and did the honors of Batalha, and Mafra, and Alcobaça in a manner which left nothing to be desired excepting to have more of his company. A little more than twenty years later, our noble friend Lord Byron took us with him in his brief but immortal trip through Portugal. His lordship was not complimentary to the inhabitants or to their capital, but he made amends in his glorious description of the scenery. We suppose we must admit, since great critics have settled it so (which so astonished Colonel Newcome), that "Byron is no poet." The common people, indeed, have shown symptoms of rebellion against this high decree, and it is not unlikely that they will set it aside, if they have not done so already, in their absolute power as the court of ultimate appeal, and give him rank next to Milton as the third person in the trinity of English poets. But, admitting that he is no poet, nobody can deny that he is a matchless writer of guide-books. One could better dispense with Murray when travelling in Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, or Italy than with 'Childe Harold.' Finally, only two or three years ago we had the charming society of Lady Jackson in our last visit to "Fair Lusitania," the particulars of which are well told in her sumptuously printed and illustrated volume of that name. Her ladyship is the widow of the veteran diplomatist, Sir George Jackson, and so sister-in-law to Copenhagen Jackson, of whom Madison made one of the rocks of offence over which he stumbled into the war of 1812 with England.

Portugal is a worthy little kingdom, with a better record than many bigger and more boastful communities. Her past is romantic, and her present most creditable. Three centuries ago or so she was the mistress of the seas, and might be compared, in extent of colonial possessions and naval power, with England now—the size of the world at that time being considered—and much superior to her then. She led the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, and began the ruin of Venice as a commercial and political power. The Pope in the handsomest manner divided the globe between Spain and Portugal, bestowing the Eastern hemisphere on the first-named nation and the Western on the last. The only defect in

* 'Notes on Portugal. By E. A. G.' Philadelphia: Catholic Publishing Company. 1876.

the title was the same which would have vitiated the offer by another potentate of all the kingdoms of the world, on another occasion, had it been accepted—to wit, that they did not belong to him, and so were not his to give. Perhaps it was owing to this defect that the colonial glory of Portugal did not last very long, most of her possessions beyond sea slipping away from her, excepting Brazil, which she kept till about fifty years ago, and to which she is still bound by ties of a common descent and a common reigning race of the excellent Braganza blood. The catastrophe of the defeat and rout suffered on the African plain of Alcazar, in 1578, by Don Sebastian had much of the romantic element in it, from the desperate nature of the crusade which it ended and through the mysterious disappearance of the king. Pretenders were not wanting to supply his place, and he still lives in the legends of the peasantry, who, it is said, expect that he will yet appear and restore the greatness of his realm. The absorption of Portugal in, or rather its mechanical application to, Spain, by Philip II., and the revolution of 1640, which severed it, and raised the Dukes of Braganza to the throne; the rise and administration of Pombal, and the story of its fortunes down to the final recognition of Maria da Gloria, reads more like a romance than the histories of bigger countries often do. The little kingdom, however, has not been much behind her bigger neighbors in her capacity for running in debt and intrepidity in defying her creditors; though, in justice, it should be said that her record in this particular is much better than that of Spain, and the prospect of her return to financial virtue much more promising than any her blustering neighbor can hold out.

The language of Portugal, being the speech of so small a European population, has been passed by on the other side too much, as of little general interest and of no great value to the student of literature. It has, however, a musical, flexible, and abundant vocabulary, more largely derived from the Latin than most of the Southern tongues. Indeed, it deserves Byron's epithet of "that soft bastard Latin" more than the Italian, and Camoens was not far out in saying three hundred years ago that, barring some corruptions, it might pass for Latin:

"Com pouca corrupção crê que he a Latina."

Though this is a little too strong, any one knowing Latin would find little difficulty in mastering Portuguese, and would be well repaid by making the acquaintance of Camoens. To the outside world, even of average literature, Portugal is a land of one poet. The "Lusiad" is the only poem of cosmopolitan fame, though there are not wanting Portuguese poets of local reputation. It is a work of great and various merit, and not unworthy of a place beside the other modern heroic poems. It was almost strictly contemporaneous with Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," and is to our taste much more entertaining reading. If the "Jerusalem" may be compared—*sed longo intervallo*—to the "Iliad," the "Lusiad" may be likened to the "Odyssey" for the liveliness of the descriptions, the spirit of the narrative, and the variety of the adventures. Its machinery, in which the gods of Olympus work side by side with the Christian hierarchy and in a truly Catholic spirit, it must be allowed, slightly savors of the comic. Venus is the patroness of Vasco da Gama, as she was of Æneas, while Bacchus resents and resists his intrusion upon his own ancient conquest of India. Mercury runs errands as of old, and Jupiter sits umpire in the quarrels of his children, and they all work together for the spread of Christianity and the glory of the Catholic Church. But for all this it is a fine poem and easy reading, which all fine poems are not, and if Portugal be indeed a country of one great work, it is great enough to make a moderate literature in itself.

As to the little volume which has served as a text to this discourse, it is modest in its pretensions and does not fall short of what it pretends to do. It contains a slight sketch of the history of Portugal, and a brief account of its present condition politically, industrially, financially, and socially. Portugal has an excellent constitutional government. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by all men having an income of about one hundred dollars, and the deputy must have an income of about five hundred. The Chamber of Peers is an hereditary body in part, but with the incident of peerages for life; but no one can take his seat by inheritance who has not an income of about $2,500 and an academical degree. Excellent conditions all. All forms of religious faith are protected, though of course Catholicism is the state religion. This little manual will afford any one desirous of knowing something of Portugal the means of doing so, and will perhaps excite a wish to know something more. The errors of the press are something amazing. We have seen nothing like it since the epic poem, in twenty-four books, called the "Fredoniad," by Dr. Emmons, now unhappily out of print, which had two or three closely-printed pages of *errata*, the only one of which that we remember was: "Book xiv., line 853, for *blood* read *milk*." We marvel that any printer could consent to allow such a specimen of his work as this to go out to the public.

Children's Holiday Books.—'Amongst Machines' (G. P. Putnam's Sons) is a rather advanced second course to the same author's 'Young Mechanic.' It presupposes readers of an age capable of translating Latin verse, and with such an experience of machinery as to warrant the introduction of the complex steam-hammer in the second chapter. There is no orderly progress from the simplest forms, and the illustrations are too few to make every step assured. In short, the work only makes felt the need of a better. Nevertheless, since it has something to say about iron-smelting, wire-drawing, pen and pin and hair-pin making, wood-working and paper-making and printing machines, glass-making and other processes, it can hardly fail altogether to arouse interest or to impart profitable instruction.

Mr. Bayard Taylor, in his 'Boys of Other Countries' (Putnams), contrives to tell a good deal about Sweden, Iceland, and Egypt, and something about Russia and Germany, in five tales having boy heroes. "The Young Serf" and "Jon of Iceland" are imaginative types, but Jon at least seems a quite real character, and any child who reads about him will find him a very honest and inspiring acquaintance. The other boys are heroes each of a single incident in Mr. Taylor's experience as a traveller in many lands, and, with nothing of the novelette about them, serve a useful purpose as actual examples of courage and address and cheerful industry. The book is in every way wholesome and attractive.

We cannot praise very highly Mrs. Monroe's 'Story of Our Country' (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.), which is narrated with the help or hindrance of two children, aged twelve and ten years respectively. This makes moralizing easy, and shows the youthful reader exactly how he ought to feel at every stage of the discourse, since "Will" or "Lizzie" is always ready with the proper reflections. Mrs. Monroe begins with Columbus, and takes so very genial a view of him that the effort now making to get him canonized seems tardy enough. No villain, indeed, is allowed upon the scene from beginning to end (the end is Washington's first Presidency) until we come to Benedict Arnold, who has one of the twenty-eight chapters all to himself. Mrs. Monroe is not abreast of the historical discussions of the past few years, and retains alike the myth of Pocahontas's rescue of Smith and the little hatchet of the Father of his Country. Oglethorpe is of such small importance in her eyes that the colonization of Georgia is dismissed with the remark that "there is nothing very interesting to tell about it." The illustrations are of the worthless kind, and altogether we can see no reason for this work's supplanting Mr. Higginson's even with youngsters of ten and twelve.

Very handsome, with its broad page, and large type, and plentiful illustrations, is 'Janet et ses Amis' (D. Appleton & Co.), a medley of nursery talk, rhymes, and fables for the little beginner in French reading. The story of the Three Bears and that of Little Red Riding-hood are here related among others, the latter with the merciful ending (denied our English version), by which the little girl and her grandmother are rescued alive from the wolf's belly. The drawings are the work of amateurs, but show skill, a refined taste, and a fair amount of originality, and any child will take delight in them.

Friedrich Froebel. A biographical sketch, by Matilda H. Kriege. With a portrait. (New York: E. Steiger.)—Froebel, as everybody knows, was the originator of Kindergartens. The most striking feature of his life was that he and his friends became possessed with so much enthusiasm for developing their experiments that they allowed themselves to lapse pecuniarily into a sort of communism, at least to the extent of living together or interchangeably, or of leaving their affairs and schools to one another's care for indefinite periods, without any mutual accounts being recorded; and this, too, for such a length of time as proves that their remarkable confidence was justified by faithfulness to the trust. This faithfulness is certainly a strong argument for the genuine value of the reform for which they labored, and toward which they have contributed data which future educators will adjust to existing conditions.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices*
New Encyclopædia of Chemistry, Parts X.-XV., awd.	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.) $0 50
Observations on the Civilization of the Western Barbarians	(Lee & Shepard) 1 75
Phillpotts (J. S.), Homer's Iliad, Book VI	(Rivingtons)
and (Mme.), Impressions and Reminiscences	(W. F. Gill & Co.) 1 50
Savage (M. J.), The Religion of Evolution	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 00
Light on the Cloud	" " 1 25
Selections from the Imitation of Christ	(Roberts Bros.) 50
Selections from the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus	" 50
Stevenson (Dr. R.), The Southern Side of Andersonville Prison	(Turnbull Bros.)
Stubbs (Prof. W.), The Early Plantagenets	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Weiss (Rev. J.), Wit, Humor, and Shakspere	(Roberts Bros.) 2 00
Westlake (Prof. J. W.), Common-School Literature	(Sower, Potts & Co.) 60

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1876.

The Week.

BY the time our next issue reaches our readers the Electoral College will have met and voted, and the evident design of the Louisiana Returning Board is to reserve its decision to the latest possible moment. It is, therefore, not too soon to ask Mr. Hayes, with the utmost respect, some questions which we make bold to say are to-day running in the minds of hundreds of thousands of upright, patriotic, and anxious men of all parties. They are these: You are an honest man, in whose life not even the fierce light of a Presidential campaign has revealed a speck of reproach. From a tribunal, therefore, like the Louisiana Returning Board, composed exclusively of your friends and partisans, whose judicial integrity and capacity have been already successfully impeached; which refuses to obey the direction of the law and give the opposite party even one place on its bench; which deliberates in secret, and gives no reasons for its decisions; which sees glaring frauds exposed in its presence without manifesting either surprise or displeasure, and which notoriously enjoys not one iota of confidence in any part of the Union—from such a tribunal you would not accept the award even of one hundred dollars against the claim of the humblest man in America, would you? We know you would not. Are you now prepared to accept at its hands an office which equals any crown in dignity and surpasses most crowns in power and responsibility, which no man has hitherto held with a stain or suspicion resting on his title? Can you encounter the terrible ordeal of holding such a position for four years in the face of the belief of full half the voters that you have obtained it through judicial fraud and chicane? Would not your so holding it be a new and great misfortune to the country, and a source of unending shame and repentance to yourself? Should you allow eager and unscrupulous politicians to override your own nobler judgment and thrust it upon you? Finally, do you suppose that in an office so won, and needing so much popular respect, if not popular support, to give it either dignity or authority, you could exert any appreciable influence in behalf of any of the causes which you and all good men have at heart?

It cannot be said that the political prospect has brightened during the week. Indeed, the confidence of the public in a satisfactory result of the count in the three States evidently diminishes day by day, and by satisfactory result we mean not the return of one candidate or the other within the forms of law, but the return of either in a manner above cavil or suspicion. Criticism, too, has necessarily to be confined to the Republicans, and, if unfavorable, to fall on the Republicans. The count is almost wholly in Republican hands, and it is Republican doings that the country is watching. The only charge against the Democrats since the election is that of having been guilty of fraud or violence in remote districts, but these charges have not been enquired into, and apparently cannot be enquired into by any impartial tribunal, and consequently are exciting comparatively little attention. The general anxiety is heightened by the evident determination of the Republican chiefs—revealed in the language of the only thoroughgoing Republican organ of any weight, the New York *Times*—to "put the thing through," as they would say—that is, adopt the findings of the Returning Boards as final and binding, and enforce them if necessary by the use of the army, even where, as in South Carolina, the State courts have the matter under advisement, or have decided in an opposing sense. That the President, ignorant and unskilled as he is, should at such a juncture have no better advisers than Messrs. Taft and Chandler is, of course, a great misfortune. The *Herald* recommends, under these circumstances, that well-known New York device, "an uprising of bankers and merchants," in the interest of trade and commerce, but we trust nothing of the kind will be attempted. Any "uprising" in opposition to him would probably exasperate "the Old Man," and might lead to worse excesses on his part and that of the desperate political adventurers who surround him than any we now fear. The one course to follow is to seek all legal and constitutional remedies for whatever is wrong with all possible publicity. Every step in the game should be made plain as possible, and laid before the people in calm and temperate language, and unless Americans have lost the art of self-government right will be done eventually.

The facts with regard to the probable issue of the imbroglio in case Hayes is returned seem to be that the Democrats, whose position has been set out in a long and careful letter by Mr. Clarkson Potter in the *Herald*, will object in the House to the counting of the vote of Louisiana if not of South Carolina and Florida, and will claim the right to reject it on the authority of the House alone, this authority being a deduction from the right of the House to elect the President in case no election takes place in the Electoral College. The body, it is said, which elects in a certain contingency must be competent to decide when the contingency has arisen. To this the Republicans reply that, as the Twenty-second Joint Rule is no longer in existence, it belongs to the President of the Senate to count the vote and declare whether an election has taken place or not, and that the House, which has the right to be present at the counting, must wait to hear the result from him; and the Senate being Republican and its President therefore their own man, Mr. Chandler doubtless thinks that if he can only manage the Returning Boards he has nothing to fear from Congress. On this point, however, the precedents are against the Republicans. In the Michigan case in 1837, both Houses passed resolutions directing the President of the Senate to report the votes of the State in a certain manner in case neither the count nor the omission to count made any difference in the general result, and it was generally understood that, both in this and the Missouri case in 1821, Congress had asserted and did possess the power to look into "the validity, sufficiency, and actuality of the votes" from any particular State. In the Wisconsin case, in 1857, Mr. Mason, the President, after declaring Buchanan elected, added: "Not undertaking to decide and not having decided whether the vote of the State of Wisconsin had been given to John C. Fremont, a power that the Chair utterly disclaims and never asserted." The adoption of the Twenty-second Joint Rule was another assertion of the right of Congress to go behind the count, and in 1873 the vote of Louisiana was thrown out by Congress on the ground of fraud, although the State officers, returned at the same election by the same Returning Board, had been put in their places by the use of armed force by the President. So that, whatever be the right or wrong of the matter, the Republicans are estopped by their own precedents from objecting to Congressional enquiry into the validity of the vote of any State, or from asserting the right of the President of the Senate to declare the result without further question; and the only point left in uncertainty as between them and the Democrats is whether the House has any right, by itself and on its own motion, to decide whether the occasion has arisen for it to elect the President. Nevertheless, we think the country will not be satisfied if either side pushes the legal view of its rights to its last limits or fails to exhibit a rational spirit of compromise and accommodation.

Matters in South Carolina have come to a crisis rapidly. The decision of the Supreme Court last week, that it had control over the "counting" of the Board of Canvassers, seemed to make it highly probable that the canvassing would be practically done by

the Court itself; but the Board, instead of obeying the peremptory mandamus of the Court to issue certificates to the Senators and Representatives appearing to be elected on the face of the returns (which would have given the Legislature to the Democrats), suddenly "assumed judicial functions," decided the legislative contests in favor of the Republican claimants, issued certificates to them (thus giving the Legislature to their own party), also gave certificates to the Hayes electors, and adjourned *sine die*, taking the ground that the period of their statutory existence (ten days) had terminated, and that after this period they would have no legal power to exercise any functions whatever. The Supreme Court at once decided that this was a flagrant contempt of court, and one of the judges made a speech on the subject, after which the fugitive canvassers were brought up, fined $1,500 apiece, and sent to jail until they should be ready to purge themselves of their contempt. Their reply to this was to apply at once to Judge Bond of the United States Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the hearing of which he postponed, meanwhile remitting the prisoners to the custody of the United States Marshal, or, in other words, practically setting them free.

As for the "law" of all this, which quiet people all over the country would no doubt give a great deal to know, we doubt whether there is any. The Canvassing Board in South Carolina has, apparently, just the same powers as the Returning Board in Louisiana to hear and decide contested cases, and at the same time there is no pretence that there was any real investigation of a judicial character into the contests which they decided in favor of the Republicans. If they had power to decide contests, it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful whether the Supreme Court had any right to supervise their exercise of it; but, on the other hand, the pretence which the Board made of recognizing this right in the Court, followed by their "assumption of judicial functions" and virtual nullification of the orders of the Court by adjournment, constitutes a glaringly wilful case of contempt. The proceedings of Judge Bond are, we may say, peculiar. The power to punish for contempt is one of the most vital and essential rights of a court of justice. Without it no court can enforce any of its decrees. If United States courts, backed by the army and navy, made a habit of interfering with State courts in the exercise of it, State courts would in a very short space of time become mere appendages of the United States judiciary. Under these circumstances we should expect in the case of an application like that made to Judge Bond, in which the matter in dispute was primarily the election of a State Legislature, the greatest delicacy and caution in interfering with the local administration of justice. Instead of showing any qualities of this sort, however, he immediately hands the prisoners over to the United States, and postpones the hearing till some future day.

The final stage in the South Carolina imbroglio began on Sunday, when General Grant issued an order to Secretary Cameron directing him to "sustain Governor Chamberlain in his authority against domestic violence." The grounds of this order are stated by the President to be that "the Government has been called upon to aid with the military and naval forces of the United States to maintain republican government in the State against resistance too formidable to be overcome by the State authorities." This was followed by the concentration of troops at Columbia, who occupied the State-House under the superintendence of Chamberlain. On Tuesday, the day for the meeting of the Legislature and the inauguration of a new Governor, the members of the Legislature, including the contesting Democratic and Republican members from Edgefield and Laurens Counties, applied for admission, on which the sentries admitted the Republican claimants and drove the Democratic ones off. No one was allowed to enter except "on a pass from Mr. Jones, clerk of the late House, or John C. Dennis, a United States marshal." The Republicans, having in this way obtained a quorum, organized, while the Democrats withdrew in a body, and have set up another Legislature, which will, no doubt, declare Hampton elected. The only difference between these proceedings and those in Louisiana two years ago is that in the first case the troops were used to drive members claiming seats out of the State-House, while they are used now to keep them from coming in, and that there is not in this case the slightest foundation for the pretence that there is any domestic violence in the State. The people in South Carolina are displaying great moderation and self-control under circumstances which put these qualities to as severe a test as any community accustomed to free government was ever tried by.

In Florida the Democrats have had better luck. Their great fear has been that Governor Stearns would "assume judicial functions"—a natural terror, considering that in the South when a man "assumes judicial functions" and begins to "count" no one can tell where he may land the community over night. They accordingly went into the courts and applied for an injunction restraining him, an application which the Republicans opposed as being revolutionary. The Democrats also applied for an order directing the Board of Canvassers (of which the Governor is not a member) to begin the examination of the returns without further delay. The Court granted the injunction, while the Board suddenly volunteered to begin work. This Board consists of three members, and they have adopted rules which admit politicians of both sides to witness their proceedings. It was intimated in the proceedings in Court that the judge had no power to enforce his injunction, and the Governor is supposed by his enemies to be a man capable of counting in the teeth of any injunction, though he declared that he never wanted or intended to count at all. Whether interference with a State Governor whose friends think he ought to be made to count, but who says himself that he will not count, constitutes a case for troops, we do not know.

There were two good results, whoever may be elected, of the report on the day after election that Tilden had been elected, viz., the prompt exposure of the canard about the effect of a change of Administration on the public credit, and the betrayal of several Republican organs into confessions of greater or less frankness. If the belief in the Democratic success could have lasted a week longer, we have little doubt they would all have confessed, including *Harper's Weekly* and the *Post*. But the prompt order from Chandler, that they should show "grit" and maintain that Hayes had won, sealed up the fountains of repentance before most of them had time to unburden themselves. Among those who performed acts of contrition were the New York *Times*, the Boston *Advertiser*, the Baltimore *American*, and the Hartford *Courant*, all prominent papers, and as hardened sinners as any in the Republican church. The news that Tilden was elected seems to have acted on them as a glimpse of hell in a dream is said, in the 'Lives of the Saints,' to have often acted on rakes and profligates. They rose up and made public acknowledgment, in substance, that what they had been saying about the party and the leaders during the campaign was in the main untrue; that the party had not unnaturally lost the confidence of the public, that the canvass had not been properly conducted, and that a new leaf must be turned over. The New York *Times* even acknowledged that if the Federal Government had sent down decent men in its service the Republican party would have secured some foothold at the South, and that negro suffrage under carpet-bag lead was a serious evil. When we consider that these confessions mean by implication that the organs aforesaid have been for four weary months pretending not to see what they saw, or to see what they did not see, suggesting false inferences, putting bad fellows before the public in a favorable light, and honorable men in an unfavorable one, shamming beliefs they did not hold, and denying what they knew to be true, and that even *Harper's Weekly* considers this sort of work "honorable" and refusal to do it "dishonorable," one wonders where the morality of the party is kept, or whether there is any left.

Most of the movements in city politics for the past few months have had the appearance of being a series of "blinds" and "dodges" and "games," in which the public has played the part of amused spectator, and the press the less agreeable part of dupe. These have all revolved in a singular way about the person of the Comptroller, Mr. Green, and they may be said to have begun with the remarkable Green "movement" for the mayoralty, opened by the Blind Men and the Contractors, and to have ended in the sudden appearance of Mr. James S. Thayer as the Mayor's nominee for the Comptrollership at the very moment when the press of both parties was announcing that the name of Mr. John Kelly was to be sent in for the place, and were restraining themselves with a great deal of difficulty from laudation of the new financial head of the city by the recollection of sundry non-laudatory paragraphs and editorials with regard to the Boss, denouncing him as a scheming villain and public enemy, which they had from time to time inadvertently published. The contrast, by the way, between the financial condition of the city and State is striking and lamentable. The State is, according to the official statement recently published, almost out of debt, and this after having been up to the neck in it a few years ago, and having even the sinking funds robbed during the Tweed period. The way in which the State has got out of debt is extremely simple and easily imitated. It consists in not permitting to be done any of the things which the bosses and politicians regard as the usual and legitimate means of government—*i.e.*, in not permitting taxes to be voted by those who do not pay them, in not investing the public funds in vast and doubtful undertakings promising remote benefits, in not vesting the power of spending public money in numerous and rapidly-shifting bodies of obscure politicians; and, finally, in stopping rotation in the public works, and substituting for it an efficient and responsible service.

Every business interest continues to suffer from the protracted contest over the Presidential election, and in many departments of trade the dulness amounts to stagnation. Bankers and merchants who were partisans before the election have laid aside their partisanship and now only ask that the rightful decision, whatever it be, may be speedily rendered, and that the business interests of the country may not be wrecked by political tricksters. Naturally, with business depressed there has been a poor employment for money, which has not ruled much above midsummer rates in good times. In our foreign financial relations the specie movement at present attracts the most attention. So long as the rate for sixty-day sterling bills does not get above 4.82 there is a profit in importing gold, and, with the cotton crop going forward, cotton bills alone are sufficient to keep the rate from rising. Accordingly nearly every steamer arriving from Europe brings a large amount of specie; the arrivals during the week amounted to $2,900,000, and nearly $7,000,000 more have been announced as coming, of which about $5,000,000 are afloat. It is by no means certain that this gold will remain here for many months, but if the political complications in the South were out of the way this movement might be turned to some account by the Government. The gold premium has fallen much less than it should on this news, simply because of the sustaining influence on the gold market of the political troubles, which many believe threaten the stability of the Government. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between 0 9122 and $0.9214. The price of silver has advanced in London to 54¼*d.* to 54½*d.* per ounce; the gold value of the old silver dollar at the close of the week would have been 91¼ cents.

The news from Turkey is both more peaceful and more warlike. On the one side is the prospect of the meeting of the Conference and of England's coming to some agreement with Russia as to the line of action to be taken by the latter; on the other, it seems more and more probable that the latter will occupy some portion of Turkish territory until the reorganization of the Ottoman Empire has been completed. Germany has distinctly announced her position to be one of friendly neutrality and of unwillingness to interfere with Russia, and this renders it likely that Russia will enter Rumania and make her headquarters at Bucharest. From this point she will, it is rumored, push one wing into Servia, driving Abdul Kerim's Turks down on Nissa, and with the left shutting up the rest of the Turkish force in Shumla, masking or attacking Silistria, as seems most convenient—which is work enough for the 300,000 men she is said to be going to put into the field. It is quite certain that troops are being rapidly concentrated in the southern provinces, but the rest seems to be as yet only speculation. The Emperor had an interview with the English ambassador at Livadia, before leaving which he pledged "his sacred word of honor" that he had no design of conquest and no thought of Constantinople, and that his permitting volunteers to leave the army for Servia was simply with a view to give vent to the popular excitement. This declaration Lord Derby, by his request, made public, for the purpose, if possible, of allaying English distrust. The loan of $80,000,000 which the Government asked for has been all taken in Russia, and foreign subscriptions have therefore been refused.

In England there is no substantial change in the situation, but the public confidence in the Ministry has been undoubtedly strengthened by the selection of Lord Salisbury as the English representative at the Conference. Lord Salisbury is a very considerable person, unquestionably the ablest man in the Ministry, very clear-headed and without prejudices that are likely in the present case to interfere with his efficiency, and with force and self-confidence enough to make him a match for General Ignatieff. Sir Henry Elliott, who is apparently a feeble man, has given so much dissatisfaction that there is talk of his recall. In the meantime the Turks are busy trying to patch up a constitution and parliament for the whole Empire by way of allaying the storm, but this is said only to cause amusement at the Russian Embassy. Austria has made a formal announcement of her policy through Prince Auersperg in answer to interpellations in the Reichsrath, which is substantially that she seeks above all things to keep the peace; in the next place to see that the Empire suffers no damage from any occurrences taking place on the border; and within these limits is anxious to do whatever she can to ameliorate the lot of the people of Bulgaria, but not as a matter concerning any race in particular.

The elections in Italy have given the Ministry an overwhelming majority—the greatest, we believe, any Italian ministry has yet had—and have sent some of the most distinguished men of the late government into retirement. In fact, the Government forces in the Chamber will probably outnumber the Opposition three to one, which will give the Minister a power of legislation such as none of his predecessors have enjoyed, and will probably enable him to carry out all his promised reforms, including the extreme measures with regard to the Pope of which we spoke lately, one of them being the appropriation of the Vatican to the state and the total abolition of the simulacrum of temporal sovereignty which the Pope keeps up within the building. The friends of the Papacy are a little troubled just now to account for Antonelli's large fortune, which is said to amount to about $10,000,000, besides his great collection of gems and other works of art. Sir George Bowyer writes to the London *Times* that he probably inherited it from an uncle in very moderate circumstances, which makes people smile. His enemies say, campaign style, that it was the product of unmitigated bribery, while the judicious and moderate say it was made up by long-established perquisites received from persons having business with the Papal court. But, somehow, it does not look well, whatever way one takes it; and we should not be surprised to see the Cardinal figure in American stump-speeches, *vice* Sir Robert Walpole, as a corruptionist whose career may console us when we contemplate the vices of our own public men.

A DISPUTED ELECTION OR A FAILURE TO ELECT.

THE title of this article seems to express in the fewest possible words the dilemma to which the result of the last election seems likely, at the present writing, to reduce the country. It is no longer a question of Democrat or Republican, of Hayes or of Tilden, but it is the far more serious issue of a contested succession. Now, a disputed election and a failure to elect, so far as the Presidency is concerned, are widely different results. The first has ever been regarded as one of the most serious dangers to which the country could possibly be exposed; for the last the Constitution makes such ample and minute provision that twice already, when the exigency has arisen, it has been met and overcome without serious trouble. A disputed Presidential election has never yet occurred, though one seems to be now impending. Every one, therefore, is asking, "Is there no way of averting it?" We would answer that there is a way, and a very simple and constitutional way—a way into which it is now in the power of any one of a large number of citizens to direct the whole country—a way from which, when once entered upon, divergence is impossible. Supposing that the votes of what we will call the three "Returning Board" States are all given to Governor Hayes, it will yet be in the power of any single Republican elector to convert the otherwise inevitable disputed election into a failure to elect.

Within the last few weeks there has been a great deal of very contemptuous criticism of the electoral system. Yet it may still happen that the despised old machinery contains in it an element of individuality very important to present public safety. It is true that usage and political custom have rarely achieved a more decisive victory over the spirit and letter of the written law than in the functions practically allotted to those composing the Presidential electoral colleges. It seems on all hands to be conceded that they as individuals have no voice whatever in the great result—can do nothing to release the country from any dangers which may threaten it. They may even, it is assumed, find themselves made direct parties to flagrant political frauds, and yet it is not to be imagined that they will revolt at that portion of the dirty work which is assigned to them to do. For instance, for weeks now the press and the public mind have been filled with the apprehension of frauds to be perpetrated on the whole country by the wanton "counting in" of defeated electoral colleges through the corrupt action of Returning Boards in certain of the Southern States. The supposition has constantly been that the result in these cases would be so flagrantly tainted with fraud as to constitute a transparent political outrage and swindle, and yet it has never once been suggested that possibly such proceedings might exercise an influence on the action of individual electors in other States—that there might be men in America who would decline to be made, even mechanically, parties to a crime. Now, we are very far from asserting, or even at this time intimating, that any crime is in contemplation by any one, or would be tolerated if it were. We merely call attention to a fact, and a very suggestive one, connected with the present all-absorbing subject of political thought. That charges of intended fraud have been and now are daily advanced by one party and the other is indisputable; that the fraud, if attempted, could only be successfully carried out through the perfect co-operation of all the members of other and honestly chosen electoral colleges is equally indisputable; and, finally, if any one in public or in private has suggested the idea of such fraud influencing the action of other electors who must be parties to it, such suggestion has not reached our ears. On the contrary, we believe it is not too much to say that no matter how tainted by fraud the result brought about might be, no matter with what evils it might threaten the common country, yet the individual members of the electoral colleges in knowingly casting their votes in such a way as to carry out those frauds, or to invite the evils inevitably to flow from them, would in the popular estimation do only what they were expected to do, and would certainly incur no odium. If, indeed, any member of one of those colleges were under such circumstances to exercise the right of private judgment, though actuated by the loftiest and purest motives, he would probably be roundly denounced as a traitor, and compared with Arnold and Judas.

It would, of course, be mere waste of time to point out to readers of the *Nation* how utterly foreign to the intentions of those who framed the Constitution this view of the functions of a Presidential elector is. Indeed, if there was one officer under the Constitution who more than another was expected to exercise the fullest and most unrestrained right of individual judgment, that officer was the Presidential elector. As Hamilton explicitly said, he was intended to be one of "a small number of persons, selected by their fellow-citizens from the general mass" on the express ground that they were the men "most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to [an occupant of] the [Presidential] station," and would "be most likely to possess the information and discernment requisite to so complicated an investigation."

In the case of the present election, 350 of these "persons" have been regularly chosen out of a total number of 369. The South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana colleges we purposely omit, for obvious reasons, from the present discussion. The 350 electors who have been chosen include in their number not a few of the best men that America can boast; for the office of elector, though nominal only, has ever been esteemed a complimentary and honorable distinction. As citizens, then, these electors are patriotic, thinking, independent men. Individually, doubtless, their minds, like those of all others, have, during the last few weeks, been filled with sad recollections and dread forebodings. They, too, have seen the country drifting apparently like a helmless, helpless ship on the rock of a disputed Presidential election. Probably not a few of them have echoed the sentiment so often heard, that it would be of comparatively little moment how this election was decided so only that the decision might be beyond dispute. And yet we doubt whether a single one of the whole 350 has seriously and gravely entertained the idea that the responsibility of precipitating the country into a dead-lock, or of definitively releasing it from it, might devolve upon him individually. They one and all look upon themselves as machines. So firmly, also, have political usage and the common understanding reduced them to the level of machines that it would be safe to say that nineteen out of twenty of the electors chosen, sooner than not act as mere machines, would cast their votes as they were expected to, even though by so doing they inevitably plunged their country into all the horrors of another civil war.

Yet, as was intimated in the beginning of this article, in the case of the present election, the issue placed before the members of the electoral colleges is, through a curious combination of circumstances, a wholly different issue from that which they were elected to deal with. They are not, as now appears probable, to decide whether one candidate or another shall be President, but whether all the doubts and dire possibilities of a disputed election shall be precipitated on the country. This point, in case the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana are cast for Governor Hayes, every individual one of the one hundred and sixty-six properly-chosen Republican electors has got to decide for himself. He cannot evade the issue; it rests without reserve in his hands.

It is also a very simple issue, and one which at this juncture cannot be brought too forcibly home to the minds of all cool and reflecting men. It is simply this: In the late election no candidate did in fact secure a proper, legitimate, indisputable majority of the electoral vote. In three States, at least, the result was so tainted with fraud, manipulation, and chicanery that, under any ordinary circumstances, their votes would by common consent be thrown out as tending simply to vitiate the final count. It so happens, however, that upon the votes of those States the result in the electoral colleges may be made to turn. Accordingly, the electors of Massachusetts, representing in part the votes of a quarter of a million of freemen, are called upon to act in unison with the electors of Louisiana, who represent only the political proclivities of two negroes and two white men who happen to constitute a partisan and long-since discredited Returning Board. If this is not a political outrage, it

would be hard to say what is. Surely, under any circumstances except those which now exist, it would universally be resented as such. If Governor Tilden should finally be elected through the votes of any one of these States, he and his supporters can at least claim that he received those votes simply because it was impossible to withhold them from him. They were extorted from his opponents. On the other hand, the choice of Governor Hayes by the solid votes of those States could not, under the notorious circumstances of the case, but place him in the Presidential chair in a way which he and his party would find it hard to explain and harder yet to defend.

This being so—and under any circumstances except just those which now exist no human being would dispute it, no matter how the electoral votes of the disputed States may be cast—this being so, there is but one way out of the dilemma. It is necessary to look at things as they are—to call them by their right names. A failure to elect must not be treated as an election; a result tainted by fraud must be rejected as no result at all. No matter what is done or attempted to be done in Louisiana or in Florida, nothing can take it out of the power of any single member of any one of the Republican electoral colleges to cut the knot of fatal circumstances which the ugly passions of interested men are so rapidly tightening about us. A disputed election is imminent; he can convert it into a failure to elect. The first is chaos; the last is law. We do not hesitate to say—and in saying it we speak advisedly—that the elector who would in this emergency thus assert the original independency of his office might safely count on the support of a vast number of the most thinking and influential members of either party. It would by them be accounted as a blessed deliverance from a dreaded public calamity.

But now let us go a step further. Let us suppose that in certain contingencies, which now occupy the minds of all, the vote of some one Republican elector is on the 6th of the coming month cast, not for Governor Hayes and Mr. Wheeler, but, for instance, for Mr. Bristow and Governor Jewell; what would such a vote mean? It would mean simply that the colleges had once more, as has repeatedly happened before, failed to elect, and that the constitutional course provided in such contingencies must be taken. The election of a President and Vice-President would devolve upon Congress. From among the three candidates who received the highest number of electoral votes—in the case supposed, Messrs. Tilden, Hayes, and Bristow—the House of Representatives, voting by States, would elect a President. In the present case the choice would undoubtedly fall on Governor Tilden. On the other hand, the members of the Senate, voting individually, would proceed to elect as Vice-President one of the two candidates who, in the electoral colleges, received the highest number of votes for that office. The choice would lie between Messrs. Wheeler and Hendricks, and would unquestionably fall to the former. Through a constitutional process a fair compromise would have been forced on wrangling politicians and secured to an eager country.

The position of affairs is one which has not occurred before—which is not likely to occur again. Yet it may exist, and, existing, it must devolve its great responsibility. It will then be for each one of the Republican electors to decide for himself whether, in the face of great and unforeseen contingencies, he must utterly abnegate his reasoning faculties, and exist only as a political machine wholly devoid of all responsibility for the consequences of his acts. It will then be for each to decide for himself whether, under a change of conditions imperilling vast human interests, he may place the country higher in his estimation than an understanding with party. Whichever way he may decide, decide once for all he must. On each one individually it will rest to choose for him and all between a contested and a conceded election. To few men is it ever given even for an instant of time to control the apparent destinies of their country—to decide for it finally between peace and dissension. To bear such a load of responsibility even for a moment would be an event in any life—it would, however, be *the* event of life for any man thereafter to reflect that he bore it for a moment, and, during that moment, neither intelligence nor courage failing him, he did not prove unequal to the great occasion.

THE INCONVENIENCES OF A SACERDOTAL PARTY.

WE presume that at this moment there is nothing which the sober, law-abiding, and intelligent portion of the community desires so much as a body of fair-minded and impartial men whose testimony with regard to the disputes at the South could be relied on, and to whose decision in the last resort these disputes could be referred with a reasonable amount of confidence. Great interests are dependent on the mode in which the Canvassing Boards and Courts in these Southern States do their duty at this crisis, and not only do we not feel any confidence in their impartiality, but we apparently cannot procure the services of impartial witnesses to watch them. The Northern men who have gone down there seem to become violent partisans as soon as they reach the scene of action, and telegraph news of the frauds and rascalities of the concern over the way, and of the lamb-like sweetness and purity of their own friends. A correspondent in another column has called attention to the impropriety of the presence, as partisans, at the South of men like Senator Sherman and Gen. Garfield, who are now actively participating in a controversy which will probably come before them as judges next spring. Some of the Northern papers have of late shown signs of difficulty in swallowing "the good news" sent up by their own friends, but the bulk of them hold firmly to the position that the Southern population is divided into two distinctly-marked classes, one composed exclusively of God-fearing, law-abiding citizens, seeking in an humble, meek, charitable, and prayerful and strictly upright spirit, to discharge their duties to their State and the Union; the other of murderous thieves and perjurers, whose hearts are wholly filled with evil designs, and who, in whatever station of life it has pleased God to place them, endeavor to commit the largest possible amount of wickedness in every moment of their waking hours. The disputes of these singular communities will probably come before Congress in February, but Congress will by no means approach the subject in a judicial spirit, inasmuch as, roughly speaking, about one-half of each House looks on as good that portion of the South which the other considers evil, and *vice versâ*. In fact, each party considers the saints of the other as simply men of great pre-eminence in wrong-doing, and the danger is that whatever the decision of Congress may be it will be given in a passion, and rather as a blow struck at the enemies of the country than as a judgment on a mixed question of facts and law. It is the intense party spirit which exists that makes the situation perilous, and this party spirit has been intensified by what we may call the sacerdotal pretensions of the Republican party. There is no more obnoxious person, when he gets roused and finds himself armed with great powers and responsibilities, than a man profoundly impressed by the depth of his own righteousness; and it may be said also that a political organization which conceives itself to have a sacred or semi-sacred mission, and which wields the power of the state, is an almost alarming phenomenon in times of difficulty. Constitutional government can only be successfully carried on by two purely secular parties, a fact of which the French and Italians have had bitter experience, and which accounts for their intense hostility to what they call "clericalism" in politics—that is, to any claim of politicians to be guided by superhuman or extra-mundane lights, and on that account to be above the ordinary political criticism and exempt from the operation of arguments drawn from simple expediency.

No one can have watched the Republican party very closely during the last five or six years without perceiving the growth of this sacerdotal tendency—that is, a tendency to consider its sacrosanct character and celestial or semi-celestial origin a substitute for active work in laying claim to continuance in power. The demand which it made about six years ago, when discontent with

the Group first began to show itself, that if it needed reform it should not on that account be expelled from office, but should be allowed to reform at its own time and in its own way, was really a claim to ecclesiastical origin and functions, because it is only a church which is allowed to reform itself and which can be degraded by abuses without losing its right to popular respect and confidence. We believe no such demand was ever put forward before on behalf of a political organization. The effect of this view of the party on its leaders has, of course, varied with the character of the men. To some of the better and purer ones it has given a kind of ludicrous sense of being "in orders" (and therefore having a mystic right to attention and consideration without reference to the quality of their advice or force of their reasoning), and of the sinfulness of any difference from them either as to men or measures. To the ruder and coarser natures it has, on the contrary, furnished a cloak for the practice of the political art in its lowest and most degraded form, which gives an air of morality to rascalities which in the Democrats seem almost plainly damnable. For instance, there is nothing sadder than the experience every observer must some time have had of the half-sacred character that the tricks of Chandler and Blaine wear to good people all over the country, who are keenly sensitive to the smallest departure from the very loftiest standard of rectitude on the part of Tilden and Hewitt. You may submit the proof to them in black and white, and spread out the moral law in full beside the offence, and yet, though they may have no adequate reply ready, they will half confess that they have a sort of feeling that the Republican chief has had some kind of dispensation, or has some kind of spiritual insight, denied to Tilden and Hewitt, which makes his conduct blameless The feeling is not unlike that which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries raised the kings above morality.

The bearing of all this on the controversy now before the country hardly needs to be pointed out. We doubt very much whether a party which had no sense of being ordained, or felt that it was purely secular in its origin and uses, could tolerate the thoroughgoing way in which, during the crisis through which the country is now passing, the Administration has made itself the servant of one party only. The Cabinet is said to be deliberating nearly every day upon the perplexing questions raised by the struggle going on at the South over the Presidential vote. Many of these questions impose on the President very serious responsibility, not to the Republican party, but to the whole country. In fact, with regard to all that is now passing at the South, his duties are largely judicial in their nature. He has, or may have, to pass on knotty points, both of law and fact, before using the public force, and in deciding these he has to rely on the advice of the Cabinet, and particularly of the principal law-officer of the Government, the Attorney-General. Now, the head of the Republican party at this moment, the person who, apart from the Presidential candidates and their friends, is most interested in the result of the various "countings" going on at the South, is the Secretary of the Interior. He has overwhelming reasons for desiring that the action of the Republican Canvassing Boards should be sustained at every cost, and that the State officers returned by them should be recognized and supported by the President. Indeed, if there be a man in the country who should be excluded from the Cabinet deliberations on this matter, and who is unfitted to give advice about it, it is Mr. Chandler, and yet he is one of the President's chief counsellors. So, also, if there be a man in the country whose head at this moment ought to be clear of all passion and prejudice and pride of opinion it ought to be the Attorney-General. He is, in giving his "opinions"—and he appears to be giving a great many—exercising semi-judicial functions in a solemn trust confided to him in the interest of all parties. And yet he has really disqualified himself for any such functions by his recent performances on the stump. He approaches them as a combatant hot from the fray, and his seeing no impropriety in giving the President advice as to the use of "troops," or as to the recognition of the results of the action of the Returning Boards, and the calm with which the party regards it, are fresh illustrations of the blinding influence of the odor of sanctity which hangs around it, and of the danger to a constitutional government of having in power a political organization whose history or aims seem, in the eyes of its members, to give it immunity from criticism or release it from the ordinary political tests and standards. For instance, what can be of more value in politics than the principle that nobody shall be judge in his own cause? And yet the Republican party, at this juncture, pays no more attention to it than if it were a campaign song, and there can be little question that this blindness of ordinarily fair men is the result of something more powerful than party spirit—namely, of a sort of latent conviction that the party which put down the rebellion and liberated the slaves has received a consecration which raises it above the law.

AUSTRIA'S ANTI-RUSSIAN TRADITIONS.

PARIS, November 3.

COUNT PROKESH-OSTEN has just published a volume which derives an exceptional interest from the present complications in the East. It consists of the despatches written by the once famous Gentz to the Hospodars of Wallachia. The name of Gentz is perhaps forgotten now by many, but he is remembered by all students of history as the enemy of Napoleon I., as the pamphleteer who was used by Metternich in the interest of Austria. Gentz was a sort of political *condottiere*; his morality was loose, but he always remained faithful to the cause of Germany. He wrote first a memoir in the *Berliner-Monatsschrift* on 'The Origin and the Principles of Law' (1791); in 1793 he translated Burke's work on the French Revolution; he published afterwards innumerable translations and pamphlets, among the most important of which were a translation of Mallet-Dupan's book on the French Revolution; 'Fragmente aus der neuesten Geschichte des politischen Gleichgewichts in Europa' (1806). The most interesting essays, memoirs, and articles have been published with his correspondence in various works: Weick's 'Ausgewählte Schriften von F. v. Gentz'; Schlesier's 'Schriften von F. v. Gentz'; 'Mémoires et lettres inédits du Chevalier de Gentz'; Varnhagen's 'Tagebücher von F. v. Gentz'; 'Briefwechsel zwischen F. v. Gentz und A. Müller,' 'Aus dem Nachlasse F. v. Gentz'; Mendelssohn's 'Briefe von F. v. Gentz an Pilat'; Klinkowstrom's 'Aus der alten Registratur der Staatskanzlei.'

Gentz was the champion of tradition; he hated the French Revolution and Bonaparte with a sincere hatred. Turkey was a part of that old Europe which Gentz would have liked to keep for ever unmoved, immovable. Austria had always had an eye on the Danube, and had kept close relations with the families which ruled the Principalities. When Prince Karadja, at the end of 1812, was named Hospodar of Wallachia, he desired to have a permanent correspondence with the cabinet of Vienna, and Gentz was chosen as the correspondent by Prince Metternich. Gentz became the paid agent of the Hospodar, but he never ceased to be inspired by the Austrian chancellor; he saw no contradiction between the interests of the Principalities and the interests of Austria. It must be well understood that Gentz, in his correspondence with Prince Karadja, writes in exactly the same spirit as an accredited minister of Austria would have done. We find, therefore, in his letters the true, the inner mind of Metternich himself. The correspondence with Karadja was continued in 1819 with Alexander Souza; in 1822 with Gregory Ghika; it was only interrupted in 1828, when a Russian invasion put an end temporarily to the Hospodarate. We find, therefore, in this long correspondence the trace of the Eastern policy of Austria from the time of Napoleon I. to the reign of Louis Philippe.

The correspondence opens during the great Russian campaign of Napoleon. "This century," writes Gentz from Vienna the 2d February, 1813, "so fertile in political reverses, has produced few more unexpected or more important than the last. A war, which from its beginning and its first acts threatened the very existence of Russia, has suddenly turned against the conqueror; the first captain of the time has suffered reverses all the more cruel that his object was greater, his forces more imposing, his march bolder than in any of the preceding campaigns; an army of 400,000 men has, so to speak, vanished from the earth in the short space of five or six weeks." This opening gives a good idea of the manner of Gentz—of his clear, powerful, somewhat redundant style. His letters are real "memorandums," such as were written by the best diplomatic writers. Gentz asks himself what ought to be the policy of Austria in face of the late events. Austria had tied herself neither to Napoleon nor to Russia. She had of-

fered her mediation in favor of peace. Prince Schwartzenberg was sent to Paris, and the cabinet of Vienna soon became the centre of all the negotiations. Prussia and Russia had completely linked their fates. Alexander had something chivalrous in his character, and he remained faithful to the cause of his allies. Austria agreed with these two powers on some of the conditions of peace—on the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw, on the complete re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy within its former limits; she asked for herself the restitution of the Illyrian provinces. She was not at war herself at the time with Napoleon. Metternich saw the Emperor at Dresden; the details of the interview are still obscure, but several conversations took place. Napoleon offered to hold a Conference at Prague; all parties merely tried to gain time. The negotiations of Prague were broken off on one of those minor points which the diplomats know how to raise, and Austria openly declared war against the husband of Marie Louise.

At that time none of the three Allies dared to project any political views across the Rhine. Nobody dreamed yet of tearing from Napoleon's grasp the first conquests of the French Revolution; and if Napoleon had only satisfied himself with these conquests, he would have found a willing ally in Austria, and brought Prussia and Russia to terms. Prince Metternich informed M. de Saint-Aignan that the general and summary basis of a new negotiation was, in his opinion, "the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees." If Napoleon would only accept the independence of Italy, of Germany, of Holland, all would be easy. The Duke of Vicenza adopted in principle the basis proposed by Prince Metternich, but the military operations were not interrupted on the side of the Allies. The despatches of Gentz in the year 1816 are very interesting; they show conclusively how little inclined Austria was to dethrone Napoleon. "I believe," writes Gentz in February, "that Russia and Prussia would not be indisposed to overthrow not only the power, but the throne and the dynasty of Napoleon. Austria does not approve this system; if she fears a total *bouleversement*, it is infinitely less on account of the family ties which she has contracted with Napoleon than on account of the wisdom and the general moderation of her principles." A little afterwards he adds this curious remark: "What will astonish you more is this: notwithstanding the deep aversion of England to any sort of peace with Napoleon, the English ministers, instead of supporting the most exaggerated projects, are more inclined towards those of Austria. Lord Castlereagh is in complete accord with the principles and the views of Prince Metternich."

At the moment when the power of Napoleon was tottering, and when it was possible to envisage a new distribution of the political forces of Europe, Prince Metternich did not lose sight of the East, and by his direction this is what Gentz wrote to the Hospodar:

"The maintenance of a just equilibrium between the Powers has always been the fundamental principle, the magnet and the polar star of the Austrian government. This court has never wished to exchange one danger for another, or to destroy the preponderance of France in order to prepare the preponderance of Russia Prince Metternich looks now and more than ever on the Ottoman Porte as one of the most essential counterweights in the general equilibrium of Europe. His propositions, his plans, his actions, will be invariably directed in this direction. He will defend the interests of the Porte as the most direct and precious interests of Austria herself; and far from allowing Russia to endanger them, notwithstanding his great desire to assure a long European peace, he will not hesitate to make war on that power if any such project be ever, at any time, suggested to it by bad counsels. For the present, all seems to indicate that Russia entertains no such views."

Nothing could be more clear, more decided, than this language; the interests of the Ottoman Porte are the interests of Austria herself, and must be protected with the same degree of energy. Meanwhile, new negotiations were taking place, this time on the French territory. The French army was now defending its own soil. The Russians and the Prussians spoke openly of the dethronement of Napoleon. Austria was beginning to acknowledge the necessity of giving back to the Allies some of the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, but she would not yet strike Napoleon in person. "Since a few months," writes Gentz, "the rage against Napoleon has become a true delirium." Things had gone so far that Metternich almost rejoiced over the victory gained by Napoleon at Brienne. His agent wrote: "I am not one of those who would have thought Europe in great danger if France had kept a part of her conquests since 1789; the political equilibrium will be neither consolidated nor compromised by this or that demarcation of the provinces." Still, he acknowledges that each power must have a part of the spoils, and this dismemberment of the French conquests seems to him "less dangerous than the complete destruction of the actual government and the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon, an event which would benefit Russia (and perhaps England) at the expense of the rest of Europe, and which, by the profound *liaison* which it would bring about between Russia and France, would compromise extremely the interests of Austria, and the well-understood interests of Germany and the secondary states, not excepting the Ottoman Porte."

It is very curious to read these lines in the light of more recent history. Austria, in consequence of her old enmity to the House of Bourbon, has always been lenient to the Bonapartes. At Villafranca, Napoleon III. had no difficulty at all in making peace with Francis Joseph; the Austrian Government seemed hardly to resent the great blows which were directed against itself by Napoleon. Austria delivered Venetia into Napoleon's hands at the time when this province was transferred to Italy. Prince Metternich was a *persona grata* at the court of Napoleon III., and if the Germans had not had such sudden and extraordinary successes in the war of 1870, if a Republican Government had not taken the place of the Bonapartes, the Austrian Government would have probably felt more inclined than any other European Government to give a helping hand to France. Metternich—the old Metternich—was as faithful to the husband of Marie Louise as he well could be; he had Russia "on the brain" much more than France; his theory of the European equilibrium required a strong France, and he thought that under the sceptre of the Bourbons France would be constantly weakened by the progress of the revolutionary spirit. He magnified in his own mind the power of Russia, and already saw her threatening and conquering Turkey and on the way to Constantinople.

The Russian Emperor was led by instincts which were as deep and more stubborn. He hated with a real hatred the man who had tempted him at Tilsit, who had invaded his virgin country and had forced him to commit Moscow to the flames. Prince Metternich, however, would probably have succeeded if Alexander had not been helped by the ambition and pride of the French Emperor. Napoleon I. was his own worst enemy. He was deaf to all the dictates of reason; he never consented to accept tolerable conditions for France; he dethroned himself. The account of these grave events becomes very interesting in the letters of Gentz, for you see in them as it were history unveiling itself fold by fold; you partake of all the doubts, the agitations of the great actors; you live with Gentz and Metternich in their familiarity. I cannot go over the whole field of this interesting work, and have only marked out a few capital parts.

THE WAGNER PERFORMANCES.

IV.

GERMANY, October, 1876.

THE "Götterdämmerung" is by far the grandest and most dramatic part of the trilogy. Its tragic issue is foreshadowed by the opening scene. On the very spot where *Brünnhilde* had been awakened the three Norses or Fates, the daughters of *Erda*, sit in the darkness of night and spin the thread of destiny. Passing it from one to another, they sing of *Wotan's* gloomy return to Walhalla with the fragments of the spear which *Siegfried* had severed. They foresee the end of the gods. But suddenly the thread breaks; their wisdom is at an end, and they sink into the earth. The weird solemnity and increasing dramatic intensity of the scene are grandly expressed in the music. During a brief but beautiful orchestral transition the day brightens, and from a cavern on one side come *Siegfried* and *Brünnhilde*, leading her horse *Grane*, which has shared both the punishment and the awakening of its owner. Once again *Siegfried* is seen in all the sunshine of his own nature; and, in a vision of supreme happiness, the spectator forgets the warnings of the Fates. At the close of the last drama, a kiss had at the same moment awakened the *Walküre* to womanhood and her deliverer to manhood; and in a scene the exuberant delight of which I inadvertently called "passionate," *Brünnhilde* had relinquished the wisdom of *Erda* for the love of *Siegfried*. To that scene a noble supplement now follows. The hero, about to seek adventures in the world, bids farewell to the wife, to whom he pledges his fidelity. *Siegfried* gives *Brünnhilde* the ring he had won; *Brünnhilde*, in turn, gives *Siegfried* the horse that had once galloped to Walhalla; and the hero passes beyond the edge of the summit down the fiery side of the mountain, amid the thrilling farewell, "Heil dir, *Siegfried*, siegender Stern!" Never perhaps in music has the heroic been more gloriously idealized than in this grand scene. When the curtain fell, an Englishman sitting next to me at one of the performances said: "I like that. There is something so thoroughly manly about it." That sentiment, in its general application to the whole trilogy, will be repeated by everybody who rejoiced to find that in all of Herr Wagner's characters, whatever they assumed to be, truth to nature had taken the place of the flimsy sentimentality of the men and women of Italian opera.

For the last time the spectator has been permitted to share with *Sieg-*

fried his unconsciousness of any impending fatality ; the gloom which in the sunshine of the last drama had been almost forgotten, now gathers quickly again. This transition is marvellously expressed by the orchestra. Beginning, when *Siegfried* leaves *Brünnhilde*, with the heroic motives of the scene carried to the highest pitch of intensity, the orchestra recalls again, as the hero descends through the flames, the *Loge* motive, above which the motive of *Siegfried's* horn is heard triumphant. Then, as though the face of the curtain banished for ever the sunshine which had lingered on from the last drama, the orchestra, developing with the utmost grandeur the motives which from the opening of "Rheingold" to the capture of the treasure had followed each successive event—the presence of the Rhine-daughters, their praise of the Rhine-gold, their confession of the secret by which one might become its possessor and fashion it into a ring, the triumph of *Alberich*—seems to reiterate with appalling emphasis those claims to the ring's ownership by which the Nibelung justified his curse. To complete the powerful impression nothing more is needed than the concluding bars : sounding the motive of *Alberich's* son, *Hagen*, at the very moment when the curtain opens to disclose him in the hall of the Gibichungs, they announce that the curse has not weakened and its executioner is at hand.

Alberich, like *Wotan*, has begotten a son through whom he hopes to regain the ring ; but having foresworn love, the Niebelung had won his wife with gold, and his offspring is the fruit of hate. Knowing all the events that have taken place since the ring was lost by his father, *Hagen* matures a plan for its recovery. He tells *Gunther*, the chief of the Gibichungs with whom he lives, that a beautiful woman—*Brünnhilde*—worthy to be *Gunther's* wife, is guarded by fire on a high mountain. *Siegfried*, the only hero in the world able to pass the flames unharmed, is now on his way to the realm of the Gibichungs ; and, if he can be induced to perform the service, *Brünnhilde* shall be won for *Gunther*, and *Siegfried* in return shall receive the chief's sister *Gutrune*. *Hagen* gives no hint that *Siegfried* and *Brünnhilde* have ever met; but in case the hero may have seen women more beautiful than *Gutrune*, *Hagen* proposes to give him a potion which will make him "forget that he has ever before looked upon a woman." While they speak *Siegfried's* horn is heard. The hero is welcomed ; *Gutrune* hands him the fatal drink ; he becomes at once enamored of her, and, learning from *Gunther* his desire to win *Brünnhilde*, he offers to undertake the mission. He swears the oath of "Blood-brotherhood" with *Gunther*, and they depart together after *Siegfried* has been advised by *Hagen* that through the power of the "Tarnhelm," which he still carries, he may assume *Gunther's* form. The scene changes to the mountain-top, where *Brünnhilde* awaits *Siegfried's* return. She sits sadly gazing at the pledge of his love, and the orchestra recalls memories of their parting and of their first meeting. But more and more distinct becomes the motive of the Walküren, which finally reaches a magnificent climax when a storm-cloud approaches, and *Brünnhilde* is found by one of her sisters. The Walküre has come to tell her of the gloom of Walhalla since *Wotan's* return, and how in a dream the god had said that the restoration of the ring to its owners would remove the curse from the world. *Brünnhilde* indignantly refuses to give up *Siegfried's* love-token. But scarcely has she dismissed her sister when, to her terror, *Siegfried* in *Gunther's* form appears, and, wresting from her the ring which she holds up as her defence, sends her into the cavern and swears that "Nothung" shall lie between them as the pledge of his fidelity to *Gunther*. Such is the barest outline of the first act, the melodic richness of which any ordinary composer would have developed into an entire opera. But in spite of the very great musical effectiveness of the closing scene, I cannot but regard an open struggle between man and woman as shocking to all sense of beauty. It is no more fit subject for the drama than Homer's Thersites for a painting ; and one cannot help regretting that this single instance of the muscular Christianity which attaches to the *Brünnhilde* of the "Nibelungenlied" should have crept into the trilogy. Its presence is all the more surprising after the poetic sensibility which the composer had previously shown in the parting of *Brünnhilde* and *Siegfried*. In the presence of that scene we fancy we are living in a land of chivalrous heroes ; in the presence of the other we remember that we are in Germany.

The next act is laid in front of the hall of the Gibichungs. Day has not yet dawned ; and while *Hagen* sits asleep his father appears to him in his dreams, and warns him to be true. In the midst of a beautiful sunrise on the Rhine *Siegfried* returns. Having led *Brünnhilde* through the flames, and escaped detection in giving her over to the care of the real *Gunther*, he has hastened home to *Gutrune*. Then follows a scene not soon to be forgotten. *Hagen* blows a terrible blast on his horn ; and soon from along the Rhine, from the hill in the background, from behind the palace, armed men start up with answering shouts, and gather one after another until the whole body of *Gunther's* retainers has responded to the summons. One can scarcely imagine a more picturesque scene, or one more thoroughly at variance with traditional operatic performance. Stage choruses are the only bodies of men, besides companies of soldiers, which have persistently carried into perfect practice the principle that "all men are born equal." But the uninterrupted progress of custom has been broken, and on the stage at Bayreuth mechanical traditions have been made for the first time to yield to a method which insists that each member of a chorus shall maintain his own individuality. The result was that one of the grandest choruses Herr Wagner has written received an interpretation proportionate in its powerful effect to the number of individuals that combined to produce it. The men had been summoned by *Hagen*, both to make arrangements for a hunt in *Siegfried's* honor and to welcome their chief returning with his bride. *Gunther* now approaches, and with him the proud but downcast *Brünnhilde*. Like a captive in the triumph of a Roman conqueror, she walks along heedless of the stirring welcome of the men, with whose gladness a tragic element now mingles for the first time in the music. *Siegfried* and *Gutrune* come forth to welcome *Brünnhilde* and *Gunther*. A terrible shock overwhelms *Brünnhilde* at the sight of *Siegfried* and at his failure to recognize her. She sees the ring, and accuses *Gunther* of having given away what he had taken from her with the words, "Through this ring be thou wedded to *Gunther*." But he is dumbfounded by the charge. At all events, *Siegfried*, she cries, is her husband. He reminds her of "Nothung" ; on the spear's point he swears he has not been false to his oath with *Gunther*. But she flings his hand from the spear, and, seizing its point, swears that he lies. *Gunther*, *Gutrune*, *Siegfried*, all the retainers, are thunderstruck. *Siegfried* whispers to *Gunther* that perhaps the "Tarnhelm" did not entirely conceal him ; hence his recognition by *Brünnhilde*. This, however, shall not delay the festivities of his marriage with *Gutrune*, and, throwing his arm around her, he leads the way into the palace, followed by all the train. To solve this puzzle *Brünnhilde* longs for the wisdom which she had as a Walküre ; but she will be avenged, and *Gunther*, too, must punish the faithlessness that has dishonored him. With *Hagen* they swear *Siegfried's* death. The culmination of *Brünnhilde's* misery now arrives when, just before the fall of the curtain, merry children and music lead forth the wedding procession of *Siegfried*, crowned with flowers, by the side of his new bride.

All this is insufficient and gives no idea of the difference between the ways in which *Brünnhilde* and *Hagen* seek the same end, the one like a devil, the other so embittered in her revenge by the thought of the heroic qualities which she knows are *Siegfried's* that she calls to the gods—

> "Bid *Brünnhilde* break her heart,
> And crush him who betrayed her."

In all tragedy, so far as I know, there is nothing to surpass the dramatic intensity of this scene, which, in compactness, in simplicity of means and magnitude of effect, in climax heaped upon climax without removing the suspense as to what can be the culmination, has its parallel only in Greek drama. Even the "man-woman," Clytemnestra, is not more terrible than the injured Walküre ; and she is certainly far less noble than one who, whether impelled by love, by revenge, or by self-sacrifice, never fails to excite our highest admiration. Sheer inability to do it justice has prevented me from speaking of the impersonation of *Brünnhilde* by Frau Materna. In grace she has superiors ; but those who recall the dramatic abilities of Lucca, Albani, Nilsson, or even of Titjens, can form but an imperfect idea of the tragic power of Materna ; and her voice under tremendous exactions never gave the slightest evidence of exertion. Had the performance taken place in London instead of in Bayreuth, Frau Materna's fame would have been telegraphed all over the world. Indeed, no less than four cities have already tried to tempt her to leave Vienna.

With the opening of the third act *Siegfried*, who has lost his way and become separated from a hunting party, comes wandering down to the bank of the Rhine. The beautiful Rhine-daughters entreat him to give them the ring and escape its curse, but he refuses. No words can give the faintest conception of the exuberant overflow of melody in this most poetical scene. *Hagen* and the hunters then appear, and, while all are resting and passing around the drinking-horns, *Siegfried* tells the story of his life. Unobserved, *Hagen* presses into *Siegfried's* drink an herb which multiplies the influence of the previous potion ; and the hero repeats the words of the bird which first told him of *Brünnhilde* and led him to awaken her. The revelation explains everything, and *Gunther* is thunderstruck. Pointing at the same moment to two ravens flying overhead, *Hagen* asks *Siegfried* if he understands their speech. The hero turns to look at them, and

the son of *Alberich* runs a spear through his back. *Siegfried* dies with a farewell to *Brünnhilde* on his lips.

Night has come on, and a cold horror spreads over everything as the moonlight, breaking through the clouds, glances along the water, and falls on the steel helmets of the hunters. They lift up the body; a mist drifts across the scene; and then the orchestra—which a moment before had recalled with *Siegfried* all the incidents of his happy life, from the forging of "Nothung," the slaying of *Fafner*, the bird in the forest, to the awakening of *Brünnhilde*—comes "veiling all the lightnings of [its] song in sorrow." Its first shock, when *Siegfried* fell, was like the spasm that would convulse the universe if one of the fixed stars were suddenly struck out of existence; and this sudden sense of void, accompanied by a disturbance of equilibrium without an immediate perception of the means of readjusting it—which constitutes, perhaps, the sorrow of bereavement—continues to mark the subsequent utterance of the orchestra, until gradually an heroic elegy defines itself. But it is long before the praise for *Siegfried* as a hero comes to be broken by the grief for *Siegfried* as a friend. A separate article could alone do justice to this funeral march, which, together with the introduction to "Tristan und Isolde," seems to me the greatest instrumental music Herr Wagner has written. To one familiar with the preceding part of the trilogy there is no mistaking its meaning; for never was musical utterance so powerfully unambiguous. If there is anything in poetry that equals the lamentation of this march, it is not "Lycidas," it is not the cold philosophy of "In Memoriam," it can only be that first freshness of sorrow which mourns through Shelley's "Adonais."

Over the body carried home to *Gutrune*, *Hagen* and *Gunther* quarrel for the ring, and *Gunther* is killed. But as *Hagen* is about to seize his prize the dead hand rises threateningly, and he recoils in horror. In the background stands the tragic figure of *Brünnhilde*. The Rhine-daughters have told her everything. She will herself take the ring. She orders a funeral pyre to be built, and *Grane* to be led into the hall. She pronounces over the hero a monologue which reaches sublimity itself. Seizing a torch, she throws it on to the pyre, and when the flames surrounding the body have spread into the palace, she throws the ring into the waves and rushes with *Grane* into the fire. *Hagen* leaps madly into the river; and the Rhine-daughters hold up the ring in triumph. Its curse is removed from the world, which love, not hate, shall rule. At the same moment the lurid glare in the sky becomes more bright, and the gods, calmly assembled in Walhalla, are seen surrounded by its flames.

In the "Götterdämmerung," as in the other dramas, it is impossible to follow operatic precedent, and select an air here or an air there for special approbation; for, in spite of many lyrical passages, airs in the sense of music composed in the traditional song-form do not exist. Their place is filled by that melody to which I feel no hesitation in applying the Wagnerian epithet, "endless." But the same breath that proclaims this musical richness is compelled to refuse to give evidence of its existence; and one can only plead, in the words of Carlyle on Richter: "Ask us not to represent the Peruvian forests by three twigs plucked from them, or the cataracts of the Nile by a handful of its water."

Whatever may be the dramatic weaknesses of the "Ring des Nibelungen"—and they are but trivial compared with its great strength—it is to the glory of Richard Wagner that he has given not only to Germany but to the world a new art; and it is to the honor of the actors and actresses, and of Herr Richter and his orchestra, that, with a devotion worthy of lasting remembrance, they have been the first interpreters of a work which not only marks its composer, in the judgments of both friends and foes, as the greatest musician now living, but also gives more promise of rich fruit in art than many serious people would have believed possible under the conditions which govern the nineteenth century's thought.

Correspondence.

COUNTING AND DECLARING THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Allow me to present through your columns the following results of an examination which the present crisis in our public affairs has led me to make in reference to the Constitutional provisions for appointing electors of President and Vice-President, and counting and declaring the votes:

"No senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, *shall be appointed an elector.*"

Such is the mandate of the Constitution (Art. 2, sec. 1, clause 3), they are "*excluded from eligibility*" (3 Story on Const., chap. 36, sec. 1451, p. 316).

"The object is to prevent persons holding public stations under the Government of the United States from having any direct influence in the choice of a President. In respect to persons holding office, it is reasonable to suppose that their partialities would all be in favor of re-election of the actual incumbent, and they might have strong inducements to exert their official influence in the electoral college. In respect to senators and representatives, there is this additional reason for excluding them, that they would be already committed by their vote on the electoral college; and thus, if there should be no election by the people, they could not bring to the final vote either the impartiality or the independence which the theory of the Constitution contemplates" (Id., sec. 1467, pp. 329, 330).

"The caution of the Constitution cannot be violated. No senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, can be an elector; and, therefore, the vote of every such person would be void" (Rawle on Const., chap. 5, p. 59).

The people of the United States had a right to expect that senators and representatives would not, as to this or any other matter, take a course tending to prevent their bringing to the final vote "either the impartiality or the independence which the theory of the Constitution contemplates." Whether or no such a course has been taken in Louisiana by John Sherman, J. A. Garfield, and other senators and representatives, is a fit subject for consideration. Their letter of the 16th of November contains, besides other matter which has been commented upon, the following passage:

"If the duties of the Canvassing Board were merely ministerial or clerical, as in case of any officer charged by law with the duty of verifying or declaring the result of any election or investigation, with no discretion, as *when the President of the Senate counts and declares the votes of the electors* of the several States in the election of President and Vice-President under the Constitution of the United States, a different case would be presented."

Whence comes the assumed power of the President of the Senate to count and declare the votes? In the convention which framed the Constitution, the clause, as reported on the 4th of September, 1787, after providing that the electors shall make a list of all persons voted for and of the number of votes for each, had the following words: "Which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the General Government, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall in that House open all the certificates, and the votes shall be then and there counted" ('Madison Papers,' vol. iii., p. 1486).

On motion, the words "*in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives*" were inserted (Id., p. 1599); and the clause was made to read as it now does: "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted."

It does not say that the votes shall be counted by the President of the Senate. Still less does it say that he shall declare the votes. In a court of justice a sheriff may count the jurors; a clerk may receive and read their verdict. But what is done by the ministerial officers is in the presence of judges and in subordination to them. So, likewise, what may be done by the President of the Senate as to the certificates of electors is "in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives." If the votes shall be counted by him, it can only be because they authorize it; and it must be in subordination to their authority.

C. R.

November 20, 1876.

A PROPER REQUEST.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You say in the last number of the *Nation* that you can print no more letters from disturbed clergymen, and I suppose from this that it is a burden to receive them. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from calling your attention to what seems a misstatement in an editorial note to the letter from F. A. Henry, in the *Nation* of November 16, as it seems to deny the very point about which clergymen are troubling themselves. You close with the words: "Huxley is attacked for saying that forms are evolved, not for pretending to know why or by whom they are evolved." In one sense, and perhaps in articles referred to by you, this may be true, but is not the refrain of all clerical complaints against scientific men something like this: "They leave their proper sphere, they pass from physics to metaphysics, they deny spirit, revelation, and, by inference, God himself"?

Men of unscientific training are indeed venturesome in attempting to meet science on its own grounds, and they have been severely and doubtless justly handled in your columns; but have you no word to say on the other side? Is it not true that science has begun to explain the universe as a whole? Is she, in treating such questions as revelation and prayer, not vio-

lating the very rules for the breaking of which you have so censured clergymen? And are clergymen not right in maintaining the following positions?

1. If there be no God, it is a fact that man has created or invented one, worshipped and loved him, and that this creature of the imagination, if such he be, exercises a profound influence upon the lives of men. Before science pronounces upon the existence of God, must she not give this fact as careful study as an important one in her own physical province, and has she done so? If not, is she not presumptuous and partial?

2. Not having proved as yet the truth of spontaneous generation, nor being agreed at all about the relations between soul and body, is she not presumptuous and unwisely dogmatic in some of her utterances about "matter" and the "soul"—as foolish possibly as Rev J. Cook himself?

3. The Bible has undergone during the last one hundred and thirty years a tremendous and continued assault. Are scientific men acquainted with the nature and final issue of that struggle, and until they are, is it not again presumptuous to pronounce upon the character, the literature, or the interpretation of the Bible?

These, if I read the papers aright, are some of the complaints of clergymen. I ask if they are not well founded; if in justice, having castigated them for trespassing on scientific ground, you should not admit that they have had some provocation. Clergymen desire, I believe, to be liberal, and if you can find time and space to answer even briefly these questions, you will shed light upon not a few of them.—Yours, etc.,

E. L. Stoddard.

York, Pa., Nov. 21, 1876.

[We have said all we have to say or, we think, need to say on these questions in two articles—one on "Tyndall and the Theologians," Sept. 17, 1874, and the other on "Scientific Men as Public Teachers," Dec. 24, 1874. In these we protested as strongly against the tendency of scientific men to wander, *as scientific men*, into theological and metaphysical fields as we have been recently protesting against the tendency of the theologians to tackle scientific men in geological and biological and chemical fields, and we still hold all the opinions we then expressed. But we also then drew attention to an error into which Mr. Stoddard has apparently fallen in treating Science as a person or organization, like a church or synod, which can be presumptuous, or modest, or make concessions, or enter into compromises; or in likening it to theology, which is a collection of opinions that may be modified or abandoned. We said in the former of the above-named articles, speaking of the plea of the Rev. Dr. Watts at the meeting of the British Association at Belfast for "peace and co-operation between science and religion," that "such peace and co-operation would be simply peace and co-operation between him (Dr. Watts) and Professor Tyndall, or between the theologians and the British Association. Science is simply a body of facts which lead people familiar with them to infer the existence of certain laws. How can it, therefore, either be at peace or war with anybody or co-operate with anybody? What Professor Tyndall might promise is either not to discover any more facts, or to discover only certain classes of facts, or to draw no inferences from facts which would be unfavorable to Dr. Watts's theory of the universe; but the only result of this would be that Tyndall would lose his place as a scientific man, and others would go on discovering and drawing inferences." In fine, our advice to the clergy—if we may be permitted to offer them advice—is, when they find a scientific man "wandering beyond the boundary of experimental evidence," or lounging in a suspicious manner in the groves of metaphysics, to do their worst upon him. There lies their chance for vengeance. On the other hand, we hold that when they see him wrestling with a scientific problem, they have no right to go up to him and demand that he shall be metaphysical about it, whether he will or no. He has a right to be physical only if he pleases. He has a right to say that he knows nothing of life except as a property of matter, and knows nothing of cause or effect except as invariable succession. Not only has he the right to say so, however, but we think he is bound *as a scientific man* to say nothing more.—Ed. Nation.]

THE DEMOLITION OF HUXLEY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There is one point in your comments on my letter which I beg you will allow me very briefly to answer, not from any eagerness for self-defence, but because you touch again the pivot upon which this clerico-scientific controversy hinges.

You say that I, not being a biologist, microscopist, or chemist, am incompetent to say whether Huxley's essay on "The Physical Basis of Life" is weak and worthless, or whether it was cruelly treated by Sir Lionel Beale, or completely demolished by Dr. Stirling.

If your general position be correct, this is unanswerable; if mine be correct, it is irrelevant. I claim that life is not a matter of physical science. The phenomena of life are perceptible, but life itself is invisible and cannot be cognized by any empirical method. Physical science is forced to leave it within the domain of the "unknowable." Now, the title of Mr. Huxley's essay seems to admit that life is not a materiality, for when a man speaks, for instance, of the scientific *basis* of art he recognizes that art is a different thing from science. But it seems that for Mr. Huxley the non-material is the unreal, for after calling protoplasm the physical basis of *life*, he proceeds to say that vitality is as unmeaning a term as "aquosity" would be. That is, he proceeds to deny life and assert that there is only a physical basis, with nothing based upon it. And this he does because to admit such a thing as life would be to admit the reality of a conception essentially ideal. Thus it is of a metaphysical subject that Mr. Huxley's essay treats, and it is as a metaphysician that I hold his treatment of it to be weak and worthless, and consider that Dr. Stirling, who reviews the essay from the metaphysical position, has completely demolished it. As to Sir Lionel Beale, who writes from the scientific standpoint and deals with the matters of fact which form the basis of Mr. Huxley's peculiar views, I took care not to say that he had demolished the essay, for such a statement would have been precisely that expression of non-expert opinion which we agree in pronouncing worthless; I simply said that he had treated Mr. Huxley cruelly, and I think that epithet will not seem misapplied to those who are acquainted with Dr. Beale's language and tone of undisguised contempt, which show how little he considers Mr. Huxley entitled to the respect which a legitimate scientific authority commands from those who differ with it.

F. A. Henry.

Stamford, Conn., Nov. 17, 1876.

[Dr. Stirling has replied to Huxley's essay on "The Physical Basis of Life" in two articles—one on the physical question, What is protoplasm? and the other on the metaphysical question, What is the relation of cause and effect? As to the first, he does not pretend to be himself an authority, and relies on others. To overthrow Huxley he repeats, very briefly, or refers to, in his own language, the opinions held on various biological and chemical theories by Hunter, Virchow, Müller, Schwann, Valentin, Brown, Schultze, Leydig, Brücke, Bergmann, Kühne, Haeckel, Dujardin, Mohl, Meyer, Siebold, Reichert, Ecker, Henle, Kölliker, Beale, Remak, and John Goodsir. To judge as to the weight of his argument touching the nature of protoplasm with such clearness and positiveness as to enable one to announce publicly that he had "demolished" Huxley, one would unquestionably, we repeat, need either to be an original investigator himself, both in the laboratory and with the microscope, or to have followed understandingly the researches of the above-named investigators, and to have ascertained the correctness of Dr. Stirling's citations of them; and Dr. Stirling, as we have mentioned, is not a calm or judicial writer—he is boiling over with satire, sarcasm, and metaphysical enthusiasm. These conditions, we make bold to assert, Mr. Henry has not fulfilled.

Now let us see whether it is proper to say that Dr. Stirling has "demolished" Huxley on the metaphysical question. One would infer from Mr. Henry's language—at least we have inferred it—that Huxley had produced on behalf of protoplasm some new and startling theory of his own with regard to the relations of matter and spirit, and that Dr. Stirling, having caught him *en flagrant délit*, had "demolished" him metaphysically, and enabled Mr. Henry to see that his "Essay" was "weak and worthless." Let us say, in the first place, that, according to our understanding of the "Essay," Huxley objects to the term "vitality" because he considers "the

terms of spirit" ill-adapted to express the phenomena of matter. He says you may express the phenomena in terms of matter or terms of spirit, as you please, "but, with a view to the progress of science, the materialistic terminology is to be preferred, for it connects thought with the other phenomena of the universe." He does not "deny life." He simply says that, as a scientific man, he knows nothing of life except as a property of matter, but affirms that the "materialistic position – that there is nothing in the world but matter, force, and necessity—is as utterly devoid of justification as the most baseless of theological dogmas." In other words, he refuses either to affirm or deny anything with respect to the existence of life outside matter, which is a perfectly comprehensible scientific position, and is not in the least metaphysical. In fact, the "Essay" is to our mind as distinct a refusal to be metaphysical, or to enter on any metaphysical enquiry, as man has written or could write. Dr. Stirling's critique is, however, an attempt to force him to be metaphysical whether he pleases or no; is, in other words, an assault on the views with regard to the relations of the human mind to the material world held, in one shape or another, by the whole school of what may be called positive philosophers, from Hobbes and Locke down to Mill and Bain. Now, to say that Dr. Stirling of Edinburgh has in seventeen pages of a pamphlet "demolished" this school or any leading member of it, or proved their or his opinions to be "weak and worthless," is, to put it mildly, to talk hastily and unadvisedly. Of Sir Lionel Beale's "cruel treatment" of Huxley, we shall only remark that in affirming it Mr. Henry does the very thing he thinks he has guarded himself against doing. He assumes Beale's scientific victory over Huxley. For one scientific man can only treat another "cruelly" by showing that he has been careless in observing and experimenting, or faulty in reasoning. Rhetorical cruelty, which consists in sarcasm and invective, is probably what Mr. Henry has in his mind, but this cannot by itself be introduced into scientific discussion. When a scientific man castigates another he has to do it with facts. "Contempt" based on anything but scientific superiority would be silly.—Ed. Nation.]

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Referring to your article on Circumstantial Evidence, p. 296, November 16, I venture to offer a suggestion on Dr. Taylor's rule as derived from a legal friend: That an hypothesis should not be accepted unless the proved facts exclude every other to a reasonable degree of certainty. This is the rule in the trial of criminal cases, where the prosecutor is required to prove his case to the exclusion of reasonable doubt. In civil issues of the gravest moment a preponderance of evidence governs the verdict, and where the evidence is circumstantial the more probable hypothesis prevails. Which of these rules shall obtain in the discussion of speculative questions has been practically settled in favor of the last, as I think.

Dr. Taylor's legal friend would doubtless also have informed him that the hypothesis contended for could only be compelled to yield to some other only deducible from the proved facts; and an objector is not at liberty to suppose a fact in addition. Dr. Taylor assumes, or supposes, the fact of creation in series—the ultimate fact to be proved.

If, indeed—to leave legal logic, or the rules of logic applied to legal questions—a special creation is to be proved as the ultimate fact, is there any evidence of it, unless the mere existence of things is such? This certainly goes just as far to establish evolution. Beyond this point there is a large and growing volume of evidence in favor of evolution, as its enemies admit, and none in favor of creation, as must be conceded.—Respectfully,

Lawyer.

Washington, Nov. 24, 1876.

[Dr. Taylor says he has "personal, philosophical, and historical reasons" for believing that creation in series actually occurred, and an argument of this kind can only be overthrown by what the newspapers call "a conflict of veracity." We were careful in our article not to meddle with his legal friend's definition of circumstantial evidence, or to make any additions to it, because we wished to use it in the shape in which Dr. Taylor himself had used it, to prove the latter's incompetency in this kind of proof.—Ed Nation.]

Notes.

One result of Mr. John Taylor Johnston's liberality in past years in opening his gallery to the public, and in loaning its choicest specimens on occasion, is that, now that unfortunately he is obliged to part with his art treasures, they need no advertisement and no vouchers. The entire collection, including paintings, drawings, and statuary, will be disposed of on December 19, 20, and 23, under the auspices of Mr. S. P. Avery, 88 Fifth Avenue, and meantime is on exhibition at the National Academy of Design. ——As a companion to the portrait of Longfellow which they published last year, Hurd & Houghton now offer to *Atlantic* subscribers a fine lithographic drawing of the poet Bryant, by the same artist, Mr. J. E. Baker. ——The announcement is made that the *North American Review* will hereafter appear as a bi-monthly, under the editorial conduct of Mr. A. Thorndike Rice and Rev. Julius H. Ward.——Henry Holt & Co. have in press a 'Classical Literature,' by C. A. White, author of a 'Mythology.' It embraces notices of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and even of Japanese and Chinese writers.——Ginn & Heath announce for publication next month Professor Whitney's 'Essentials of English Grammar.'——'Student Life at Harvard,' and the following illustrated works—'In the Sky Garden,' by Lizzie W. Champney; 'Silhouettes and Songs'; and 'Long Ago,' by Ellis Gray—will be shortly published by Lockwood, Brooks & Co.——An interesting monograph on 'The Medical Libraries of Boston' has been privately printed by Dr. James R. Chadwick, librarian of the Boston Medical Library Association. This new organization has already nearly 5,000 volumes. The medical department of the Boston Public Library numbers nearly 10,000 volumes, and takes the lead in value as well as in numbers.——'The Book of Job,' in the light of the readings of the most eminent ancient and modern commentators, by Prof Bernhard Maimon, is announced by N. D. Cram, 29 Lake St., Chicago. It will contain the grammar, etymology, and exegesis of every word in the text.——When a paper like the *Obituary* succeeds, as we believe it does, there surely should be a chance of life for a *Biographisches Magazin*. Such a periodical—a "Centralblatt für die biographische Literatur und für Familien-Nachrichten"—has been projected by Dr. Hugo Schramm-Macdonald, editor of 'Die Urne,' and Dr. Gustav Diercks. The first number appears in January, 1877 (Dresden), and when it comes to hand we shall endeavor to characterize it.——The names of two of the most thorough investigators of the manners of the French Revolution are found united in a volume just announced in Paris, 'Costumes sous la Révolution, 1790-1-2-3,' a series of forty colored etchings from the collection of M. Victorien Sardou, with a preface by M. Jules Claretie. Mr. J. W. Bouton receives subscriptions for a new work on Costume, by M. A. Racinet, 'Le Costume Historique,' illustrated by five hundred plates, of which two-thirds are printed in colors, the remainder in camaïeu (a sort of tinted lithography) Parts I. and II. are already procurable There will be twenty parts in all, making one volume of text and five of plates.

—Mr. Lowell's "Ode for the Fourth of July, 1876," which appears in the current number of the *Atlantic*, was intended, it seems, for delivery at Taunton, Massachusetts. "Unable," the author modestly says in a note, "to finish it to his satisfaction then or since," he now offers it to "that fair creation of prefaces, the Indulgent Reader, urged by a natural desire not to defer its publication till our centenary year had closed." The readers of the poem will, if we are not mistaken, be glad that Mr. Lowell yielded to this desire, and did not wait until he had satisfied his own exacting love of perfection before giving to the public what, we think, will strike most persons as already finished to theirs if not to the author's satisfaction. Speaking, not the language of indulgence, but of criticism, we have no hesitation in calling it a singularly fine and inspiring poem. We confess, ourselves, to a great fondness for the form of the English ode, allowing, as it does, some room for that freedom of versification which is perhaps the most valuable right of English poetry, and at the same time lending itself, with the solemn beats of its strophe and antistrophe, only to serious and elevating subjects. If there be any modern form of verse which might be said to have a right to claim the inheritance, or at least a share of it, of the solemnity and mystery of the Greek tragic choruses, it is the English ode; and there is no one who is so complete a master of it as Mr. Lowell. In his hands it always possesses that inspiration which the older poets maintained was the better part of poetry, and the absence of which they knew very well the longest study and most skilful artifice could not supply. There are in this Fourth of July ode many fine lines which recall the "Commemoration Ode" of ten years ago, but as a whole it naturally breathes a different spirit – a spirit which is to-day as truly that of the

people whose hopes, doubts, fears, and longings it gives voice to as the earlier poem was when the triumphant end of the war made all the troubles of the country seem for the time being at an end.

—On the list, all too short, of the really good English books about the stage written by those who are of the stage, a list which stretches from the 'Apology' of Colley Cibber to the 'Reminiscences' of Macready, Mrs. Kemble's 'Old Woman's Gossip,' now appearing in the *Atlantic*, will take high rank. The conjunction of Mrs. Kemble's name with Macready's suggests a remark on the great change which has taken place in this country since their earlier visits here, a change from petty provincialism in some things to a more dignified independence. In 1848 Macready was the exciting cause of riot and bloodshed; in 1875 his book met with respectful, indeed with truly cordial, treatment. Few seemed to remember the hard words and harder blows of a quarter of a century earlier; and few now seem to remember that the author of the 'Gossip' is also the author of a 'Journal' which forty years ago caused a terrible turmoil. The 'Journal' begins August 1, 1832, and the latest letter of the 'Gossip,' printed in the *Atlantic* for November, is dated September, 1830—less than two years earlier. In style as well as date the two books are akin; in each can be seen the same sound sense, the same singular acuteness, the same frankness almost approaching *naïveté*, and the same freedom of criticism, sparing neither others nor herself. After a careful re-reading of the 'Journal,' it is hard to detect anything in it which would now give offence to any one. But we were then a very thin-skinned people, and after Mrs. Trollope's recent excoriation of our domestic manners we were sore enough to feel the slightest sting severely. The leading American reviews treated the work more kindly than those of England, but the smaller newspapers here for the most part raged. One paragraph declaring editors to be "a class whom I have said somewhere that I hated next to a bug," caused great gnashing of teeth; and Major M. M. Noah, popularly pointed at as the editor in question, actually wrote an open letter denying that the cap fitted him. Seventy pages of excerpts from the contemporaneous press, bound up with the copy of the 'Journal' before us, show that the discussion hardly increased the amenities of journalism. The pencil aided the pen, and more than one series of caricatures, not always in the best taste, was called forth by the 'Journal.' Just now, however, when our national self esteem stands somewhat in need of a corrective, we do not doubt that a reperusal of Mrs. Kemble's early work, and perhaps even a course of Mrs. Trollope, Capt. Marryat, and Messrs. Hall and Hamilton, would be wholesome for all of us.

—What one least expects to find in *Harper's Monthly* for December is an old letter of Mr. Gladstone's to General Schenck, written on the appearance of the American Case in 1872. A foot-note, bearing date of August 19, 1876, explains that the ex-Premier wishes by the publication of this letter to acknowledge the assurances of good-will which he constantly receives from this country, and indirectly to justify them. We have our doubts whether Mr. Gladstone might not better have trusted to the short memory (which has a close relation to the proverbial good-nature) of the American people. Most of us, we are sure, had forgotten that Mr. Gladstone was named in the same indictment with Palmerston and Russell, but, now that our attention is called anew to the subject, it is a little disappointing to find that while his "conscious hostility to the United States cannot be demonstrated" from his public speeches, the extracts which he adduces in evidence show no such hearty leaning to the cause of the North as should make him anxious to have them spread before us now. He is, to be sure, very frank in confessing his mistaken judgment as to the course and probable issue of our civil war; but, on the other hand, his reason for wishing disunion in the interest of the blacks—namely, that they "would be much nearer to emancipation under a Southern government than under the old system of the Union"—seems to call for concealment instead of repetition, unless, again at the expense of his perspicacity, we are to suppose he imagined some other road to emancipation than a servile insurrection. As a curious instance of the altered state of our affairs, we quote from Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle speech (Oct. 7, 1862) a passage embodying the above idea:

"I can understand those who say—and I confess it to be my own opinion—that it is greatly for the interest of the negro race that they should have to do with their own masters alone, and not, as has hitherto been the case, with their masters backed by the whole power of the Federal Government of the United States."

Substitute "opposed" for "backed," and "whites" for "masters," and the sentiment is ready for the mouths of those who would take a humane satisfaction in the success of Hampton in South Carolina, and generally in the downfall of carpet-bag interference at the South.

—We have no doubt that honest men generally are improving the present season of waiting for the decision of the Presidential election by reflections on the radical cure for the evil which is flagrant in South Carolina and Louisiana. That a restriction of the suffrage, however attended with difficulties, is indispensable, will, we believe, not be disputed by anybody. It *has* been restricted at the South by violence and "intimidation," and it is worth considering whether there is any surer basis of reconciliation between North and South than a united effort to legislate away the suffrage from the dangerous classes, to make the forfeiture of the franchise a public disgrace, and especially to give to the taxpayers the exclusive right to vote for the financial administration of towns, cities, counties, and States. Practicable or not, in such an effort lies the surest guarantee we can have against a recurrence of the crisis through which we are now passing. It is bad enough to have the choice of President turn upon the will, even legally expressed, of States like Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. But there are half a dozen others that could be named nearly or quite as objectionable as these; and when we look forward to the new States likely to be added, we cannot be free from solicitude if universal suffrage is meantime to go unchecked. Suppose, for example, that Congress this winter should admit New Mexico, and suppose that four years hence the next Presidential contest should depend on some Returning Board at Santa Fé, composed in a majority of the descendants of Pueblos and Spaniards, and backed by white adventurers in favor with the Administration at Washington.

—This subject has enlisted the attention of a prominent United States army officer, and has led him to warn his countrymen against the dangers of taking New Mexico out of its Territorial condition. His pamphlet is entitled 'A Political Problem: New Mexico and the New Mexicans.' He first enquires "Who are the New Mexicans?" and passes in review the history of the country from its conquest by the Spaniards to the present day. He then analyzes the character of the people by reference to their Indian and Castilian ancestry, and does full justice to all their good qualities. The country itself is next considered, and its capacity for cultivation and for sustaining a population larger than the present is fairly, if not conclusively, discussed. Finally, "What shall we do with them?" is asked and not answered, unless negatively. We regret that our space forbids copious extracts from each of these three chapters, which are full of historical and of living interest. They show us a population consisting of Pueblos, who still preserve their ancient belief and ancient rites, "with a pretended acquiescence in the ritual of the established church"; of Mexicans, speaking the Spanish tongue, ignorant, improvident, in debt and practical peonage, of loose morals, Catholics by profession, with Spanish fondness for cock-fighting and bull-fighting, without aspirations, without discontent; of Americans, who fill the offices, man the courts, frequent the *bailes* as in Paris they frequent the Mabille, and "run the machine":

"Since our occupation we have held the country and attempted to preserve the peace. The wild Indians have been held in check and by turns protected. The country has been examined and surveyed, and reports have given accounts of its resources. The local laws have been upheld, the local prejudices supported; the manners and customs have not been interfered with. Fabulous sums have been spent in the country by the General Government in doing all this, and the situation is to-day but little altered from what it was in 1849. The presence of the American element is acknowledged and submitted to, but it is felt as much an intrusion now as then; and the lines of race are sharply cut on every occasion and every subject."

"No sign has been exhibited in twenty-six years of the adoption of our ideas of civilization, or of an amendment of their points of variance. During the last few years laws have been passed with reference to a common-school system. Money is collected and spent for that purpose. But the system is so loosely conducted, and the interest of the people so slack, that the results, if represented by true statistics, are so pitiful and shameful as to be a reproach instead of a credit.

"To-day it is proposed to admit this nation, with all its dissimilarities in everything that the American people considers as essential and peculiar to itself, upon equal terms with any of the proudest members of the brotherhood of States."

The pamphlet from which we quote was published last month, before the election. All the more significant, therefore, is the following remark on the admission of New Mexico:

"It is not, and cannot be, a question of parties; for *no human foresight could tell where these people would choose to stand on any party question*, since there is no means of instructing them, or knowing what their ideas might be."

The italics are our author's; but could any better conditions be found than they suggest for giving the last touch to the degradation of our politics by making New Mexico the arbiter of a national imbroglio like the present?

FREEMAN'S NORMAN CONQUEST.*

THE completion of Mr. Freeman's great history is a matter for hearty congratulation, not alone because we possess in it a new treasure of historical literature, but because of its high educational aims. Mr. Freeman did not approach his subject simply with an antiquarian's zeal for the annals of a past epoch, nor merely in that loftier spirit which finds instruction in any great human actions worthily told. He had a higher and more definite educational purpose. He found his countrymen grossly ignorant of the international relations of their country in its early years, and with deeply-rooted misconceptions as to the nature of the most important event of those early years. These false notions he set out to eradicate, and his success, it must be admitted, is altogether astonishing. He has not, it is true, done away with the term "Anglo-Saxon"; he has not persuaded us to write Eadward and Aelfred—these points are to most of us an indifferent whim, where he fancies he sees a fundamental principle. But on these two points, historical geography—especially the place of England in the family of nations—and the continuity of English national life, he may fairly be said to have wrought a revolution in the public mind. This he has done by argument, and illustration, and persistent reiteration—one may almost say, by a kind of moral bullying. So with certain minor points; he has taught the English nation to believe unhesitatingly in the greatness of Edward I, the invaluable services of Earl Simon, the vulgar ambition of Napoleon, and the impudent encroachments of the Bishop of Rome.

We have small disposition to quarrel with Mr. Freeman on any of these heads, and would render him hearty honor for the service he has done to the study of history. It is not too much to say that the publication of this work has been an era in historical study among English-speaking peoples; his glowing pages are the medium through which the results of the profound scholarship of others as well as himself have become a common possession. If his patriotism at times almost verges on chauvinism, if his hero-worship often blinds him to the faults of his favorites, his tone is at any rate always healthy and elevated; he never turns vices into virtues, his enthusiasm is never lavished upon vulgar and factitious excellences.

An interesting article by Mr. Freeman upon Lord Macaulay in the September number of the *International Review* gives us a clue to the source of Mr. Freeman's own characteristics, or, as we may almost call them, mannerisms of style. His admiration for Lord Macaulay as a writer carries one back to the days when that writer's fascinating volumes were issuing from the press; and he frankly confesses that he has made Macaulay his model, so far, at least, as to learn from him two main canons of perspicuity—to avoid "involved, complicated, parenthetical sentences," and "never to be afraid of using the same word or name over and over again." A habit adopted for the sake of clearness may easily follow one when not necessary for this end; and it is certainly a fault of Mr. Freeman that he repeats favorite words and phrases until the reader gets somewhat tired of them—for instance, "spindle-side," in a portion of the volume before us.

He is over-fond of historical parallels, too. These are, to be sure, always rich in instruction even if sometimes a little strained; but really resemblances are the easiest things in the world to find, and Mr. Freeman must pardon us if we are occasionally reminded of *Fluellen's* comparison of Monmouth and Macedon. Neither is Mr. Freeman to be acquitted of a tendency to exaggerate. It is this, no doubt (joined with his strong English feeling), which leads him (p. 5) to say: "Domesday is the first known statistical document of modern Europe"; for of course he is acquainted with the *Polyptico*n of the Abbot Irminon—a document of the time of Charlemagne, which, although limited to the estates of the Abbey of St. Germain, gives their statistics far more minutely than Domesday Book, even to the name of every serf and the number of his children.

It is, again, only his eagerness to make out his theory of the constitution that could lead so accurate a scholar to translate *baronibus rebellem* (of King John) by "in rebellion against his barons." It is certainly a most effective point as Mr. Freeman presents it, and, if a correct translation, would not only "forestall the doctrine of a later age that it was high treason for a king of England to levy war upon his Parliament," but would prove a theory of the constitution in Roger of Wendover inconceivable in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, *rebellis* does not mean *rebel*, but, as its etymology and the original meaning of the Latin *rebellare* would indicate, is nearly equivalent to *hostis*, and that is the meaning of the word in Ducange. Mr. Freeman is not the man that would deliberately mistranslate a word in order to prove a point; but he could not have fallen into this error had he not been delighted to find in it support of his theory. We find a somewhat similar misstatement on page 701, where Philip Augustus is said to have "cunningly devised for himself a jurisprudence out of the romances of Charlemagne," in order to declare the forfeiture of John's French fiefs; here he refers to Sismondi, "on the new-fangled jurisdiction of the twelve peers." But surely there was no more fundamental principle of feudalism than that of trial by one's peers, and, whether such a court existed before or not, nothing is more certain than that the suzerain had full right to organize one. Sismondi says that the organization of the court, and the title "twelve peers," were innovations of this reign, probably borrowed from the romances of Charlemagne; but then the whole judicial system of France was an innovation of this reign, and the only usurpation Sismondi finds in the trial of John is that his fiefs were declared forfeited for a *crime privé*, while the feudal jurisprudence would have warranted judgment only for treason or felony.

In his first volume (p. 99) Mr. Freeman says: "The legislator of feudalism in England was . . . Henry of Anjou." We have waited impatiently for the fifth volume to see this statement made good; for it has seemed clear that if Henry II. could in any sense be called "the legislator of feudalism," it was only in the sense that he reduced the already rampant feudal institutions to rules, holding them in check, and balancing them by the reinvigoration of old national institutions. In the present volume the position is tacitly surrendered. We read (p. 377): "If there was any time when 'the Feudal System' could be said to be introduced into England it was assuredly not in the days of William the Conqueror, but in the days of William the Red." This statement is certainly nearer the truth, and perhaps as near the truth as it is in our power to arrive. The argument by which (following in part Prof. Stubbs) he attributes the formal changes to Randolf Flambard is able and convincing. Even here, however, we do not find it very clearly made out precisely what these formal changes were. Mr. Freeman seems inclined to attribute to Flambard the introduction of the system of military tenures. He said, to be sure, in the first volume (p. 99), that "much land was held by military tenure" before the Conquest, but argues now, at some length (App. HH, p. 864), that there is no distinct mention of such tenures in Domesday In this argument, however, he has passed over several passages which appear to make against him; the strongest is perhaps vol. i, f. 32, in the manor of Ditone held by Wadardus: "ille qui tenet de Wadardo reddit ei unum solidum et servitium unius militis." This certainly appears to be a genuine feudal tenure. Tenure of law by military service, when the military service is paid by the *subject* to the *sovereign*, has nothing feudal about it; it was such as these that Mr. Freeman referred to in his first volume as existing in Anglo-Saxon times, and which he now discusses on pp. 371–2. But the case mentioned above is paid by a *tenant* to his *personal lord*, who is himself a sub-tenant, holding of the bishop, who himself holds of the king. We cannot think, therefore, that Mr. Freeman has got to the bottom of this subject. What he appears to have proved is that those oppressive exactions which we know to have characterized English feudalism as contrasted with that of the continental nations—Aids, Reliefs, and especially Wardship and Marriage—were devised and wrought into a system by the minister of William Rufus. But it is still open for discussion how far tenure by military service existed before this time.

In fact, we confess to a feeling of disappointment in the treatment of Domesday Book. In the fourth volume we were referred to the fifth for a full discussion of this important document. In the fifth we find an admirable opening chapter upon its character and effects, and are very properly directed to the Appendix for discussion upon details. But when we reach the Appendix the volume has already swelled to a portentous size, and on some of the most interesting points (*e.g.*, "Classes in Domesday," App. UU) we are coolly told "this too I must forego." We hope that Mr. Freeman will make use of the leisure afforded him by the completion of his great work to give us, in detached essays, the complete results of his researches upon these points.

After all, we are too grateful to Mr. Freeman for what he has given us in this volume—in which his style and his work are always at their best—to care to complain of what he has not done. Among the best single points we may mention the character of William Rufus (p. 46), the discussion upon the growth of municipalities (p. 473), and of villeinage (p. 477), and the history of the English language (chap. xxv.), and architecture (chap. xxvi.) Mr. Freeman, it was quite certain, would not fail to provide an index for his book, but it is to form a separate volume. And this is the place to make grateful recognition of the pains Mr. Freeman takes to assist his reader, not merely by perspicuity of style, but by all possible external aids. No other historian that we know of approaches him in the

* 'The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results. By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. and LL.D., Late Fellow of Trinity College, etc. Vol. V. The Effects of the Norman Conquest.' 8vo, pp. 901. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

completeness and accuracy of these—running title, marginal index, cross-references, abundance of dates, and a table of contents which is itself an abridged history. We may be permitted, in closing, to express the hope that Mr. Freeman will now take in hand the continuation of his first great work upon Federal Government. No other person possesses equal qualifications for this work.

Works of William Unger. A series of seventy Etchings after the Old Masters. With descriptive text by C. Vosmaer. Ten parts, folio. (New York: J. W. Bouton. 1876.)—Since the time of Heinrich Goltzius, whose plates imitated by turns with equal skill the styles of Dürer and of Michael Angelo, there have been few interpreters of other men's art displaying the inexhaustible versatility of William Unger. It is not that he is the only modern master who displays this flexibility of adaptation; in the dozen etchings representing the gems of Mr. Blodgett's gallery, now in the Metropolitan Museum, M. Jacquemart has changed his style according to the idiom of the original with as much skill as Unger ever displays, and with a little more of the conscientious finish of the virtuoso; and M. Flameng, after excelling in a great many manners, has lately met Unger on his own ground as a copyist of Rembrandt with victorious success. But the works that Unger has been pouring forth for years are as copious as they are facile, and seem to indicate a peculiarly bounteous mind, and an interpreter whose change of rôle is equally ready and complete. His etchings after Franz Hals, consisting of twenty masterly sketches, are hardly in the hands of the public when he scatters a new series of seventy-two works, equally beautiful and true, exhausting the peculiarities of the Dutch, Flemish, Venetian, and Florentine schools. Of these latter works it is hard not to make the praise take on a monotony which is very far from being a characteristic of the plates themselves. A rich sketching power, which, while never attaining or seeking the very last detail, is a sure success in character and local color, has been applied to the masterpieces of the Cassel and other museums, and has brought out into the daylight and to the general public the full power to charm which exists in the lordly works with which those galleries are lined. The paintings represented are such as private people may never hope to possess, and it is a privilege instead of a dishonor to have them in the form of a copy, when the copy is a work of special genius, like any of Unger's. Rubens's superb portrait of a man in black standing with his gloves in his hand in the Brunswick collection, Vandyke's likeness of the Syndic Meustraten, at Cassel, and Rembrandt's "Old Man," at the latter gallery, are three *morceaux de roi* which will always be national rather than individual possessions, but which, following each other as 31, 32, and 33 in this series, are in some sort conferred upon the populace by Unger. No three pictures in juxtaposition could better show his marvellous adaptability. In the first the etching-needles paint their way along in a style broad, open, expansive, and full of the unction of Rubens; the Vandyke gives the elegance, the aristocracy, the pearly complexion, the slightly-studious charm of a courtly portrait-painter; the third has the prepossession for the picturesque, the colossal grasp of beauty in the heart of the ruggedness and ugliness of actual life, which Rembrandt inherited from his youth up. From Palma's "Adam and Eve" to Rembrandt's male and female portraits, from Veronese's stateliness to Tiepolo's dissipated flourishing, from Ostade up to Tintoretto, and from Ruysdael down to the younger Van der Welde, the process of the etcher is equally ready, sympathetic, and cordial. He has made himself the friend of every great master, and acquired the ability to follow the train of thought and explain the slightest gesture of these eloquent men. From this peculiar education he has become eloquent himself. His touch is rich, marrowy, and fragrant, and if he ever errs it is in attributing too much bonhomie and agreeable expansiveness to the drier painters. When he gives an original work, as in the portrait of himself, which begins the series, we plainly see this leaning towards opulence and largeness of style. The mocking-bird's own note is not fuller than some of his imitations. Everything considered, the wonder of Unger's talent is in its abundance, its never-exhausted fund of enjoyment throughout a mass of patient copy-work, and the perfect conscience that always makes the style of the copy seem to be the style the copyist would himself have preferred.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1876.

The Week.

THE President's message has not added fuel to the prevailing excitement. It is a short, matter-of-fact document, beginning with a naïve confession of his utter lack of training for civil administration (by way of apology for the blunders of the past eight years), and ending with a curious vindication of his Santo Domingo policy. The other topics touched upon are: the reduction of the national debt; the Indian policy—in which the extraordinary statement is made, we believe for the first time, that an effort to remove the miners from the Black Hills could only have resulted "in the desertion of the bulk of the troops" sent there for that purpose; our foreign relations, which are all in a good way, the extradition treaty with Great Britain being reserved for a special message; naturalization, and the claims to protection abroad growing out of it; the admission of Colorado; the condition of the military and naval and postal service; the Agricultural Department; the International Exhibition; and the electoral system. Under this last head the President contents himself with calling attention to the urgent need of new and greater safeguards, and adds that "the compulsory support of the free schools and the disfranchisement of all who cannot read and write the English language after a fixed probation" would meet his hearty approval.

The meeting of Congress was unattended with any special "sensation" or even interest. The Senate began proceedings with the discussion of a resolution introduced by Senator Edmunds ordering an enquiry into the recent Southern elections, while, in the House, committees were appointed for the same purpose. Mr. Randall, on taking the chair, made a short speech, which it is amusing to see causes much grief among the sounder Republicans on account of his taking occasion to remind the House that they must resist at all hazards any encroachments of the Executive. This is so eminently a proper thing for the Speaker of the House to do that it would do no sort of harm if every session of Congress were opened with precisely the speech that Mr. Randall made on Monday. It would serve to remind people of what they seem always inclined to forget, that the House is, in a free government like ours, the representative of the people as opposed to the close corporation which manages the Senate, and the Executive, which has been regarded for several hundred years by every free English and American community as likely to make continual encroachments upon popular rights. For the presiding officer of this body to remind it from time to time of the necessity of a vigilant attitude with regard to the Executive is not only no indication of an improper spirit, it is a proof that he knows what he is about, and for anybody to find fault with him at the present time for such a thing, when the President has just been committing impeachable offences, is simply an indication of crass ignorance as to the history of the country and the nature of free institutions.

Mr. Randall was elected Speaker of the House after a short canvass, conducted without spirit, in which Mr. Sayler of Ohio, Mr. Morrison of Illinois, and Mr. Cox of this State were his competitors. There were objections to Mr. Morrison on the score of physical unfitness for a position which requires the muscles of a horse and the lungs of a bull; and against Mr. Cox, on the score of a general flightiness of mind and levity of character. Against Mr. Sayler we do not know that there were any objections; he distinguished himself last winter as Speaker *pro tem.*, and received at the time the praises of both parties. As to Mr. Randall, it is only fair to say that he is as eminently adapted to the work which he will have to do this winter as he was eminently unfitted for that of the Speaker of the last session. Last year, when the Democratic House assembled, the matters before the country which needed settlement or intelligent discussion with a view to improvement were the currency, the tariff, and the general management of the revenue, and for these purposes it was important that a Speaker should be selected whose appointment of committees should be fair, and the rectitude of whose decisions on all points of parliamentary law and procedure would command the confidence not only of his party but of the country. Mr. Kerr was, after an excited canvass, selected, and, as the result proved, a better selection could not have been made. His principal opponent was Mr. Randall, who was defeated because, 1st, he had been a "salary-grabber"; 2d, because he was a protectionist; 3d, because he was an inflationist; and, 4th, because he had the open and undisguised support of every corrupt ring or suspected association of jobbers at Washington.

For these reasons, as the Republican papers now justly remind each other, he was rejected and Mr. Kerr was elected. Now, however, the work before Congress is of a very different kind from that which fell to the lot of Mr. Kerr, and it needs a different man. Congress will sit from now till the 4th of March, and the session will end with the inauguration of a new President. The Democrats honestly believe that Hayes has not been elected; that Tilden has been elected; that if neither has been elected the election ought, under the Constitution, to be thrown into the House; and that the Republicans in the Senate and in conduct of the Administration are preparing to cheat them out of this fairly won victory. They therefore feel that the most important thing for them is to select some man as Speaker who will see that, in the first place, they are not cheated, and, in the second, that every advantage which they can possibly get over their opponents is obtained and secured. They have therefore taken their most able man, a skilled parliamentarian and a bitter partisan; a man who, if his reputation does not belie him, will give his party the benefit of every doubt, and will, if he can, see that his party has the best of the approaching contest. Mr. Randall stands among the Democrats, except that his integrity has never been impeached, in very much the position that Mr. Blaine does among the Republicans, and his selection furnishes one more proof that the Speaker has ceased to be a judicial parliamentary arbitrator between the two parties, and has become a sort of Boss who runs the machine in the interest of his own side.

The Springfield *Republican*, in some excellent remarks on the silly talk of a good many people before election as to the dreadful consequences of Tilden's success, mentions Secretary Morrill's going down to Wall Street "to make a foolish and wanton attack on the public credit which he had sworn to defend," and says, "there is some probability that he will be called to account for his words," but it "should not apprehend that any legal penalty can be affixed to them." We trust there is no doubt that he will be called to account for them. If such a disgraceful breach of a high official trust is not a misdemeanor punishable with fine and imprisonment it ought to be. We trust Congress will take sharp notice of it. We will add, what everybody must see, that some very peremptory legislation is needed to remind men high in office that they are servants of the country and not of the party. The conduct of Chandler and Taft during the late campaign ought, as well as Morrill's, to be made illegal. Fifteen years of great majorities, and of loose and reckless modes of doing business bred by the war, have begot a spirit of lawlessness in high official circles which ought to be stamped out at once. Apropos of this, district-attorneys and collectors who publish for electioneering purposes during a canvass that they have discovered frauds on the revenue by one of the candidates, ought to be compelled to follow them up and account for the money they say has been stolen or concealed. The high revenue

official, for instance, who told Blaine, for use on the stump, that Tilden's withheld income-tax amounted on good proof to $250,000, ought to be compelled to sue for it. Congress ought to examine Blaine as to where he got his information, and see that his informant does his duty.

We have discussed elsewhere the President's use of the troops in South Carolina. During the week the order under which the troops acted, and General Ruger's report in explanation of his course, have appeared. The President, in his letter to the Secretary of War, says: "The Government had been called on to aid, with the military and naval forces of the United States, to maintain Republican government in the State against resistance too formidable to be overcome by the State authorities," and he directs "the Secretary to sustain Governor Chamberlain in his authority against domestic violence." Secretary Cameron, in transmitting the order to General Ruger, bids him "advise with the Governor and dispose his troops in such manner as may be deemed best to carry out the spirit of the above order of the President." It will be observed that the President does not say by whom the Government had been called on for the aid of the army and navy. General Ruger, in his report, says "that on the application of the Governor, and his own belief of the necessity therefor for the preservation of the peace, he placed troops in the State-House, but not in the rooms of assembly of either of the Houses on the day of meeting." His explanation of the use of the soldiers as doorkeepers is that "it came about under the following circumstances"—viz., that "a person at the door of the House, and who claimed authority to examine the certificates of those claiming to be members prior to their admission to the hall, but who he (General Ruger) thought had no legal authority for so doing, applied to the officer in command for the troops."

Now, in the foregoing statement it is to be observed that the occurrences of two years ago in Louisiana showed the necessity of minute instructions to the commanding officer as to his duty, if called upon to preserve order at the organization of a State legislature, and that no such instructions were given him, and in fact no instructions at all, except "to carry out the spirit" of a loosely-written letter of the President; that not only was he not directed to wait for signs of "resistance too formidable to be overcome" by the State authorities, but was directed "to advise with Governor Chamberlain," himself a candidate for office whose success depended on the composition of the Legislature about to assemble; that at the simple request of this gentleman, and before seeing any indication of trouble or disorder, he occupied the State capitol with a military force; that having done so, he left his subordinate officer in such ignorance of his duties that on the application of "a person," one Dennis, the United States Marshal, a disreputable carpet-bagger, and one of the South Carolina Ring, who, General Ruger acknowledges, had no authority whatever in the premises, he detailed a corporal of the guard to pass upon the right of members to enter the House, and this functionary actually for some time examined their certificates, and decided on their validity. During all this it does not appear that Governor Chamberlain made any attempt whatever to police the State-House or its vicinity with any civil force, or to try whether there was any resistance, actual or threatened, to his authority "too formidable to be overcome" by such force. In fact, he seems to have employed United States forces from the first instance on ordinary police duty, and so carelessly and recklessly that "a person," with no rights or authority but those of a bystander, was actually able to take command of a detachment for a short period at the door of the Assembly Hall.

The Louisiana Returning Board has accomplished the work for which it was created by giving the electoral vote of the State to Hayes and the gubernatorial vote to Packard, and returning four Republicans out of the six Congressmen. As this result was anticipated from the first, the announcement of it has caused no disturbance. In South Carolina, the dual legislature having been broken up by the secession of the Democrats, the Republican Senators and what was left of the Mackey House got the start of the Supreme Court and met and canvassed the vote for Governor, and declared Chamberlain re-elected. Telegraphic communication with Florida has been temporarily interrupted.

A good many people during the shifting scenes of the Southern drama last week found their interest in the possible result giving way to curiosity as to how far some of the Republican organs would go in accepting and defending the operations of their active-minded friends down in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and certainly some of the phenomena which met their gaze were very amusing, and recalled forcibly the frivolities of the Ducal Court of Gerolstein. For instance, we doubt if there ever occurred in that principality anything more comic and unlooked-for than Governor Stearns's announcement that he would count the vote himself, his change of mind and determination not to do so, and then his appearance by counsel before the Court after such change to resist a motion for an injunction restraining him from doing it. Then, in Louisiana, the Simple-Minded Strangers sent down by the President solemnly declared to the Democrats, when asked to join them in watching the Returning Board, that

"It is, in our judgment, vital to the preservation of constitutional liberty that the habit of obedience to the forms of law should be sedulously inculcated and cultivated, and that the resort to extra-constitutional modes of redress for even actual grievances should be avoided and condemned as revolutionary, disorganizing, and tending to disorder and anarchy."

But almost at the same moment, up in South Carolina, the Board of Canvassers were setting at naught the order of the Supreme Court, and the *Times* and *Tribune* in this city were justifying it, on the ground that the judges were bad fellows and had exceeded their jurisdiction. Indeed, an appeal was taken to these two papers, and the judgment of the court was reversed with some hesitation in an editorial article in the *Tribune* of the 29th ult., but reversed with a loud rattle in the *Times* of the same date, which commented with great severity on the action of the court below, declaring "that the orders issued have no parallel in the recorded practice of any court in Christendom." The court, however, defiantly locked up the canvassers for contempt. At this point Judge Bond, of the Federal Circuit Court, appeared on the scene and had the prisoners brought before him on a habeas corpus. Anywhere out of the Grand Duchy one would have supposed that the return that they were in custody for contempt by order of a State Court of Record would have led to the prompt dismissal of the writ. Instead of this he virtually released them by handing them over to the United States Marshal, who was of course prepared to defend them with troops. An appeal was taken from Judge Bond's action, before the return of the writ, to the *Times*, and it gave judgment in its issue of the 28th ult. The point *seemed* to the outside world either clear against Judge Bond, or at all events knotty, but the *Times* gave the Supreme Court again a very severe wigging, decided every point against it, and directed Judge Bond to discharge the men. The terms of the judgment, too, would have gone far to justify him in giving the members of the State Court fifty lashes apiece on the bare back. Indeed, it appeared from it that whenever the United States Circuit Court did not like the looks of things in the State courts in South Carolina it might have the whole concern brought up on a *certiorari* or other conveyance, and committed to the custody of "Dennis."

Our article last week on the duty of the Presidential electors at the present crisis has had one result of a somewhat comic character. It led Mr. Daniel E. Sickles to announce to the *Tribune* reporter that somebody had "traced a curious relation between some recent articles in the *Nation* and a well-known disciple of the paper in the old Bay State" (Mr. J. R. Lowell), and intimated that Mr. Lowell

might possibly take our advice and vote so as to throw the election into the House. This sent a tremor through the political ranks and caused additions to be promptly made to the story—viz., that Mr. Lowell had himself written the article and that he had "revised it," and finally he was interviewed and compelled to confess that he had not written it or revised it, or known anything about the writing of it, and had no intention, and never had had any, of doing what it suggested; which is all, of course, strictly accurate. What we have most enjoyed about the affair is that the party moralists, while feeling horror-stricken by our suggestion, have only suspected men of the very highest character of heeding it. "Here's baseness," they said, "and, good heavens! the most honorable men in the Electoral College are the very ones most likely to commit it. What are we coming to?" And then there was the now familiar rolling of eyes and holding up of hands.

As regards the merits of the question, we repeat that if any elector saw the force of our argument, and took our view of the nature of the crisis, he would have done right in following our advice; if he did not share our opinions, he would have done wrong. For we find any language our self-respect will permit us to use too feeble for adequate reprobation of the doctrine that any "understanding" with any human beings, and, above all, an understanding entered into in evasion or defiance of the law of the land, can reduce a citizen to the position of a mere brute instrument of another's will, condemn him absolutely to the discharge of functions to which a dog or a monkey would be equal, and so drown his reason and conscience that, having been deputed to fire a mine in order to clear a ship-channel, he is bound to do it though he discovers that the explosion will wreck a populous city. How does any caucus moralist dare to talk to us of the "strictly ministerial" nature of the elector's functions when he knows that he himself would heartily approve the diversion of a vote if it were discovered on the morning of election that Hayes, for instance, had become insane, or had committed a crime, or had entered into a corrupt compact with the Democrats? One great advantage of the pending discussions is that they are bringing to the surface the very dregs and sediment of party immorality, the deposits of years of cultivated mental and moral obliquity. As we look into the vat we hear psalm-singing, but we smell brimstone.

The suggestion that somebody in the Electoral College should so cast his vote as to throw the election into the House, and thus deliver the country from the mischief of a disputed election, although this would probably result in Mr. Tilden's election, and our questions addressed to Mr. Hayes with regard to his acceptance of the Presidency from the Louisiana Returning Board, have drawn out in some quarters the enquiry why, in the present crisis, the Republicans only should be called on to make the necessary sacrifices. We know how much the party has done within the last ten years to blunt the moral sense of the community, and yet, we confess, this surprises us. The reason why Republicans are asked to set matters right is, because Republicans hold the civil service, and the army and navy, and the revenue, and have used them all freely for partisan purposes in the late canvass; because every one of the Government officials from the President down has taken part in the campaign as a bitter partisan, and, in some cases, as that of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Attorney-General, with great indecency; because all the Returning Boards in the doubtful States are controlled by Republicans, and, in some cases, contain candidates for office, and because if there be a *judicial* fraud or chicane committed in examining the votes in those States it has been committed by Republicans.

Nor is it any answer to this that the Democrats have committed frauds too, and have been guilty of intimidation. The Democrats, brethren, have not committed judicial frauds, such as you are suspected of, and which are the worst of all frauds, and, though we do not doubt they have intimidated, the intimidation has not been proved before any proper tribunal, and you have taken good care not to provide one. You cannot throw out votes on newspaper letters and telegrams, can you? Moreover, you have set an example of intimidation yourselves in forcing 60,000 or 70,000 office-holders to vote your ticket and subscribe to your election fund on pain of dismissal. Not being Guatemalans or Costa Ricans, therefore, you must perceive that you are, in the present crisis, the responsible party; that it is through you the wrong has come, if wrong there be, and it is to you, therefore, the country looks to see—much as it may cost you—that right be done.

There has not during the week been change enough in the political situation to dispel the doubts and fears which have so injuriously affected business since the Presidential election. The export trade is sustained by the probability that some time within the next six months there will be war in Europe. The import trade has fallen back to the diminutive proportions of the early part of last summer before the improvement which preceded the Presidential election had begun. Domestic exchanges represent only the business which is absolutely necessary, the contemplation even of new enterprises having been put off until after the settlement of the Presidential contest. Wall Street reflects the general dulness, and the volume of business at the Stock Exchange has been as small during the week as at any time in the dullest seasons. Gold continues to flow here from Europe, the importations of specie having been close on to $2,500,000 in the last six days. At one time the decline in the price of U. S. new five per cent. bonds in London, the advance in the rate of discounts to near the Bank of England rate, and the advance of half a penny by that institution in the price at which it sells American gold, were thought to indicate the beginning of the end of specie shipments from London to New York, but since then several new shipments have been made. Silver in London has advanced to 55¼*d.* to 55½*d.* per ounce, English standard, and the price here has advanced to $1 19½ per ounce of 1,000 fine; at this price the gold value of the old silver dollar would be $0 9242. The gold value of the U. S. legal-tender note for one dollar has ranged during the week between $0.9174 and $0.9248.

A ministerial crisis has arisen in France which may prove serious, the Left having not unexpectedly broken with M. Dufaure, President of the Council and Minister of Justice and Public Worship, over the estimates for ecclesiastical purposes. An attempt was made by one of the wilder Radicals to defeat the appropriation for the maintenance of the Legation at the Vatican, but Gambetta interfered here and with much good sense blocked the amendment, remembering how many pious Catholic voters there were in France. But the anti-clerical movement gained ground, and the vote for a Carmelite school was defeated by a heavy majority, followed by another blow of the same sort against clerical scholarships. The Government has also come to loggerheads with the Left over the refusal of the military authorities to permit military honors to be paid to members of the Legion of Honor who are buried without religious services. An attempt to make a compromise by bill failed in the Senate, and the acceptance by M. Marcère, the Minister of the Interior, of an Assembly resolution expressing confidence that the Government would in these burials respect liberty of conscience, seems to have exasperated M. Dufaure, and on Saturday, the day following his defeat on the scholarships, he resigned. The Duc Decazes (Foreign Affairs) took the same view of M. Marcère's action, while M. Léon Say (Finance) and General Berthault (War) sided with him, and, the dissension growing more serious, all have resigned. The difficulty of the situation is that any ministry the majority of the Assembly would support would be too radical for Marshal MacMahon, and one the Senate would support would be too conservative, and people are waiting to see which he will rely on, or whether he will try to have a ministry of his own. Gambetta's organ recommends reconstruction under Léon Say without Dufaure, but, curiously enough, objects to any marked change in the Radical direction. Everything will now depend on the tact and good sense of the Marshal, and they will probably not fail him.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND PARTY PASSION.

WE trust the bearing of the crisis through which the country is now passing on the question of civil-service reform is not lost on the multitudes of intelligent people to whom the events of the day are causing more than usually serious reflection. When the news that Tilden was elected was spread abroad on the 8th of November it caused consternation in every Government office in the country hardly less great than if a foreign enemy had seized on the capital. It caused tens of thousands to tremble for their subsistence and that of their families in the midst of a season of great business depression. Not only were they, as it seemed to them, threatened with loss of employment, but with the loss of all the advantage derived from experience—it might be of some years—in one kind of work. They were, they thought, going to be dismissed by a master who would give them no recommendation, and whose service did not fit them for that of anybody else. The reports from Washington said the scenes in many of the departments were distressing in the extreme. So, on the other hand, when the Republican papers on the following day began to show "grit," and maintain that Hayes was elected, there was wild rejoicing in the Government offices—as wild as if the enemy aforesaid had been unexpectedly beaten at the gates, and forced to retreat. In fact, putting the number of Government employees down at 80,000, it is safe to say that the result of the election was awaited by 50,000 households with intense anxiety, and that if Tilden is positively elected during the present week it will cause nearly as much wailing among women and children as would the occupation of a country by a victorious invading army.

That this state of things is a national shame and disgrace, all the deeper because in no other civilized country can it be witnessed, few will question, and yet we have taken only the sentimental view of it. There is a practical view in which it shows its dangerous as well as discreditable side. The practice of making a clean sweep of the office-holders when a new party comes into power gives a change of Administration something of the character of a revolution, and therefore rouses passions on both sides which are little short of revolutionary in their violence. It became evident at a very early period in the history of the Government that the Presidential election would be a process involving great strain to the whole political fabric, owing to the extreme reluctance of the party in power to surrender it, particularly after a long tenure of office. At the first change that occurred the Federalists stood very much in the position in which the Republicans now stand—that is, they were the party which had carried the country successfully through the Revolutionary War and had founded the new Government, and which contained, as they thought, the greater part of the religion, morality, and reverence for law of the whole country. The Republicans stood in the position now held by the Democrats, and were looked upon as atheists, Jacobins, communists, and profligates, who would, if admitted to power, imitate their French *confrères*, destroy the public credit, abolish marriage and property, and engage in "a carnival of crime." So strong was the feeling on this point that the best Federalist felt as if almost any measure would be justifiable in trying to prevent so horrible a consummation. Many of our readers will recall Hamilton's letter to Jay, when governor of New York (when the defeat of the Federalists in the State in 1800 promised an anti-Federal majority in the legislature), in which he proposed calling the existing legislature at once together, and giving the choice of the Presidential electors to the people in districts, which he said would ensure a majority of votes for a Federal candidate. He acknowledged that there were weighty objections to the measure, but added:

"In times like these in which we live *it will not do to be over-scrupulous*. It is easy to sacrifice the substantial interests of society by a strict adherence to ordinary rules. In observing this I shall not be supposed to mean that anything ought to be done which integrity will forbid; but merely that scruples of delicacy and propriety as relative to a common course of things ought to yield to the extraordinary nature of the crisis. They ought not to hinder the taking of a legal and constitutional step to prevent an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics [Thomas Jefferson] from getting possession of the helm of state."

How many arguments of this sort must have been used during the last month to and by the three now famous Returning Boards! And how like this sounds to an editorial article in *Harper's Weekly* on the Democrats:

"You know, sir, in a great degree, the anti-Federal party; but I fear you do not know them as well I do. It is a composition indeed of very incongruous materials, but all tending to mischief—some of them to the overthrow of the Government by stripping it of its due energies; others of them to a revolution after the manner of Bonaparte. *I speak from indubitable facts, not from conjectures and inferences.* In proportion as the true character of the party is understood is the force of the considerations which urge to every effort to disappoint it, and it seems to me there is a very solemn obligation to employ the means in our power."

And how like this is to a possible editorial article in the New York *Times* after Tilden's election, from a speech ascribed to Mr. Theodore Dwight before the Connecticut Society of Cincinnati in 1801 after Jefferson's election:

"We have now reached the consummation of Democratic blessedness. We have a country governed by blockheads and knaves; the ties of marriage with all its felicities are severed and destroyed; our wives and daughters are thrown into the stews; our children are cast into the world from the breast forgotten; filial piety is extinguished, and our surnames, the only mark of distinction among families, are abolished. Can imagination paint anything more dreadful this side of hell? Some parts of the subject are, indeed, fit only for horrid contemplation."

We do not mean to push the illustration so far as to say that there are no better reasons for distrusting the Democrats now than there were for distrusting the Republicans then; but, on the other hand, the Federalists had claims to popular confidence, in the character of their leaders and the nature of their services, which our Republican Group are far enough from possessing. Our object is simply to show the state of frantic alarm and *unscrupulousness* into which an intelligent and honorable party could even then work itself at the prospect of its own expulsion from office, although the spoils system had not been invented, and the tremors of the chiefs were not felt among the clerks and tidewaiters, and the machinery of state was small and cheap. The experience recurred again when the Jeffersonians under their new name of Democrats reached the limits of *their* usefulness. From 1852 to 1860 they rent the air with accounts of the horrors that would follow a Republican victory, and began that unflinching use of the Civil Service as an electioneering machine which the Republicans have since carried to its last limits. The district-attorneys, marshals, collectors, and postmasters were taught to cast aside the last shreds of decorum and restraint, and devote themselves to the unblushing practice of the partisanship of which our friend Mr. Bliss is the perfected flower. They turned the navy-yards into beds of corruption, and they began the practice of organizing State legislatures with troops which President Grant has extended and improved, and it was all defended on the ground that the country would be ruined if "the Black Republicans" got into power. The Southerners were sincere in their belief, and seceded when everything else had failed.

We have during the late canvass been witnessing the use of the same tactics under the influence of the same ideas, and we have no doubt we shall witness them again. When a party has remained in power ten or fifteen years, and used all the resources of the country as if they belonged to the party, it naturally gets into the way of thinking and talking of itself as if it were the nation, and as if its enemies were Catilines who had designs on the very existence of the Government. The late Republican canvass has, in fact, consisted almost exclusively of the preaching of this idea, and a certain weight and solemnity has been given to it by the fact that to the prodigious body of office-holders whom it now has in its pay the campaign was a fight for life. One of the most repulsive features of the system is that, after the fight is over, if the party in power is de-

feated, all these unfortunates are left at the mercy of the victor. The Chandlers and Camerons and Blaines, who have dragged them into the fray and put them in the position of active enemies of the other side, slink off to their comfortable homes, and the wretched subordinates are left to meet in a Christian country a punishment of atrocious cruelty inflicted for no offence known to the law, and working in its infliction infinite mischief to the public.

It is the interest of the honest people whose taxes and power furnish the stakes in the political game that the spirit of desperation and unscrupulousness should, as far as the weakness of human nature will permit, be taken out of Presidential contests, and it is their duty to take it out. Good government requires that the change of Administration should be as easy as is consistent with calm and deliberation, and that there should be no more strain caused by it and no greater obstacles to it than the Constitution has made necessary; and the very first test which ought to be applied to the incoming President, whoever he may be, is the civil-service test. Mr. Hayes has profited by, if he has not connived at, the most widespread and reckless use of the civil service for electioneering purposes ever witnessed, and we should expect at his hands, as the first evidence of reforming zeal, the stoppage of this system, not in name only but in reality, and the prompt dismissal of all prominent officials who, having been active in it, have been debauched by it, and rendered unfit for the ordinary duties of their places. Look at Dennis, for instance, "the furniture man" and United States marshal, who "assumed judicial functions" and took command of the United States troops the other day in the South Carolina State-House. Look at Messrs. Bliss and Raum, who have been getting up "campaign charges" against Mr. Tilden in their official capacity. No reformed and well-ordered Government service in our day has any place for such men. And if Mr. Tilden should come in and apply the spoils system in any degree whatever, or for any reasons which he cannot or will not put on paper, to the trembling multitude who will await his advent in the Government offices, or use his power for simple vengeance, he may rely upon it no plea of Republican equality in badness will save him from just reprobation, and he will throw away an opportunity of earning a splendid and enduring fame such as has been offered to none of his predecessors except Lincoln. The people are tired of the *vos quoque* argument. "Well, is the other party any better?" has become a street joke.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S USE OF THE TROOPS.

THERE is more or less talk, at this writing, of the impeachment of the President and Secretary of War when Congress meets, for their unlawful use of the troops in South Carolina. Granting everything that may be claimed by way of defence for sending the troops to Columbia to help Governor Chamberlain to preserve the peace at the opening of the Legislature, we know of no way of defending their presence in the State-House except to quell a riot in which the police had been overwhelmed. That Mr. Chamberlain had stationed any police, or sheriff's posse, or other civil force ordinarily used in the preservation of order in the State, in preparation for the opening, or that any such force was called on or talked of by anybody, nowhere appears. That this force—the police or a posse commanded by the sheriff—should be the first resort of an American governor in all cases of apprehended violence we do not need to inform our readers. It is to police, in as large force as he may consider necessary, that his first resort should always be, and above all on an occasion so delicate and needing so much attention to appearances as the meeting of a legislature. To this force soldiers may be a proper supplement or reserve; but supplement or reserve, and nothing more, they should always remain. In Columbia, however, they seem to have been used as police from the first moment as freely and apparently with as little sense of indecorum as in Paris in 1851. They were in possession not only of the State-House, but of the hall of the Legislature, and the members could only reach their seats on satisfying the corporal of the guard, who in his turn appears to have been under the orders of one Dennis, a United States marshal, a carpet-bagger, an old member of the Scott Ring, concerned in the famous job for furnishing the State-House of which we published some particulars at the time, and in other respects like most of his kind.

The simple and constitutional course would seem to have been to have the troops in Columbia, and perhaps, if thought advisable, in the neighborhood of the State-House and under arms, but to warn Chamberlain and his friends that they could only be called on when it had been plainly demonstrated that his civil force was unable to preserve order or quell disorder, and then to confine them to the simple task of keeping the peace, leaving the question of the qualifications of the members to be determined in the usual way, or not determined at all. Has the spectacle ever been witnessed out of the United States of an armed corporal of the guard passing on the validity of election certificates at the door of a legislature? Troops are used under military monarchies for all sorts of purposes which we consider very reprehensible, but we do not think they have ever been used with such gross indecency as in this case and that of Louisiana. They have twice in France and once in England turned a legislature out of doors, but then in all these cases it was freely acknowledged that it was a revolutionary proceeding, intended to effect a change of government. Our use of troops in the organization of legislatures, on the contrary, takes place apparently as a part of the regular machinery of constitutional government.

Nor can it be pleaded that what has occurred in South Carolina is a surprise or the result of an oversight, or that General Ruger is to blame. This is the third time that the organization of a legislature under the supervision of a military force has taken place under General Grant's administration. When the last affair of this kind occurred in Louisiana two years ago, his attention was fully called to the criminality of this use of the troops, and he acknowledged it, but pleaded ignorance of what had occurred until all was over. So that, knowing the circumstances under which the soldiers were called for in South Carolina, he ought to have guarded against the repetition of the Louisiana scenes by full and minute instructions to the commanding officer, and if Mr. Cameron did not give these he was guilty of criminal negligence.

Nor are we prepared to deny that in a *primâ-facie* view of the case impeachment may be the duty of the House. If there be an offence which as a general rule ought to bring down impeachment it is this, for it strikes at the very vitals of constitutional government, and acquiescence in it would be a long step towards Mexicanization. Moreover, we do not think the impossibility of securing a conviction from the Senate of itself a sufficient reason for not bringing the charge, because the object of impeachment would be partially attained by putting on record in the most striking way the reprobation of the popular branch of the Legislature directed against such acts. In fact, this seems to us the strongest argument in favor of impeachment. Future generations ought to know that though such things were done in our time, and though there were practical difficulties in the way of punishing them, they were none the less deemed illegal by the authorized exponents of popular sentiment, and were solemnly stigmatized as such. We do not deem this a conclusive argument, however, for the reason that the same end can be reached by resolution properly drawn and debated.

But then, after considering everything that can be said in favor of it, we hope the Democrats will not attempt it. They must remember that the thing which most oppresses the public mind just now is the danger of confusion at the moment of the transfer of the power from one President to another, and that what does most to secure them any support they are receiving, or likely to receive, from Republicans at the present crisis is the desire for peace and quiet, and for a speedy return to the normal working of the political machine. Any step, therefore, which prolonged or intensified the excitement, or increased the uncertainty about the future, would surely in the long run bring down great indignation on the authors, however good their motives might be. They would, therefore, do

well to let impeachment alone, for the same reason that they will do well to avoid all violence of speech and behavior. There are, too, some special reasons why the country can afford to overlook many of General Grant's misdeeds and shortcomings. He is, in a peculiar degree, the product of the Civil War. He had no claims to the office except such as the war gave him; and though these were tolerably strong in 1868, they had ceased to exist in 1872; and if we condemn his renomination, as well we may, by the Republicans in that year, we must remind the Democrats that they powerfully contributed to his re-election by making a nomination of their own which it is no exaggeration to call farcical. But that such another man is likely in our time, or in that of our children, to find his way into the Presidential chair is altogether unlikely. One result of his ignorance, combined with his military training, is that he is badly advised. His Cabinets have been too largely comprised of personal favorites selected without reference to their antecedents, and offering the public but few guarantees in the shape of experience or character. The result has been that they have largely contented themselves on critical occasions with humoring him. His personal friends, too, are nearly all ordinary and ignorant men, to whom politics is but a game of euchre with heavy stakes. To impeach a President with such surroundings would have many of the characteristics of a farce. There ought to be some formal condemnation of his conduct, but, for the rest, we must bear with him to the end.

We must remember, too, in judging him that he has really been encouraged in nearly all his doubtful acts by large numbers of good Republicans, whose state of mind has for students of politics the same value, as an illustration, that "rudimentary organs" in the animal frame have for students of biology and comparative anatomy, in recalling long-lost functions and extinct modes of life. When one heard an American refusing to raise his voice two years ago against the misuse of military force in Louisiana, or heard him lately refusing to condemn the use of it in Carolina, out of gratitude for "Grant's services in the war," or "because the South has brought it all on herself"—or, in other words, expressing readiness to sacrifice the Constitution of his country to some sentiment or passion of his own—one saw a portion of the process by which so many free governments have in other ages been destroyed. The lesson is none the less instructive, too, because no immediate mischief is perceptible from such talk. The poison of which states perish is as slow and insidious as the approach of old age in a healthy man. It is impossible to say when its effects were first felt, when the habits of legality on which freedom rests were first weakened; but some day, on looking back ten, twenty, or thirty years, we see that the vigilance, the sense of decorum, the righteous indignation, the keen jealousy of all stretches of power by which freedom is maintained and defended, are no longer as available as they once were for repression and punishment. We know all that can be said in proof of *our* security. It is mostly sound and true; but we entreat of those honest and well-meaning men who are so convinced of the value of the Republican party as the defence of real liberty and order against the assaults of ignorance, violence, and cupidity that they are ready to pardon almost any device for keeping it in power, to remember the enormous body of voters which is every year being added to the ranks of their opponents without any political training or experience, and but little idea of the public good apart from the immediate gratification of their own desires, and to beware how they furnish precedents to this restless mass of wild desire. "Troops" are very tempting instruments of justice, but do not be too sure that they will always be used in ways good Americans will approve. Do not be too sure that *your* man, or any man in whom you have the least confidence, will always be in the White House to command the army and navy. Those who wish to make this Government the champion of order and freedom and morality will do well to stand fast by the law in its letter no less than its spirit, and to remember the great lesson that it is only by suffering single wrongs and small wrongs to go now and then unredressed, by discerning keenly the disorders that are slight and transitory from those that are deep-seated and dangerous, that the supremacy of great principles can be maintained.

THE "NEOPHOGEN," OR NEW-LIGHT-PRODUCING, COLLEGE.

IT is not our practice to call attention editorially to schools or colleges, but the attractions of the "Neophogen" (or New-Light-Producing) "Male and Female College" of Gallatin, Tennessee, seem to us so remarkable that we feel that our rule will, on this occasion, be truly more honored in the breach than in the observance. We hope we have properly translated the President's Greek. The semi-annual catalogue of December, 1875, which now lies before us—and which, we are ashamed to say, only came into our hands very recently—informs us by a small, well-executed map on the frontispiece that the college lies in Sumner County, the area of which is 533 square miles. Turning the leaf we come on lithographed portraits of the eight "honor-students" of the college—four male and four female—headed by that of the President himself, who is apparently a man of commanding presence and ripe culture, though, if we might criticise at all, we should say that his appearance in full evening dress without a cravat is a regrettable departure from what we consider sound and well-established usage. It is the more to be deplored because "Etiquette" forms a prominent feature in the college course. Indeed, the catalogue says that "Etiquette is a Specialty, not a matter of choice [in the curriculum] but compulsion," and that

> "The course of training in it is, in great part, original. Here it is the theory with continued practice. We think we have the politest students in America. The salutation, the bow, the courtesy, the word, the tone, the look, the inflection, vocal and physical, the attitude, the hand, the feet, the spine, and eye are all observed and studied, and the students daily exercised in them."

How the Head of a College who observes and studies even the spines of his students, and exercises the students in their spines in the interest of Etiquette, could be guilty of so great a solecism as sitting for his portrait without a necktie, we own puzzles us, but we dare say it can, and, when attention is called to it, will be explained. Another "Specialty" is the English language, the neglect of which in our institutions of learning the President justly mourns, and says he "has known many talented and ingenious men possessed of great knowledge, whose contributions to our literary wealth would have been invaluable, yet they were deterred from writing for the public eye in consequence of their imperfect knowledge of English grammar"; and he adds, doubtless having some neighboring seminaries in his eye: "Many graduates from some of the female colleges ought to be introduced to a very *unpopular* [the italics are doubtless sarcasm] little work called the 'Elementary Spelling-Book,'" "and would," he observes scornfully, "were they to enter *this* school." In fact, he offered a one-hundred-dollar gold medal in 1875 to any student of a Kentucky or Tennessee college who should beat his students in the English language. We need hardly say that nobody was bold enough to compete for the prize. As regards terms, the college is the "cheapest in America," partly owing to the low prices of necessaries in Sumner County, but mainly to the fact that the President has "broken the shackles of mental servitude, and is guided by no landmarks in teaching that reason, common sense, and experience do not approbate," and he justly observes "that price is not an evidence of quality. Plato taught in a grove; Socrates everywhere, and brick and mortar are poor substitutes for talent."

The college, as we have before said, is a coeducator, and contained last year about 110 male and about 75 female students, the intercourse between whom, however, seems to us to be unduly restricted, considering the lofty character of the instruction. The sexes study in separate halls, but "the young ladies and gentlemen are permitted, we may say required, to have interviews in the drawing rooms twice in each month," and "the refining, elevating, and stimulating effects of these associations," we are told, "must be seen to be appreciated." Here, as on the subject of the cravat, we must respectfully but firmly dissent from President Walton. We question much whether any young gentleman—we can only answer for our own sex—was ever "stimulated" or "elevated" by a compulsory fortnightly interview with a girl or girls. We of course speak without practical experience of the system, but we put it to the President whether he has not made his statement a little too sweeping, and whether the interviews have taken place with sufficient frequency to enable him to speak with positiveness as to their effects, and whether he has ever tried the voluntary system in his capacious and tasteful parlors. Among the degrees are "M.E.L."

(Master or Mistress of the English Language), "B.A.LL." or "M.A.LL." (Bachelor or Maid of the Ancient Languages), "B P." or "M.P." (Bachelor or Maid of Philosophy), and "B.F.A." or "M.F.A." (Bachelor or Maid of Fine Arts), which requires Music, Drawing, Painting, and Wax work. There are several degrees for Bachelors and Maids besides these, but we have selected the most remarkable and attractive. Honorary degrees, we are glad to perceive, "are only conferred on the *pre eminently* worthy," and the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Gallatin has received one and is now a "Doctor of Divinity" of the College.

On the general advantages of the College, which we believe has been in existence ten or twelve years, we hardly feel competent to expatiate, and only wish we could place a copy of the catalogue in the hands of every one of our readers. The Institution is "centrally located between the North and South, the East and the West" (a circumstance which alone would distinguish it from every other college in the world), and is surrounded by scenery to the description of which President Walton's pen, although he is professor of "Belles-Lettres," is evidently not equal, but he does remark that his district "is the land of the poet's dream and the home of the artist's heart"—a very unusual combination, to speak moderately. As to the city of Gallatin, he says that "Health and Wealth are here combined with 3,500 citizens who cannot be surpassed for intelligence and refinement," and he adds, "that no parallel can be found, estimating the population, to the ten first-class turnpikes" that lead into the city. The "combination of health and wealth with 3,500 refined and intelligent citizens" and "ten first-class turnpikes" would suffice to make Gallatin a remarkable place, but this is not all. The President "claims for Gallatin *and its vicinity*" (the italics are ours) "that true virtue and magnanimity found alone in the most refined society. Here," says he, "identity is lost in public spirit"—which must cause some confusion in the streets and on the turnpikes—"here a studious observance of the rights of others is ever manifested." We confess on reading this we were led to fear that the inhabitants gave themselves airs and tried to live in haughty seclusion from the hardy agriculturists of the surrounding region. But President Walton, doubtless anticipating this morbid anxiety, goes on to explain: "While we studiously ignore the idea of aristocracy and nobility, our minds are pleasantly associated with dignity and purity."

We regret to perceive in the catalogue some evidence that the President's pure and dignified mind is more or less troubled by the low and sordid cares of real-estate speculation, for he offers "liberal terms to families wishing to purchase lots and improve them"; but the momentary pain which this discovery caused us was dissipated completely when we turned the page and our eye rested on the following noble offer to "Learned Men," which we reproduce in full, and with emotion which we make no attempt to conceal:

"Learned men who have failed in business are tendered every inducement to take a life-home here. We intend to take the most active measures to raise a large life-fund for the relief of unfortunate literary men. Let them have homes and the Society of Congenial Spirits."

BALZAC'S CORRESPONDENCE.

PARIS, November 18.

AMONG French novelists none holds a more eminent place than Honoré de Balzac. There is also none probably who has been more extensively read out of France. His 'Comédie humaine' has been considered a true exponent of Parisian and provincial life. Balzac is a wonderful creator; he has given life to any number of types, and it was a very happy idea of his to reintroduce his old heroes in his new novels, so that you finally almost believe in the reality of the Rastignacs, the Bixious, the Nucingens, etc., whom you meet everywhere. In one sense Balzac may also be called prophetic. It will perhaps astonish my readers if I say that Balzac described less the society of his own quiet bourgeois time than the society which was coming—the society of the Empire. He was like those men who see the shadow of coming events. Living in the great Parisian centre, as sensitive as a nervous centre, like a spider in the middle of his web, he saw, he studied those curious characters which afterwards became predominant—the unprincipled and clever journalist, the elegant rogue, the gambler, the corrupt functionary, the *lorette*, the duchess of the Faubourg St. Germain, who was no better than the *lorette*. We have all seen the 'Comédie humaine' in full bloom under the Empire. Rastignac helped to make the *coup d'état;* I could name him, and tell how many millions he took from the coffers of the state; he accomplished his programme to the letter. Balzac shows him after the funeral of the old Père Goriot, whom he alone had followed to the grave in the cold mist of the morning, sad, vengeful, turning towards the great capital extended before his feet: "À nous deux maintenant." He became a minister, a millionaire; he continued to be an "homme à bonnes fortunes." Bixiou wrote pamphlets on the Eastern or on the Roman question. We have, so to speak, lived with these men; we have known the heroines and the heroes of Balzac. When I happen by chance to fall on an old volume of his, it seems as if my youth were rising before me Many a drama have I seen darker than the dramas of Balzac's, but it must be confessed that he has entered deeper than any man into the depths of human nature. His instincts were corrupt, his intelligence was wonderfully lucid and receptive. He was wiser than the wisest; he saw that the humdrum parliamentary régime did not much suit the French temper; he despised the Crevels, the commanders of that national guard who abandoned Louis Philippe in 1828. He had, like Mérimée, like Henri Beyle, a curious attraction for the iron types of the First Empire. He understood also the French peasant, who still nurses in his heart the hatreds of centuries.

Two volumes of Balzac's correspondence, extending from 1819 to 1830, have just been published, and it was impossible that they should not be read with much interest. Before I opened the two volumes, however, I said to myself, It is impossible that Balzac should be a model of epistolary art, and my reason was simply this: Balzac was too busy to enjoy the luxury of writing *good* letters. It is only your idle man who can polish a letter; the slaves of modern literature, those who must provide for the intellectual food of the devouring millions, cannot waste their time in the pretty details of a letter. Among your correspondents you will always find that the only good letters come from those who have leisure. Mme. de Sévigné, Walpole, Mme. du Deffand, Paul-Louis Courier, Mme. de Maintenon, all had hours and days to spare. Balzac was, on the contrary, one of the most indefatigable producers of his time; the mere material labor of writing all he did write is stupendous. Add to it the intellectual effort, and you will clearly understand that Balzac only wrote letters when he was forced to do so I have heard all the readers of the two volumes of this correspondence complain that there was so constantly a question of money in it. It was to be expected; most of the letters before us were in reality business letters. Balzac had, besides, what may be called the financial mania; he thought that his brain could engender millions as it did heroes and heroines. He was an incessant schemer, a speculator; he never ceased to adore Fortune, and to believe that the blind goddess would some day adopt him, and take him as a favorite.

We find him in 1819 in Paris, whither he had gone secretly; all the friends of his family had been told that he was gone to make a visit to a cousin in Alby. He was writing his first book, and his sister, Laura de Balzac, was his principal confidant. This sister sent him his father's old clothes, which were refitted for him by a small tailor. He had not money enough to go to the Théâtre-Français. He was happy "to live after my fancy, to work after my taste; not to do anything, if I like; to dream of the future, to think of you whom I know to be happy; to have for my mistress the 'Julie' of Rousseau, for friends La Fontaine and Molière, Racine for master, and the Père-Lachaise for a promenade! Oh! I wish this could always last." He was at that time writing tragedies; he prepared a 'Cromwell.' In 1822 he sells his 'Héritière de Birague' for 800 francs, and he is proud to say that 1,000 francs have been promised for his next novel. He was even paid more generously: 'Jean-Louis' brought him 1,300 francs; 'Clotilde de Lusignan,' 2,000 francs. He makes contracts for other novels, and is paid beforehand, partly in cash, partly in bills. "I make the finest projects in the world," he writes to his sister Laura, now become Madame de Surville; "when my novels are worth 2,000 francs, I will take a wise and faithful wife, if I can, and bury myself in a pretty home as new and well-varnished as a German toy. An author ought to be married; somebody must take care of his fortune, of his house; Madame de Balzac, junior, will be very happy." Balzac's head is in constant ebullition. As soon as he has written something he is disgusted with it. Finding himself in 1825 in a very precarious position, he undertook to publish the French classics in new editions. This speculation was unsuccessful, and was abandoned after the publication of one volume of Molière and one volume of La Fontaine. He had bought a printing office for this object, and in 1827 was obliged to resell it at a heavy loss. When he had first arrived in Paris, he was only poor; now he was in debt. "A postage-stamp, an omnibus fare are expenses which I have to abstain from, and I do not go out in order not to wear my clothes" (1827—Letter to Mme. de Surville). He writes the 'Chouans,' and has time to send long letters to Mme. d'Abrantès, a now forgotten celebrity. We find in one this curious passage:

"I have the most singular character I know. I study myself as I would another man; in my five feet two inches I contain all possible contrasts, and those who think me vain, prodigal, obstinate, light, without method in my ideas, conceited, neglectful, lazy, unthinking, inconstant, tactless, ill-bred, rude, uneven, cross, will be quite as right as those who may say that I am economical, modest, brave, tenacious, energetic, hardworking, constant, taciturn, polite, always cheerful. Whoever says that I am a coward will be no more in the wrong than those who say that I am extremely brave. Full of knowledge, full of ignorance; talented or stupid—nothing of myself astonishes me. I come to believe that I am an instrument on which circumstances play."

Such an instrument was destined to be an admirable reflection of all the passions, sentiments, instincts of a time. The letters which I prefer in the collection are those addressed to Mme. de Surville. Balzac had a real affection for his sister; he tried to amuse her in his letters; he was more sincere with her than with anybody else. There is a great deal of what we call in French *gentillesse* in the effusions of the tired, worn-out literary hack when he can talk freely with his kind, virtuous sister. The very thought of her is to his sick Parisian heart like a fresh breeze from the provinces. This gives an idea of his life: "My poor and unfortunate publisher! the finest girl in the world can only give what she has. I work the whole day at my 'Physiologie du Mariage,' and only give five hours of the night—from nine to two—to the 'Scènes de la Vie privée,' the proofs of which I am correcting. . . ." He explains why he cannot send more manuscript: "There is something in me which hinders me from doing wrong consciously; we must give some future to this book; the question is whether we shall sell this blackened paper seven francs the ream or fifty francs. If, like the Nodiers (Nodier is a sub-genus in the natural history of literature), I lounged about and made prospectuses, and played billiards; if I ate, if I drank, etc.—but no, I have not an idea, I make not a step, which is not the 'Physiology'; I dream of it."

The 'Physiology of Marriage' did not please some of his best and early friends. He defends himself in this way to a Mme. Carraud, the wife of an officer, an honest lady who had always known him: "The sentiment of repulsion which you have felt, Madame, in reading the first pages of the book which I have brought to you, is too honorable to you and too delicate to give offence to any mind, even to the mind of the author. It proves that you do not belong to a world of falseness and perfidy, that you do not belong to a society which dishonors everything, and you are still worthy of the solitude in which man always becomes so great, noble, and pure." He goes on in this vein, and says that she had better continue reading the work; that he is as innocent of what he describes as Juvenal, Boileau, Rabelais were of the crimes and follies which they depicted. She would not be reconciled with the work, however, and he had to calm her wrath by bringing her the 'Scènes de la Vie privée,' a work certainly more worthy of his genius than the nauseous immoralities of the 'Physiology.'

He was always happy to leave Paris and to return to his dear Touraine, which he so often and so fondly described. Touraine is the centre of France, the cradle of our own peculiar genius. "Oh!" he exclaims to the director of a newspaper, "if you only knew what Touraine is! There you forget everything. I forgive its inhabitants for being stupid, they are so happy; and you know that people who are very happy are naturally stupid. . . . I have come to look upon glory, parliament, politics, the future, literature, like so many poisoned pills thrown to vagrant dogs, and I say: 'Virtue, happiness, life, are simply six hundred francs of income on the shores of the Loire'" He compares Touraine to a truffled pie which he is in up to his chin. The provincial note is perhaps the most striking in Balzac. The dull, soft touches of its ponderous life are always found in contrast, in his stupendous work, with the glare, the noise, the turbulent emotions of the capital.

Correspondence.

THE CENTENNIAL ART AWARDS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I beg leave to explain a misunderstanding with regard to the action of Group 27 in your recent article upon the Centennial awards.

The judges who examined the paintings endeavored to make a standard within which awards were recommended. The Group, in one of its early meetings, limited the number of medals to be given to oil paintings only. They made no reference to water-colors or sculpture. But the Committee on Paintings acted, as they should, independently of this limitation, and in fact gave fewer medals than the number first proposed by the Group, recommending only those works coming within this standard. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that more medals were not given to England because of any limit. The judges did not in any way consider the question whether or not the works of Royal Academicians should be excluded in favor of "second-best paintings"; indeed, some of the English awards were conferred upon members of the Royal Academy, as in the case of Sir Francis Grant. The English judge, Mr. Cope, R.A., made some such suggestion to his confrères at home, but if any answer was received it came after the committee had concluded its labors (June 25) and dispersed. If the action of the judges in painting and sculpture did, as you say, "result in the practical defeat of the intentions of the system," it was the fault of the system. But this defeat was not due to the causes you have "pointed out," but rather to the impossibility of carrying out the most characteristic part of the system.

I refer to the requirement that an individual judge should write an opinion of the subject of award, which opinion was to receive the signatures of approval of the other judges. You state in praise of this system:

"If three sewing-machines were selected for commendation, the judges would not say that one was the best, another the second best, and the other the third best, but would give an award to one because of its adaptability to the whole range of domestic work, to another (of high cost) as working perfectly in cambric, cloth, or leather, and to the third because, although less effective than either of the others for their special purposes, it was sufficiently good for ordinary family use, and could be furnished at a price within the reach of very poor people. So, through the whole range of the Exhibition, and in every department, the good qualities of the selected exhibits were to be authoritatively described, and this was supposed to constitute a value, especially for advertising purposes, far beyond the mere statement that an exhibit had received the 'first' prize—no reasons being stated."

Surely you would not apply this plan to a work of art? No two persons could agree in all respects with regard to a painting or statue, and most art-lovers would differ in a very positive manner upon many questions of color, composition, tone, and drawing. At the same time, they would all admit the general merit of a work of art. It seems, therefore, that the plan adopted by the Committee on Painting and Sculpture was most excellent. Instead of writing out criticisms of these works of art, which expressed only the opinion of its author, and which other judges might refuse to sign, the following classification was made: Historical, Religious, etc.; Genre, Landscape, Portrait, Animal and Still Life. They filled in the recommendation for awards. The expression is, "For artistic excellence," which was sufficiently significant and met with the approval of all the judges.

The letter of Mr. Nichols, Secretary of Group 27, published in a former number of the *Nation*, was a very clear and just statement of the facts in this case. I hope that I have shown there has been no "muddle" in this affair, except that the Centennial Commission attempted to put in practice a system of awards which could not be applied to objects of art.

Very truly yours,

Frank Hill Smith,

One of the Judges on Painting and Sculpture, Group 27.

Boston, Nov. 28, 1876.

REPUBLICAN INCONSISTENCIES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It is amusing to see the tender regard which Republican journals are now evincing for the Constitution of the United States. Some optimist may see in this a good sign; to me it smacks of hypocrisy. These same journals have watched with apparent calm the course of their party for the last twelve years, and have on several important occasions been silent witnesses to measures the constitutionality of which were plainly indefensible. For a partial list of such measures I would refer to Vol. XVI. of the *Nation*, page 89.

The Boston *Daily Advertiser* of last Saturday contained an article, entitled "The Only Safe Guide," in which it pointed to the Constitution as the supreme authority in the present political crisis, maintaining the necessity of adhering to the very letter, and concluding that constitutionally "the right of enquiry into the qualification of electors is in the States, and goes no further." But the *Advertiser* strangely forgets the past, so full of dangerous Republican precedents, of which it should make confession if it would have us believe in its sincerity. The truth is its conscience was aroused by visions of the Democratic Devil.

For, Mr. Editor, I should like the *Advertiser* to prove to me the constitutionality of the now celebrated Twenty-second Joint Rule, passed by a Republican Congress, and I should like the *Advertiser* to show me how the rejection of the electoral vote of a State differs materially from a Congressional "enquiry into the qualification of electors"?

The New York *World* of January 21, 1873, has a long article bearing on this subject, containing plenty of quotation from an elaborate speech by Senator Morton of Indiana. Senator Morton said of this same Twenty-second Joint Rule that it was "the most dangerous contrivance to the peace of the nation that has been invented by Congress—a torpedo planted in the straits, with which the ship of state may at some time come into fatal collision." "A power so vast and dangerous cannot be created as a mere rule of proceedings."

It may be replied by the apologists of the Republican party that this rule was adopted as an extraordinary measure, to meet an extraordinary need; that certain States were at the time of its adoption in an abnormal condition, and that, as a war measure, it was necessary.

But, my Republican friends, does not this play into the hands of the Democrats? For what will you say of the condition of the States of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana to-day? Does not the presence of troops in these States argue an abnormal state of things? And is not the use of troops in the South to oversee the election itself a war-measure? And since nobody believes in the integrity of the Returning Boards in the Southern States above mentioned, is it at all strange that the Democrats desire some legislation which will either restore to them or give them something in place of the famous *Republican* Twenty-second Joint Rule? B.

Boston, Nov. 27, 1876.

INCOMPETENT SPECIALISTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I wish to thank you for your timely rebuke of those who pass judgment on specialists as weak, without having mastered their specialty. I am a specialist myself, and have often suffered in that way. But I have been worried still worse by another class, whom also I wish you would warn off, the incompetent specialists. They are always carping, and they are legion. In my department there are at least two thousand specialists in America who sit in judgment on everything one says, while there are but two whose opinion is worth anything—one, the illustrious professor at Harvard, whose well-deserved fame makes it unnecessary to name him; the other, one whom modesty forbids me to mention.—Yours,

Specialist.

Notes.

THE Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University are prepared, if convinced of the want of such a periodical, to assist in the publication of an American *Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics*. A circular to elicit an expression of views on this subject has been issued under the signatures of Professors J. J. Sylvester, Simon Newcomb, Henry A. Rowland, and William E. Story.—Joel Munsell announces 'The Founders of Maryland,' by Rev. Edward D. Neill.—Mr. W. J. Stillman is preparing a short history of the insurrection in Herzegovina and war in Montenegro, which he witnessed as correspondent of the London *Times*. The volume will approach in size his 'History of the Cretan Insurrection of 1866-7-8.'—The Water-Color Society will hold its tenth annual exhibition at the National Academy of Design from Jan. 23 to March 4. Entries must be made on or before Jan. 8, and original works will be received from Jan. 10 to Jan. 12 inclusive. The Secretary is Mr. J. C. Nicoll, 51 West Tenth Street.

—A specially noteworthy memoir has just been published by the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Cambridge, as No. 10 of Vol. IV. of the "Memoirs," and it also forms the second part of the first volume of the Memoirs of the Kentucky Geological Survey, as explained in a preliminary note by Prof. N. S. Shaler, Director of the Survey, such simultaneous publication under two auspices being deemed advisable to secure wider circulation for so important a contribution to science. The article is Mr. J. A. Allen's 'Monograph of the American Bisons,' in which both the fossil species and the living buffalo, *Bison Americanus*, are exhaustively treated in elaborate detail by one of the most competent of American therologists. It bears upon its face the evidence of an immense amount of well-directed research, and will probably never lose the place it at once takes as *the* article upon the subject. The bulk of it is occupied with the history, and especially the geographical distribution, past and present, of the living species, worked out to the most minute particulars with a degree of painstaking past all praise; while the structure, natural history, and economic relations of the most important indigenous mammal of North America are treated with equal fidelity. The plates (twelve in number) illustrate details of the osseous structure of the several species of bison; the map shows instructively the areas inhabited at different periods, and the gradual restriction of habitat of an animal which Mr. Allen believes doomed to extermination at no distant day.

—"W. H. W." writes us: "I desire to ask whether there were published any numbers of the *St. Chrysostom's Magazine* after No. 12 of Vol. II., which appeared in February, 1875. In that number and a previous one there appeared certain letters said to be written by Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, from Boston, in 1686, and published, for the first time, from the originals. As the authenticity of these documents has been questioned, I should like to know if any more were published in the *St. Chrysostom's Magazine* or elsewhere, and especially I would ask if any one knows where the originals now are. As appearing in a 'religious' magazine, these letters ought to have no doubt rest upon them. If they were merely a work of imagination the author should avow his reprehensible ingenuity."

—"T. S." writes us:

"Your Baltimore correspondent's remarks on p. 301 of the current volume are merely tentative, which will be my excuse for venturing an unscientific suggestion of the 'principle' he seeks. Suppose we extend our enquiry by looking, in the 'expressions meaning a blow,' for the root, at least, of a word signifying any object with which a blow may conveniently be struck, whether the same be a 'fruit' or any other easily-handled missile, for the 'date, fig, nut, and pear' could hardly be used as offensive weapons save in throwing. Your friend asks for names of fruits used similarly in English. *Pommel* occurs to me as suggesting *pomme* and the old North of England *pome*, an apple, which latter word, as a verb, also signifies in Cornwall to pummel with the fist. But *pomel* in Ang.-Norman meant anything globular. *Cob*, in early English a blow, and to-day amongst boys a concussion produced by the knee upon another part of the body, besides its probably obsolete use as a verb, to box the ear, once signified a stone, a kernel, a lump of anything. In the game called 'cob-nut,' the nut used for pitching is known as the *cob*. Compare *to butt* (with the head) with *button*, *bud*, etc., in their several technical, local, or archaic uses. *Bolle*, a bud or ball, as in the English compound *bolle-weed* for "ball-weed," may account for *bolled* in its sense of 'struck, buffeted,' in MS. Laud, cited in Halliwell's Dictionary, my authority for most of the above. *Bob*, Yorkshire for a ball, and local for the pear-shaped plummet at the end of a mason's line, means also a blow. *Bobby* is to strike, *bobbiden* may be its participle, as it signifies 'buffeted, struck,' and *bobet* is a buffet or stroke. Can you give me the etymology of the verb *to box?*"

And on the same subject another subscriber writes:

"In reply to your correspondent's question as to whether the names of fruits are used in other languages to express a blow on the head or face, I desire to say that among 'le peuple' in France the expression, 'Je le donne une mûre' (a mulberry), is in common use. They also say, 'un pain' (bread), which may come from bread-fruit, and 'une beigne,' abbreviation of 'beignet,' which means an apple-fritter. They also use the expression, 'Je le donne une giroflée à cinq feuilles,' the transition from fruits to flowers being quite natural. I give this information for whatever it may be worth, without being able to offer any explanation of the principle, unless it be that the inhabitants of warm countries living much in the open air are very apt to receive blows on the head from the falling dates, figs, etc., and hence the expression."

We may remark that, according to Littré, *beignet* is a diminutive of *bigne*, *beugne* (Old Fr. *begne*), signifying a 'tumor'; so that not the *apple* of the fritter but the swelling would appear to be the leading idea of the metaphor—the effect being put for the cause in the idiom referred to.

—When the *Alabama* dispute is revived by Congress, in all probability the advocates of the arbitrary right of the Government to distribute the fund received from England in any way it pleases will bring forward with an air of triumph a case recently decided by the court of Queen's Bench. In this case (Rustomjee *v.* The Queen, Law Rep. 1 Q. B. D. 487) the plaintiff, a Chinese merchant, had claims, with a number of other traders, against an insolvent Chinese company, which, by a treaty between the Queen and the Emperor of China, were assumed by the latter, who paid a sum to the British Government in liquidation of them. It was, like the *Alabama* fund, a "lump sum," and it was paid on the understanding that it was to be distributed among the claimants according to the principles of equity and justice. The plaintiff, for some reason which did not appear in the case, did not get what he thought to be his share, and after a lapse of many years brought his action against the Queen, on a "petition of right," to make her

pay over this claim. The theory on which his action proceeded was that the Queen had been his agent or trustee in the collection of the claim, and was responsible like a private person. The court holds this view out of the question, and lays it down that the notion that the sovereign of the country could be in such matters the agent or trustee of the private claimants in the legal sense of those terms is absurd. The treaty, they say, was a sovereign act, and although, of course, the Queen was bound on general principles to distribute the fund justly, her dealings with it could not be enquired into in a court of law. Now, this at first sight may seem to conflict with the view taken by large numbers of right-minded persons (including at one time Mr. Caleb Cushing, who afterwards, however, changed his opinion) to the effect that the United States is a trustee for the claimants of the *Alabama* fund. But there is no conflict in reality; the law of the English court is no doubt good law, and if any claimant on the *Alabama* fund undertook to bring an action against the United States, or against any person concerned in the negotiation of the treaty, they would find that they were entirely without remedy. The trusteeship and agency of the United States in the collection is not a legal relation. It is a relation in the forum of morals. It is morally, not legally, that the United States are bound to apply the money received from England to the payment of the claims, in accordance with the direction of the court of arbitration. We have no doubt, however, that General Butler has had his attention called to Rustomjee *v.* The Queen, and that some of his Congressional dupes will before many weeks be ringing the changes on it in the "halls of debate" at Washington, and pointing out to a disgusted world that Lord Cockburn himself has been rendering a decision in which he declares that a "petition of right" for money had and received, under a treaty of restitution, in a "lump sum," of the Emperor of China, will not lie against the Queen of England.

—The last number of the *Edinburgh Review* contains an article on the Declaration of Paris, which is of some interest as bearing on the discussion with regard to its proposed abrogation which is to be renewed in the next session of Parliament. The whole question seems, probably, to nine persons out of ten, as all questions of international law do in which they are not directly interested, a purely abstract one; but its practical consequences, in the case of a European war, may be enormous, as one of the corollaries of the repeal of the Declaration would be the possibility of England, as a belligerent, covering the high seas with fleets of privateers. There is in England just now a strong undercurrent of feeling that, in agreeing to the celebrated principles announced in 1856, England surrendered valuable maritime belligerent rights, and an attempt has been made to show that the Declaration was an unauthorized engagement, which one of the English representatives afterwards declared he had no authority to enter into. The *Edinburgh* now brings forward some moral arguments on the other side which seem pretty strong. These are, in substance, that whatever may have been the technical authority of the commissioners in the premises, the Declaration contained a clause engaging the governments concerned "to bring the present Declaration to the knowledge of the states which have not taken part in the Congress of Paris, and invite them to accede to it." This was actually done, and for twenty years hardly a voice has been raised to question the validity of the obligation, and half a dozen wars have occurred in which England, as a neutral, has had the benefit of it. Under these circumstances, the *Edinburgh* maintains that England is just as much bound by the Declaration as if it had been ratified by every branch of the government. The article also undertakes to show that it is not for the interest of England to withdraw from the Declaration, any more than it is right for her to do so. The argument by which this position is supported seems to us rather weak, inasmuch as it consists in part of an assertion that the right to issue letters of marque is of no appreciable value to a belligerent:

"During the American Civil War the cruisers of the Confederate States inflicted great losses on the commerce of their adversary, from which it has not recovered to this day. But however inconvenient, and even disastrous, this predatory warfare might be, it did not retard by a single day the capture of Richmond; and it is admitted by M. de Gasparin, one of the warmest champions of the Northern States, that it produced no appreciable effect upon the results of the war. As a *defensive* measure it was wholly ineffectual."

The immediate effect produced by the Confederate cruisers was the transfer of American commerce to neutral flags, the increase of the rates of insurance, and consequent increase of war costs in every direction. Exactly how long the expensiveness of the war made it, or how much sooner we should have captured Richmond had there been no Confederate cruisers, it is of course impossible to say, but that the Confederacy found letters of marque an effective weapon of defence can hardly be questioned.

—Some of the English journals have recently contained accounts of the newly-found "treasures" of Kurium, in Cyprus. The *Athenæum* for the fourth of November, the *Times* for the eighth, and the *Daily News* for the eleventh of the same month contain each a long paper on the subject, to which we refer readers for a fuller account than we can give of the objects found, the place they were found in, and the interesting researches which ended so successfully. Additional information has been received, indeed, from General Di Cesnola himself. But nothing so received has contradicted, in important points, the general history of the matter as given by the *Athenæum*, for instance. For a really full account of the discovery, and, indeed, for a full description of any of the works of art discovered, we have to await the arrival of the collection in this country, the unpacking of the whole, and its arrangement in the new building of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Central Park. It is a long time to wait, but we have at all events the satisfaction of knowing that the whole collection is secured for New York; that General Di Cesnola is to come himself to arrange it; that if some objects are to be sold they will be only those which the collection can well spare, and that the discoverer himself will undoubtedly be allowed to be the judge of the matter; finally, that we shall see the whole mass of the Cyprus discoveries together, except the very few pieces sold years ago, and that they will be kept together. The London journals we have named express natural regrets that the former collection of Cyprus antiquities came to America, and urge that in this country there is no chance of comparison with antiquities found elsewhere, and that European scholars have but little opportunity of modifying their theories or of adding to their knowledge by the examination of the Cypriote collection. Assuming, as they all assume, that the present Kurium treasure should be bought by the British Museum, there was every reason for such regret. Even an American archæologue or art-student might have preferred to keep all the Cesnola discoveries together in one museum, and might have felt inclined to "pool" the whole and cast lots for its ownership. But the purchase of the whole by the Museum of our city alters the case. Who, of the scholars and art-lovers of Europe, can begrudge America one large and full museum of ancient art? Who can object even to the passage of the ocean, when the collection he comes to study is adequate? As the lover of Majolica or of Oriental porcelain dislikes to see a splendid vase adorning a private room which has nothing else akin to it, and longs to see it transferred to some ownership which would give it its natural illustration and support, so London may have objected to New York's possession of a few invaluable inscriptions—a few new types of design—some pottery of forms elsewhere unknown; and these without any proper sequence of other examples. But there was always the unequalled collection of Greek glass; that this should be in New York might be a cause of lamentation to the London student, but could not well be grudged Americans. And now, if we are to have an important display of archaic gold and even silver vessels, jewelry, and engraved gems, carvings in rock-crystal mounted in gold, specimens of very early repoussé work, and chasing in the precious metals and in bronze, all found together, and all perfect except the silver, and even the silver more perfect than ever before was known in such ancient works of art, certainly we shall have so much that we may be allowed to keep it, if not unenvied, at least not unapproved.

—There are several points in which these discoveries are seen to be especially important, even from afar. Thus, the *Athenæum* promises to students of ancient Glyptic art much new light on engraved gems, their history and significance. And, without knowing what the writer we quote had in mind, it is evident that a number of intagli found together, all of very high antiquity and known to be so, all found so far away from Italy that they can hardly be supposed to have felt Italian influences, are sure to contain about the most important addition possible to the existing materials for the history of gem-engraving. Some confusion between Etruscan and Greek design still exists, and this because most previously known archaic Greek gems have been found in Italy; the stones found in Cyprus ought to clear up those doubts, at least in part. Then the mysterious "origin of Greek art," and its connection with the art of Egypt and, more doubtfully, with that of Assyria—all these matters, which only need a very little light thrown upon them to be among the most interesting subjects of enquiry, are confessedly within the sphere of the Cesnola discoveries, old and new. As for inscriptions, the new collection would seem to be rich in them, and all the Cesnola inscriptions hitherto have been of especial value, except a few late Greek ones, quite accidentally brought into the collection—surface discoveries, so to speak. The objects of art found in tombs and in the newly-discovered temple treasury at Kurium, are made the more interesting and instructive by the places in which they were found. General Di Cesnola is now living in London, engaged upon a work on

Cyprus. We hope to find in that book the most positive and minute description of the tombs of all sorts and of different epochs and nationalities, from Phœnician to Greek, together with such diagrams as may make descriptions clear. The position of the bodies found upon their permanent biers, the disposition within the sepulchral chambers of those biers, the arrangement of vases, figures, glass vessels, and jewelry, with relation to the bodies—all this needs full description, and we confidently hope that the discoverer will give it us. As to the underground treasury which the Kurium priests seem to have left in such a hurry one day so long ago, leaving behind them no tradition of its existence so clear as to lead treasure-seekers to its discovery, that repository certainly should be minutely described and figured.

—Mr. Christern sends us two French works having a Centennial timeliness. One is Léon Chotteau's 'Les Français en Amérique,' to which M. Laboulaye contributes a clever preface with the usual, we might almost say the required, "little dig" at the German conquerors of his country. He commends the book to Frenchmen intending to visit the Philadelphia Exhibition, and in fact M. Chotteau, as if with an eye to being serviceable in that direction, devotes some space to statistics of the progress of the United States. For his general summary of the causes of the Revolution and the state of affairs when France appeared openly on the scene he relies upon M. Laboulaye's own historical writings, while for many particulars concerning "the French in America" he acknowledges his further indebtedness to Mr. Balch of Philadelphia, who has published the first volume of a work having the same title as M. Chotteau's, as our readers may remember. M. Chotteau's style suffers by comparison with that of his patron, being fatiguingly jerky and declamatory. He is, it appears from his publisher's announcement, engaged upon another work, 'Les Hommes d'Amérique,' in which Lincoln, Davis, Andrew Johnson, Seward, Thaddeus Stevens, Dix, Grant, Colfax, E. B. Washburne, and Greeley—the leaders in the civil war and in reconstruction—will give variety to a single volume. A much better and soberer production than the first named is M. Alphonse Jouault's 'George Washington.' The author visited this country in 1861, and describes pleasantly in his introduction a pilgrimage which he made to Mount Vernon and Independence Hall. He has, as a result of consulting the standard authorities, fallen into error in regard to the Washington pedigree, for in a very ragged way he endeavors to trace a connection as far back as 1538. But this is quite pardonable, and is lost sight of in the solid merits of the intelligent, unpretentious narrative which follows.

WILLERT'S LOUIS XI.*

THE career of Louis XI. presents a curious problem. How could a ruler whose morality fell below that of Jonathan Wild yet achieve some of the greatest permanent results of patriotic statesmanship, and be esteemed not only by himself but by so calm an observer as Commines the model of kingly virtue? As to Louis's moral character and principles, or want of principle, not a doubt can be entertained. To say he committed the acts of a villain is to fall far short of the truth. He not only did evil but avowedly acted on principles which sap all morality. "He declared himself," writes Mr. Willert, "the disciple of Francis Sforza, and one of the first acts of his reign was to send secretly for two Venetian nobles, who were to initiate him into the policy of that astute and despotic aristocracy." He scarcely needed the teaching of such instructors. He certainly did not neglect their worst maxims. His foes were perfidious, and he met their treachery by more profound craft. It was his habit to make promises which he never meant to fulfil. Allies had no more ground to trust him than foes. He was bound by every tie of honor to the citizens of Liége, yet he betrayed them to their foe, and himself took part in the slaughter of his friends and dupes. He was not, it is said, needlessly cruel—that is to say, he was not one of those monsters who actually enjoy the sight of suffering—but he was absolutely indifferent to the infliction of pain. In his very residence he imprisoned his enemies in cages. He was indignant with the Parliament of Paris for not torturing St. Pol before his execution. Popular rumor attributed to him, especially towards the close of his life, cruelties such as are reported of the worst of tyrants. "The king," it was said, "drank, by the advice of his doctors, the blood of young children. The peasants who were compelled to pass near the towers of Plessis were affrighted by the groans of prisoners dying on the rack, and fishermen who cast their nets into the river drew to land sacks in which the victims of the king's suspicion had been drowned." In the total destruction of Arras he anticipated the treatment of Lyons by the most cruel of the Terrorists, and, if he is well described as being in some sense a revolutionist, he had certainly all the cold cruelty of a Jacobin. Let it be granted that he did not actually murder his brother, it must still be remembered that no one thought him incapable of the crime, and we may feel sure that Louis himself would have held fratricide, if necessary to his ends, an allowable act of statesmanship.

Nor can it be said that his cruelty sprang from religious fanaticism. He possessed a kind of religious belief, but it was a species of religion which a respectable heathen would have scorned. He attempted to bribe heaven, or rather the saints, just as he attempted to win over his Swiss allies—that is, by gifts of money. A superstitious respect for a particular form of oath, a belief that the gift of silver or golden images would propitiate the Virgin, made up the whole of his genuine creed. Yet this man, who was daunted by no cruelty and who could be bound by no oath save one, did work which all statesmen must admire, and which French patriots must fervently approve. He was the creator of modern France. When he came to the throne it seemed more than likely that an utterly selfish and treacherous nobility would tear the country in pieces. The English still threatened to repeat the horrors of their invasions. The House of Burgundy overbalanced the power of the crown, and stimulated lawlessness throughout the whole country. The peasantry were miserably oppressed, and the middle classes could not prosper for want of that rule of law which is the first requisite for civilization. When Louis died, the existence of France and the power of the French crown was secured: "He had extended the frontiers of his kingdom; Picardy, Provence, Burgundy, Anjou, Maine, Roussillon had been compelled to acknowledge the immediate authority of the crown." He had crushed the feudal oligarchy; he had seen his most dangerous enemy destroyed by the resistance of the Swiss; he had baffled the attempt to construct a state which would have imperilled the national existence of France; he had put an end to all risk of English invasion; and he left France the most powerful country in Europe. Her internal government was no doubt oppressive, but, at any rate, it secured the rule of law; and his schemes for her benefit were still unfinished. He died regretting that he could not carry out his plans for the reform of the law and for the protection of commerce; and, in the opinion of Commines, if God had granted him the grace of living five or six years more, he would greatly have benefited his realm. He died commending his soul to the intercession of the Virgin, and the last words caught from his lips were: "Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded." Nor should this be taken as the expression of hopeless self-delusion or gratuitous hypocrisy. In the opinion of Commines, uttered after the king's death, "he was more wise, more liberal, and more virtuous in all things than any contemporary sovereign."

The expressions of Commines were, it may be said, but the echo of the low moral tone of the age. This, no doubt, is true; but the fact that the age did not condemn acts which, taken alone, seem to argue the utmost depravity, still needs explanation. The matter is the more worthy of consideration because Louis represents, though in an exaggerated form, the vices and virtues of a special body of rulers. He was the incarnation, so to speak, of kingcraft. The word and the idea it represents have now become out of date, but for about two centuries—say, roughly, from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century—the idea of a great king was that of a monarch who ruled by means of cunning, intrigue, and disregard of ordinary moral rules. We here come across the fact which explains both the career and the reputation of Louis and of others, such as Henry VII. of England, who were masters of kingcraft. The universal feeling of the time, shared by subjects no less than by rulers, was that a king was not bound by the rules of morality, and especially by the rules of honesty, which bind other men. Until you realize this fact, nothing is more incomprehensible than the adulation lavished by men such as Bacon or Casaubon on a ruler such as James I. When once the feeling is understood, it is easy to see how rulers who, in modern judgment, seem to merit nothing but hatred and condemnation, might receive the worship and flattery of men far greater and better than themselves.

The real puzzle is to ascertain how this feeling that kings were above the moral law came into existence. The facts of history afford the necessary explanation. When the modern European world was falling into shape the one thing required for national prosperity was the growth of a power which might check the disorders of the feudal nobility, and secure for the mass of the people the blessings of an orderly government. The only power which, in most cases, could achieve this end, was the crown. In England the monarchs put an end to the wars of the nobility. In France the growth of

* 'The Reign of Louis XI. By P. F. Willert, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.' London: Rivingtons. 1876.

the monarchy secured not only internal quiet, but protection from external invasion. In these and in other cases the interest of the crown and the interest of the people became for a time identical. Two results followed. The sentiment which in modern times has become a feeling of loyalty to the laws or to the constitution became in the fifteenth century a sentiment of loyalty to the crown. The feeling, as is constantly the case, survived its justification. Englishmen could not realize that a king was but a man till Charles I. died on the scaffold, and the fervor of French loyalty was extinguished only by the weakness and vices of Louis XV. Kings themselves shared and exaggerated the sentiment of their subjects. To promote the royal power seemed the dictate as much of patriotism as of ambition. Acts which would have seemed villanous when done to promote a purely private interest, became mere devices of statesmanship when performed in the interest of the public. The maxims that the king can do no wrong, and that the safety of the people is the highest law, blended together in the minds of ambitious rulers. The result was the production of men like Louis XI., who, with a real regard for the interest of the state, hesitated at no crime because they in good faith believed that all acts were pardonable which promoted regal power.

GOBINEAU'S 'NOUVELLES ASIATIQUES.'*

WE noticed in these columns a couple of years since M. de Gobineau's remarkable novel of 'Les Pléiades"—a work by no means formed to achieve popularity, but destined to awaken a peculiar degree, and, indeed, a peculiar quality, of interest, in the minds of a few readers. Such readers will be certain to give speedy attention to a new work of imagination from the same hand, and we think we can assure them that the volume of 'Nouvelles Asiatiques' now before us will not disappoint their just expectations. It is not too much to say of M. de Gobineau that he is a fascinating writer. His merit is not the usual French merit of form; he does not present that hard, smooth surface, as flawless as that of the delicate white porcelain manufactured in France and known as *biscuit*—as flawless and about as individual—which is offered us by the usual French story-teller; his charm is much more that of substance. He is a man of thought, of deep observation, of a taste for general truths, and he is intellectually less after the French pattern than any Frenchman of his day. To Oriental studies M. de Gobineau has devoted much of his life, and his excellent work entitled 'Les Religions de l'Asie' is probably much better known than any of his attempts in the line of fiction are likely to be. In this collection of tales he sums up some of his personal impressions of the Oriental character. He is evidently deeply versed in Asiatic manners; he has lived in the midst of them. In fact, although M. de Gobineau is at present French Minister to Sweden, he formerly occupied more than one diplomatic post in the East. He pays, in an interesting introduction to his volume, a compliment to an English book which was much read forty years ago, but is now almost wholly forgotten. Morier's novel of 'Hajji-Baba'—the novel-readers of the first half of this century will remember it—is, according to M. de Gobineau, "assuredly the best book that has been written upon the temperament of an Asiatic nation." "It is a matter of course," he immediately adds, "that the 'Arabian Nights' are here counted out; they remain incomparable, they are the truth itself, and they will never be equalled. But this masterpiece excepted, 'Hajji-Baba' holds the first rank. . . . What it depicts is the levity, the inconsistency of mind, the tenuity of moral ideas among the Persians." We may ask in parenthesis whether now—in the days of 'Daniel Deronda,' that is—that fiction and "culture" are, like the lion and the lamb, lying down together, and the contemplation of race-questions is very much the fashion, it would not be worth some publisher's trouble to reprint Morier's charming tale? It was reprinted in the far-away days when English fiction reached us almost exclusively by way of Philadelphia; but the Philadelphia pamphlet, happily for modern eyesight, will not be easy to find.

"It has not only been my design," says M. de Gobineau, "to bring out, after Morier, the more or less conscious immorality of the Asiatics, and the spirit of lies which governs them; I have tried that too, but that was not enough. It seemed to me to the purpose not to leave in the shade the bravery of some and the sincerely romantic temper of others; the native goodness of these, the fundamental honesty of those; among certain ones the passion of patriotism pushed to its last excesses; among certain others complete generosity, devotion, affection; among all an incomparable *laissez-aller* and the absolute tyranny of the first impulse, whether it be good or whether it be the worst possible."

The author has endeavored to be as characteristic as possible, and to select types and cases which shall be intensely illustrative. The local color of the East in its material sense has probably been overdone during the last thirty years. What M. de Gobineau has tried to reproduce is the local color of the Oriental mind and soul. He is a very acute psychologist, and he handles the subtle threads of the Eastern character with singularly unerring fingers. He puts himself as far as possible into the Asiatic skin, looks at things from his heroes' and heroines' point of view, never comments nor protests, but contents himself with relating exactly how his characters felt and acted in the circumstances which he has devised for them. His tales are six in number, and they are perhaps of unequal merit; two, at least, of which the scene is laid in Persia—'The Story of Gamber-Ali' and 'The War of the Turcomans'—are genuine masterpieces. 'The Dancing-Girl of Shamakha' is a story of the Russian Caucasus, and is a very curious and touching study of the female character in regions where the aspirations of the softer sex have not that elevated tone which they have attained among ourselves. The figure of Omm-Djéhâne is indeed an admirable portrait of a formidable but doubtless very possible original. The word "Tartar" has passed into English speech with a very invidious meaning, which, it must be confessed, is completely justified by M. de Gobineau's vivid representation of a passionate Tartar maiden. And, in speaking of this tale, we may note the singular fact that M. Gobineau, when he has occasion to introduce a European hero, never selects one of his own countrymen. In 'Les Pléiades' the two heroes were English and German; the heroines were English, German, and Russian. In 'La Danseuse de Shamakha' the interesting young European whom he makes the object of the hopeless passion of his fascinating Calmuck is a Spaniard; and in the last tale in the book, the 'Vie de Voyage,' desiring to represent the emotions of a civilized young couple who undertake to travel in an immense caravan, he selects two Italians. It may almost be said that with M. de Gobineau any reference to his native land is conspicuous by its absence. This, however, is a detail. The second story, 'L'illustre Magicien,' is perhaps the least interesting, though it doubtless touches a very characteristic point, being the history of a most exemplary and amiable young Persian, married to a wife in every way worthy of him, and enjoying the fullest domestic bliss and prosperity, who leaves his happy home to follow a squalid Dervish and learn the great secret of truth.

'Gamber-Ali,' as we have said, is admirable, and, as a sympathetic and irresponsible picture of unconscious rascality, is hardly inferior to one of Browning's dramatic monologues. (It should be noted that the author always tells his story exactly as a fellow-townsman of his hero would tell it—with the same moral tone.) Gamber-Ali is a young man about town at Shiraz, remarkable for his personal beauty and his love of amusement, whose entrance into active life the author relates in detail. The details are taken, as the French say, *sur le vif*, and afford an interesting picture of the state of manners and morals in the land of Firdousi and of the jewelled monarch whom the kingdoms of Europe outstrove each other three years since to entertain. Gamber-Ali is the child of epicurean parents, and the Bohemian ménage of the shiftless painter Hassan-Kahn and his terrible wife, Bibi-Djanem, is very happily touched off. Their dissipated son, in a drunken scrimmage in a tavern, has the good fortune to pass for having diverted a few blows from the portly person of one of the hangers-on of the palace of the governor, and the gratitude of this flurried functionary proves the stepping-stone of the young man's fortunes. He becomes a sort of Persian Gil-Blas, obtains a place in the governor's suite, learns all the tricks of the trade, lies and steals triumphantly, and lines his pocket with the bribes of all applicants for justice or favor. But his avidity proves his ruin, or nearly so, inasmuch as he fails to share his booty with his employers, to whom, properly, a handsome percentage of all profits is due. This brings him into contempt and disgrace, and finally, having stabbed to death one of his fellow-servants, he is obliged to flee for his life, and takes refuge in a mosque erected over the tomb of an eminent saint. The account of his sojourn in this inviolable asylum is the best part of the story. He is represented as being in an insurmountable agony of fear as to what will be done to him if he is taken, and the picture of his frank, expansive, absorbing terror completes admirably the whole portrait of his smoothness, softness, impudence, luxuriousness, and, as it were, feminine rascality. The most solemn assurances that he will be allowed to escape in safety cannot induce him to budge. He becomes an object of extreme interest to all the faithful who frequent the mosque, and who cover him with admiration and sympathy. The ladies of the locality "go on" about him as if he were a handsome tenor or light comedian in New York, and a perpetual chorus of feminine lamentation and adulation surrounds his resting-place. At last the King of Kings, in person, comes to visit the mosque, and the terror of

* 'Nouvelles Asiatiques. Par le Comte de Gobineau.' Paris: Didier & Co.; New York: F. W. Christern. 1876.

Gamber-Ali, lest the mighty monarch should detach him by force from his refuge, becomes such that he clings to the walls of the monument (the tomb of the saint) as a drowning man to a spar. He is pointed out to the king, who condescends to converse with him, tries to persuade him that he may go in peace, and finally gives his royal word that not a hair of his head shall be touched. But Gamber-Ali, stupid with terror, only clings the closer and trembles the harder, and the monarch marches off in disgust. Then the chorus of admiration from the ladies deepens, and the young refugee is almost mobbed by the fair spectators. At last the sentiment of the assemblage finds expression in the energetic conduct of a great lady, who makes her way into the sacred enclosure and fairly kidnaps Gamber-Ali, now too exhausted with inanition to resist, having been afraid to touch the cakes and sweetmeats offered him by his admirers lest they should poison him. The lady in question carries him off in her coach-and-four, comforts and consoles him, and makes him her chief steward; in which character he may now be seen riding about in state, more beautiful than ever, supremely happy, covered with jewels, and adored by all observers.

'La Guerre des Turcomans' is a picture of Persian optimism, or, at least, of the amiable serenity with which persons of that enviable race may endure the most odious tribulations. Ghoulam-Hussein relates his own adventures, and his tone is a wonderful mixture of patience and humility in the individual, and complacency and impudence in the race. There is an extraordinary air of truth in his wife's repeated experiments in matrimony—for in offering facilities for such experiments Persia appears almost to compete with certain sections of our own country—and in his easily-accepted miseries and easily-enjoyed mitigations during his life in the army and his captivity by the foe. "Les Amants de Kandahar" is striking, but it is more romantic, less ironical, and less entertaining than its companions. "La Vie de Voyage" is hardly a tale; it is a sketch of homesickness, of what a young European woman feels when she is launched in a great caravan with a two months' journey before her; of the oppressive strangeness and isolation, amounting almost to terror, which finally forces her to persuade her husband to retreat in the first caravan they encounter bound for Europe. We had marked for quotation from these pages an admirable description of the aspect, march, and movement of a great promiscuous caravan, but we have exceeded our space. All M. de Gobineau's pages, moreover, are worth reading; they are the work of a rich and serious mind, of a really philosophic observer.

Children's Holiday Books.—'The Boy Emigrants' (Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) and 'The Young Trail Hunters' (Lee & Shepard) are addressed to boys of twelve and upwards, and further resemble each other in describing overland journeys to California. Mr. Brooks takes his young gold-hunters by the northern route, with no Indian adventures to speak of; Mr. Cozzens and his youngsters follow the southern trail, and their advance is constantly disputed by Apaches and Comanches, with whom they have several bloody encounters. Both writers have, in the pursuit of local color, introduced the *soi-disant* friendly Indian, who bears a written "character" which he confidently exhibits to new acquaintances. In the case of Mr. Brooks's Pawnee it ran thus:

"This Indian, Mekonee, otherwise known as The-Man-that-Champs-with-his-Teeth, wants a recommendation. I give it with pleasure. He is a lying, thieving Pawnee. He will steal the tires off of your wagon-wheels and the buttons from your trousers. Watch him.—(Signed) JAKE DAWSON, and thirteen others of the Franklin Grove Company."

Of the same tenor, but terser, is the one recorded by Mr. Cozzens:

"the Bearer, Cuchillo, is a Comanche Chief, who says he is a friend of the White's. My advice is not to Trust him, or any other sneakin' varmint like him.—BILL POPE."

Both these stories strike us as written in good faith by men experienced in what they describe. 'The Boy Emigrants' is the better told of the two, and the better illustrated. Both are entertaining and both may be pronounced unobjectionable, while a choice may still be thought to lie between the contemplation of savage atrocity and of mining brutality and lawlessness. The picture, we ought to add, is carefully underdrawn by both writers.

In like manner we couple for convenience' sake 'The House with Spectacles' (Putnam's) and 'Roddy's Ideal' (same publishers). The class to which they belong is one we have often had occasion to characterize as pseudo-juvenile. Their smartness is of a kind not useful to young readers, and which, whether consciously or not, seeks the applause of their elders. This is curiously manifest in 'Roddy's Ideal.' Mrs. Johnson begins by confessing: "I've made one story which our children can't read because there's so much of me in it; Roddy [her husband] has made one they can't read because there's so much of him in it; now for the *three*, and away goes she!—the successful jump." This is Chapter I.; Chapters II.–IV. are still addressed to adult readers, and with Chapter V. the author gets down, or thinks she gets down, to the infant level. Children not her own can doubtless read and enjoy this story. It is bright, humorous, and full of incident, and it has a moral purpose. For all that, we do not feel that Mrs. Johnson writes with an eye single to her little audience, or that we can congratulate her on the success with which she has kept herself out of the story. Fun and mischief-making give zest to 'The House with Spectacles.' In it eight children "educate each other," and this is not surprising considering what weak parents they have. We shall cite but two passages from this singular school record to show, on the one hand, for whom its smartness is intended, and, on the other, how much the reading of it is likely to profit the young. The children get up a mock revival and with so much success that two colored "aunties," overhearing, take part in earnest till the spell is broken by the mimic's shying a Bible at the head of an obstinate sinner. He is made to apologize afterwards, and to say that he does respect religion and is trying to be a Christian, and that "throwing the Bible was worst of all." Another of their pranks is to dye black the hair of a brother, so that when, in the next morning's lesson, "Thou canst not turn one hair white or black" is read, a titter suggests the conflict between science and Scripture. This is amusing, perhaps, and may not be harmful, but it stamps the story as a holiday squib which only awaits its turn to be permanently eclipsed.

'The Boys and Girls of the Revolution' (Lippincott) is a timely book, and indeed one that would be acceptable at any time. It consists of stories gathered, it is said, from a great variety of sources, such as newspapers, old journals, diaries, and letters. Most of them are, so far as we know, new, and they are certainly a welcome contribution to our Centennial literature. There is considerable inequality in the working up; all are graphic and interesting, but some run overmuch into sentiment and what is called "newspaper English," such as "glorious nobleness of this night's deeds." Again, the term "Boys and Girls" is made to include young men and women. These are slight faults, however, and the book as a whole deserves to be popular. One of the very best and truest to the title is "The Little Black-eyed Rebel."

The fairy-tales of the Misses Kavanagh ('The Pearl Fountain, etc.,' Henry Holt & Co.) are mild without being flat, and of a pleasant ingenuity. We recommend them as soothing to palates excited by (say) Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen's purveying. There is a careful exclusion of what is raw and bloody, and the morals are delicately pointed. The volume is conspicuous among the publications of the season for its typographical elegance.

In Mrs. Sandford's 'Houseful of Children' (E. P. Dutton & Co.) the number of *dramatis personæ* suddenly brought upon the stage is appalling. The story labors under the difficulty of having apparently been written to fit a series of pictures having no relation to each other. The effect on the infant mind, we should think, would be somewhat bewildering. In themselves the illustrations are of all degrees of excellence, the paper and print of the highest, and the binding very pretty.

The Complete American Trapper; or, the Tricks of Trapping and Trap-making. By Wm. Gibson. (New York: James Miller. 1876.)—This book is written, as the preface states, "to fill an odd and neglected corner in American literature," and to instruct in topics which are "of the utmost interest to boys of this country." It contains full directions for making all varieties of traps and snares, both great and small, and, although it is sometimes rather obscure, the diversity and extent of its information are quite remarkable. From a humming-bird to a grizzly bear there is no member of our fauna whose destruction is not explained. The book is thoroughly and generally well illustrated, and in its short descriptions of different animals and their habits is not without merit. Mr. Gibson has omitted no kind of trap in his catalogue, although some that he mentions are, we should think, quite as remarkable for their cruelty as their effectiveness; for instance, on page 95 there are an illustration and description of the "hook trap," by which wild ducks are taken on baited fish-hooks. The book shows a very wide familiarity with illegal methods of capturing game, and, except in the portions of it devoted to the taking of vermin and some of the fur-bearing animals, is calculated to point out to its readers a number of short roads to the penitentiary wherever any game laws are enforced. The "pot-hunting" and unsportsmanlike feeling that is fostered in boys by teaching them, for instance, to construct a trap which will take every grouse or quail in a piece of woods, instead of the manly way of pursuing them with dog and gun, is not at all desirable. It is by the un-

lawful use of many of Mr. Gibson's devices and kindred ones that some of our most valuable kinds of game have been nearly exterminated; and until boys are old enough to pursue wild fowls and beasts in a humane and manly way, their venatorial impulses should be checked rather than encouraged. We cannot recommend the book, as almost its sole value is in what it contains of natural history, and its objectionable features more than neutralize this good one.

A Vocabulary of English Rhymes. Arranged on a new plan by Rev. Samuel W. Barnum. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. 16mo, pp. xviii.-767.)—The Poet at the Breakfast-table declared that he had no need of a dictionary of rhymes: "When a word comes up fit to end a line with, I can *feel* all the rhymes in the language that are fit to go with it without naming them. I have tried them all so many times, I know all the polygamous words and all the monogamous ones, and all the unmarrying ones—the whole lot that have no mates—as soon as I hear their names called." Other less practised versifiers, however, and less poetic it may be, will find in a volume like this aid for their ailing muse. Nor is its usefulness confined to assistance in the piecing out of couplets and the consequent increase in the quantity of machine-made verse, a result of more than doubtful utility; if properly prepared it is of value also as a record of contemporaneous pronunciation, and as a reference book for phonetic investigation. In these secondary objects Mr. Barnum seems to us to be more successful than in his primary aim. He has arranged the rhymes in alphabetical order; each sound of each vowel is taken in turn, the phonetic notation used being that of the later editions of Webster's Dictionary, with which the compiler has been connected. Thus we have the rhymes to the vowel sound *ā* as in *mate*, first singly and then in conjunction with other letters, *ābe*, *āche*, etc., followed by the rhymes to the vowel sound of *ă* as in *mat*, with its combinations *ăb*, *ăch*, etc. This arrangement is logical and exact, and if well carried out—as it is here—there is much to be said in its favor, though it hardly seems as convenient for the rhyme-seeker as the less cumbersome plan of simply arranging together terminations of similar sound and spelling, with cross-references to other terminations of the same sound and different spelling. Thus, for instance, under *ay* as in *bray*, we should have besides *bay*, *day*, and so forth, references to *ey*, *eigh*, *eh*, and the French *é*. Under Mr. Barnum's arrangement if *neigh* is the word which the poet wishes to mate, he must at once remember that its vowel sound is arbitrarily represented as *ā*, which he will find on p. 1; but if *hurra* is the word for which he seeks a rhyme, then he has to turn to *ä*, on p. 29. In short, he must have the system at his fingers' ends.

A dictionary of rhymes on what we may term the cross-reference plan is contained in the late Tom Hood's 'Rules of Rhyme,' a little volume with which Mr. Barnum is seemingly unacquainted. Mr. Barnum's one hundred and seventy pages of single rhymes contain a few more polysyllabic words, and are, therefore, more useful; but they seem to us to have been at times unduly extended by the repetition of words which happen also to be proper names, for instance *may* and *May*, and especially by the lavish insertion of French words and phrases. Of two hundred and forty-three rhymes in *ā*, seventy-two are foreign, *née*, *déblai*, *bidet*, *au fait*, etc., besides nine like *croquet* and *bouquet*, originally French, but whose naturalization may fairly be allowed now. Mr. Barnum's object in making these insertions was, we surmise, to secure accuracy of pronunciation, but he has not always succeeded. Under *ä*, for example, along with *baa*, *papa*, and *huzza*, we find *sang froid*, *octroi*, and *tournois*. Here, either the compiler has not caught the exact pronunciation of the French, or—as a paragraph on p. xvi. also leads us to believe—he gives in to the heresy of "allowable" rhymes. Fortunately, Mr. Barnum has few such vagaries as this mispronunciation of the French; yet we detect a few: he joins, for instance, *women* and *persimmon* (p. 436), and *melon* and *philhellene* (p. 360).

Besides the one hundred and seventy pages of single rhymes, there are a page and a half of quintuple rhymes, twenty-one pages of quadruple, one hundred and thirty-four of treble, and four hundred and forty of double rhymes. This collection of female rhymes is the most valuable and the best part of the book. It is, of course, incomplete, for it is impossible to give all the double rhymes; any given male rhyme will make half-a-dozen female. Yet it is well that the boundless plain should be explored as far as may be, if only to show us how hopeless is the attempt to map the whole. *Chimney*, for instance, seems—to return to Dr. Holmes's figure—to be a predestined old maid, and is in fact not mentioned by Mr. Barnum, but the Smiths, although their addresses were rejected, bound it fast *in vinculo matrimonii* to *slim knee*. So also *month* was a confirmed bachelor until Dr. Donaldson of Cambridge published the bans in a quatrain:

> "Youths who would senior wranglers be
> Must drink the juice distilled from tea:
> Must burn the midnight oil from month to month,
> Raising binomials to the (n+1)th."

Verrazzano: A motion for the stay of judgment. (New York. 1876.)—In a former number we expressed our belief that the Verrazzano controversy was not yet ended. An article in the *American Church Review* for July and the pamphlet before us show that we were not mistaken. In Mr. De Costa Mr. Murphy has met a keen, industrious, and practised critic. And we are glad of it, for there are still archives to search, documents to compare, statements to verify or impugn. If Verrazzano was a bold and skilful navigator of unknown seas, give him his place by the side of Columbus and the Cabots; if a mere corsair, what is it to history if he died worthily by the garrote? In his pamphlet, Mr. De Costa asks for a stay of judgment and gives his reason for it. "As a general observation," he says, "it might be noted that the work is based chiefly on two assumptions, namely, that the letter of Verrazzano, printed in 1556, giving an account of the voyage, was drawn from a document known as the 'Carli letter,' and that the letter of Verrazzano was unknown in the lifetime of Francis I. We repeat deliberately that these are assumptions. And upon this foundation the whole superstructure of doubt has been reared." Verrazzano's letter fails to mention wampum or the bark canoe, both of which he would have been sure to mention if he had seen them. Now, if he had made the voyage which he professes to have made, he would have seen wampum, the Indian's jewelry and money, and, having seen it, would have said something about it. But Verrazzano is not the only explorer in Indian lands who passes over wampum. Many among them make omissions of equal importance. Some say nothing about tobacco; some give no list of Indian words. If any of these omissions is of itself sufficient to prove forgery or interpolation, more than one traveller will have to be looked closely to. But the most remarkable of Verrazzano's omissions, according to Mr. Murphy, is that of the bark canoe; a boat of so peculiar a structure that it must have attracted the attention of any traveller, and more especially that of every sailor. The log canoe he does mention, and tells how it was made. "The natives made their canoes from the trunks of trees, which they burned out and shaped into boats. And in this respect Verrazzano is perfectly correct." The birch canoe was a very different boat. The whole subject was investigated by another celebrated voyager, Lescarbot, in 1607, and on the spot. He tells us "that while bark canoes were made in Massachusetts and Maine, the prevailing type was the log canoe." To make the birch canoe required sharp iron tools. "It is probable that in 1524 the birch canoe was not known at all, as it was difficult to make before the introduction of iron tools by Europeans, and was confined to northern parts, where the trees were generally small and scarce, which rendered canoes of bark and skin necessary, no matter what might be the cost. Farther south, in Maine and Massachusetts, where the timber was larger, fire would build the canoe, and this easy but slow style of naval construction prevailed until the white man came with sharp knives and hatchets. Then the tedious process of burning gradually went out of use, since with sharp tools a canoe could be made from bark in a day. Here Mr. Murphy's reasoning fails. Verrazzano's failure to speak of the bark canoe in his narrative is one of the proofs of its authenticity."

Without going any further in the present state of the controversy we grant Mr. De Costa his stay of judgment.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Anderson (Prof. R. B.), Viking Tales of the North	(S. C. Griggs & Co.) 2 00
Birks (Prof. R. T.), Modern Physical Fatalism	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 25
Carrington (Col. H. B.), Battles of the American Revolution	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 6 00
Curtis (B. R.), Dottings Round the Circle	(J. R. Osgood & Co.) 2 50
Davies (Rev. C. M.), Mystic London	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Duniway (Abigail S.), David and Anna Matson: a Poem	(S. R. Wells & Co.) 2 00
Elmendorf (Prof. J. J.), ectures on the History of Philosophy	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 50
Fisher (W. M.), The Californians	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Frothingham (Rev. O. B.), Chi d's Book of Religion, New ed	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 00
Garretson (Dr. J. E.), Hours with John Darby	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Graff (J. F.), "Graveard's" ay Sermons	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Hale (Rev. E. E.), Philip Nolan's Friends	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 75
Holland (J. G.), The Mistress of the Manse	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 5 00
Hooper (W. H.) and Phillips (W. C.), Manual of Marks on Pottery and Porcelain	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 75
Joan of Arc: a Poem	(Kerby & Endean)
Johnson (Mrs. H. K.), Roddy's Ideal	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Knox (W.), Oh, Why should the Spirit o Mortal be Proud?	(Lee & Shepard) 2 00
Kavanagh (Bridget and Julia), The Pearl Fountain, and Other Fairy Tales	(Henry Holt & Co.) 3 50
Lanier (S.), Poems	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Leland (C. G.), Johnnykin and the Goblins	(Macmillan & Co.) 1 50
Long (G.), Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus	(Lee & Shepard) 1 25
Martineau (Rev. J.), Modern Materialism	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 75
McAdam (G.), An Alphabet in Finance	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25
Milner (E.), Sunshine in the Shady Place: a Tale	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Mosenthal (J. de) and Harting (J. E.), Ostriches and Ostrich Farming	(Trübner & Co.)
Packard (A. S., jr.), Monograph on the Geometrid Moths	(Washington)
Palmer (E. H.), Concise Dictionary of the Persian Language	(Trübner & Co.)
Pinto (E.), Glimpses inside the London Stock Exchange	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Portfolio, for November, swd	(J. W. Bouton) 1 00
Purdy (W.), London Banking Life	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Robinson (Leora B.), The House with Spectacles	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 25

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1876.

The Week.

THE President soon after the election sent a committee down to Louisiana to watch the count. It was composed of Republican partisans exclusively—viz., Senator Sherman; Mr. E. W. Stoughton, who wrote the elaborate legal defence of the last military interference with the Louisiana legislature in 1875; J. H. Van Alen, who is almost unknown; Eugene Hale, who was Blaine's managing man at the Cincinnati Convention; J. A. Garfield; Cortland Parker of New Jersey; W. D. Kelley, the wild Pennsylvanian; and Sidney Clark and J. C. Wilson of Kansas. Without casting an imputation on the honesty of these gentlemen, it is easy to see why their findings should not satisfy the public; and yet the President sent their report to Congress as a public paper which the Democrats should accept as authoritative. After complimenting the Returning Board for the courtesy with which it treated them, they explain that the Board was created in 1870, owing to the outrages (which they describe) perpetrated on colored voters previous to that year, and which made fair elections impossible. They declare, however, that the powers conferred on the Board are "inadequate," because, while it can reject votes on account of intimidation, it cannot add the votes which it thinks would have been cast but for intimidation. For instance, in a parish where there is a large colored vote registered, and it is not cast at the election, they think the Board ought to be able to put it in on *à priori* grounds, if there is evidence of intimidation. They then give a summary of the powers of the Board under the statute, with which our readers are tolerably familiar, and show that the Supreme Court of the State has decided that there is no appeal from its rulings, and speak of it as a somewhat august body. They then give a sketch of the members of the Board. Wells, the chairman of the Board, is of an "old and highly-respectable family," "liberally educated," "devoted to the Union cause," and unanimously elected governor under Johnson's reconstruction scheme; "experience great and varied"; "capacity cannot be questioned." Anderson is also eulogized in the same fashion. Casanave (colored) is a man of "intelligence," "excellent character" and "business habits"; and the other colored member, who keeps a liquor-store, is simply "intelligent and active." It will be observed that Wells's career is not traced down further than his election to the governorship under the Johnson plan of reconstruction, and that there is not the slightest allusion to the fact that the official conduct of these very men had been investigated by Congress, and that they had been found guilty of illegality and usurpation for party purposes.

They describe the Democratic plan for carrying the State to consist of a circular recommending a hopeful view of the result of the election in conversation; processions on horseback, to give the negroes a high idea of the conservative strength; and "intimidation" in parishes in which the negro vote was heavy—five in all. They then describe the intimidation as having consisted of murdering, maiming, and whipping by masked bands, and say this was proved, but do not say how. They reiterate the power of the Board to reject the returns in parishes which were the scenes of this intimidation, if satisfied with the testimony; affirm once more that the Board was "the sole and final judge" of this testimony, and, "if in reaching a conclusion it exercised good faith and was guided by an honest desire to do justice, its determination should be respected, even if, upon like proof, a different conclusion might have been reached by other tribunals or persons." This is a good saving clause.

It is now our painful duty to make some additions to the history of the Board which the Committee has apparently overlooked. It only traces Wells's history down to his election as Governor; as to his subsequent career, we shall cite General Sheridan, who is no lawyer and a poor politician, but is an officer and a gentleman, and knows a rogue when he sees him. He was sent down to right Louisiana affairs in 1867, and found Wells acting as Governor, and removed him summarily in June of that year; and in a report to Secretary Stanton, dated June 3, 1867, gave as his reasons that, $4,000,000 having been voted by the Legislature for the repair of the levees—

"after its [the Legislature] adjournment the Governor of the State appointed a Board of his own, in violation of this act, and made the acknowledgment to me in person that his object was to disburse the money in the interest of his own party, by securing for it the vote of the employees. The Board continued in office, but the Legislature refused to recognize the Governor's Board, and each side appealed to me to sustain it, which I would not do. The question must then have gone to the courts, which, according to the Governor's judgment, who was appealing to me to be sustained, would require one year for decision. Meantime the State was overflowed. The Levee Boards were tied up by political chicanery, and nothing was done to relieve the poor people, now fed by the Government and charitable associations of the North.

"I say now, unequivocally, that Governor Wells is a political trickster and a dishonored man. . . . .

"I have watched him since, and his conduct has been as sinuous as the mark left in the dust by the movement of a snake.

"I say again that he is dishonest, and dishonesty is more than must be expected of me."

Subsequently, writing to General Grant, General Sheridan said of the same eminent man:

"He has embarrassed me very much, since I came into command, by his subterfuge and political chicanery. This necessary act will be approved by every class and shade of political opinion here. He has not one friend who is an honest man."

Now as regards the history of this Board as a judicial tribunal, of which one would suppose this Republican Committee had never heard. Our readers already know that it has flagrantly and impudently disobeyed the law in refusing to fill a vacancy with a Democratic member, and to this, too, the report makes no allusion. A Congressional Committee of seven was sent down to investigate the doings of this very Board after the election of 1874, and the majority, Messrs. Foster of Ohio, Phelps and Potter of New York, and Marshall of Illinois, found that the Board had taken the majority of votes away from one side and given it to the other by "unjust, arbitrary, and illegal action"; the minority, consisting of Messrs. G. F. Hoar of Massachusetts, William A. Wheeler of New York, and W. P. Frye of Maine, found that it had done as described with the votes, but in consideration of its motives, which they thought were good, simply expressed "emphatic disapprobation of its proceedings" and "dissent from the view it took of its own powers and duties," and pronounced its conduct "illegal" in "trying to cure one wrong by another." To make a report on the recent action of the Returning Board, in which all knowledge of these facts in its history is concealed, and claim confidence for it as for a judicial body whose integrity had never been impeached, it is impossible not to pronounce disingenuous.

The Democratic Committee sent down to New Orleans have also made their report. It, too, is a partisan body, but not so notoriously partisan as the other. Its members are Messrs. Lyman Trumbull, J. M. Palmer, William Bigler, George B. Smith, George W. Julian, and P. H. Watson. They offered to co-operate with the Republican Committee when they reached New Orleans, but the latter declined in the character of "simple strangers," in the amusing and tricky manner which has already been described in our columns. The report, after calling attention to the fact that the Board is the same old Board whose work was denounced by the Congressional Committee in 1875, denies that it has under the law

of 1872 (amending the law of 1870) any authority to count the vote for electors; attributes this power to the Governor and Secretary of State, the Attorney-General, and a judge, whose functions would be purely arithmetical; denies the constitutionality of the Board, on the ground that it exercises judicial functions and has not filled the vacancy as required by law, and is composed of members taken from one party only, as is the entire clerical force employed by it; shows that under the law charges of intimidation must accompany the returns, and cannot be added afterwards; maintains that the face of the returns showed a majority of 8,957 for Tilden; describes the processes by which this was converted into a majority for Hayes, and draws attention to the secrecy of the final count and the absence of any details in the announcement of the decision. It admits the existence of great lawlessness in the State, and ascribes it to bad government, and gives the reasons which make it probable that many negroes vote the Republican ticket, and describes some of the principal forms of Republican rascality. The report seems not to have evaded any important point, in this respect having a decided moral superiority, whatever may be thought of the argumentation, over that of the Innocent Strangers.

The situation in South Carolina at the present writing is this: The Wallace Assembly contains a legal quorum, or sixty-three members returned by the Board of Canvassers—that is, by the body whose decisions the President is supposed to be supporting—and it has over and above this seven or eight members who hold certificates from the Supreme Court only. The Mackey or Radical Assembly has never had a quorum at all, or more than fifty-nine members, and, therefore, has never been competent to transact any business or do anything but adjourn from day to day. On the sixth the Supreme Court of the State delivered a judgment recognizing Wallace as the legal Speaker, and his sixty-three followers as the legal House, and declaring Mackey and his followers mere interlopers. On the seventh Mr. Chamberlain was, however, sworn in as Governor before the Mackey House and the Senate by a judge of probate, the Chief-justice refusing to act. He read a rather florid address, partly in vindication of himself and partly in denunciation of the enemy, hinting in one place that he was in danger of assassination, which called forth an indignant and vituperative denial from Wade Hampton the next day. The Wallace House had understood from Washington that on presenting themselves at the hall in the capitol with sixty-three members returned by the Board of Canvassers, and with the recognition of the Supreme Court, they would be admitted, but on enquiring of General Ruger found that he would be compelled by his orders to keep them out; so that in point of fact United States troops are at this moment excluding the lawful and undisputed quorum of one branch of a State Legislature from their usual place of meeting in the State-House, under the orders of a Governor whose title to office has only been recognized by means of a minority of one branch of the Legislature, and which the Supreme Court pronounces an unlawful body.

The result of the electoral vote, through the appointment of a Democratic elector in Oregon, is to give Tilden 185 votes, and we wish very much that this, or the other "count" which gives Mr. Hayes the same number of votes, could be considered a settlement of the Presidential contest; but instead of settling anything it has merely introduced new complications. The Democratic theory is that the Governor of Oregon had no choice but to issue his certificate to Cronin, on the ground that Watts, the postmaster who received a majority of the votes, was ineligible, and that the fact of his ineligibility must have been, from the nature of his office, notorious. There is no doubt whatever that votes cast for an ineligible candidate are simply wasted; the ballots are always treated like so many pieces of blank paper. The only question of difficulty is whether, after they are thrown out, the defeated candidate comes in or the office remains vacant. The question has been most carefully examined in the case of The People *v.* Clute by the Court of Appeals of this State, and the facts are so strikingly like those of the Oregon case that the two are worth comparing. Clute was Supervisor in the Fifth Ward of the city of Schenectady, and ran as candidate for Superintendent of the Poor, a county office. His majority was twenty, and in his own ward, which was also an election district, 295 votes were cast. Clute's supervisorship made him ineligible, and the votes cast for him void. The court, however, held that his competitor was not elected. The principle of the decision is very simple. It is that the candidate who has really received a minority of the votes cannot be elected unless the fact of the ineligibility of his competitor was so brought home to the people who voted for him that they must be taken to have *wilfully* voted for a person they knew could not be elected. This, too, must not be left open to inference or conjecture, but must be capable of actual proof. There are cases which hold a different doctrine: that the minority candidate comes in when the disqualification was generally known. But they are opposed to good sense and to public policy, as they amount to saying that thousands of people who go to the polls and exercise the right of suffrage for the express purpose of electing a particular candidate, may be presumed to have desired to elect the candidate they voted against, and to defeat the candidate they voted for.

The most important piece of work in Congress has been the decision of the question as to the existence of the Twenty-second Joint Rule by the Senate. The Democrats, instead of voting as they were expected to, supported the position taken by the Republicans—that the Rule was not in force. In the House the rules have also been discussed, the Democrats maintaining that they are in force. The silver dollar has again shown its head, Mr. Bland calling up his old bill; and, if we may judge by the preliminary discussion and the vote, there has been much thoughtful study among the members during the summer and autumn. The silver reformers are clearly right in pressing the matter to a vote now, for silver is going up very fast, and there is no principle of political economy better settled than that any law regulating the circulating medium should be passed before the material of which the medium is made has reached a price at which it will not circulate.

The removal of Mr. Fairman from the Philadelphia postmastership shows what "reform" is understood to be by the managers of the Reform Republican Campaign. Mr. Fairman was promoted four years ago for faithful and efficient services as deputy postmaster, and he performed his duties as postmaster so well that when his commission expired his reappointment was asked for by the entire community. He had, however, figured in the Cincinnati Convention as an "independent," and interfered with "Don" Cameron's management of the Pennsylvania delegation. The reform campaign being over, "Don" is at liberty to attend to such cases as this, and Fairman is immediately dismissed. To select the present moment for this kind of work is natural enough; but the contemptuous defiance of the "reformers" which it shows ought, we think, to bring some of these gentlemen to a sense of the absurdity of the assurances they kept giving us during the campaign that the way to secure a better civil service was to pretend to believe that what "Zach" Chandler and Don Cameron were after was the elevation and purification of political life. All the brethren really knew that they were after the post-offices, and that what they called "supporting Hayes" was really ensuring their getting them.

The Republicans of Worcester have taken a step towards emancipation from the caucus for which they deserve very hearty

praise. They had to nominate a mayor, and for this purpose polls were opened at the Republican headquarters on Saturday and Monday week, until nine o'clock in the evening. The voters, of course, were Republicans only. Check-lists were used, and a constant supervision exercised by a committee of six. Printed ballots were ruled out, but would-be candidates or their friends were allowed to advise freely any one whom they supplied with pencil and paper. The aggregate number of votes cast was surprising, being 2,132, against 4,800 cast for Hayes in October. The favorite candidate received 794, and on the following Wednesday this choice was cheerfully ratified at a mass meeting. He is a prominent manufacturer, and has served in the State Legislature as well as in both branches of the city government. His nearest rival on the preliminary ballot had 728 votes, and a more ambitious man might have endeavored to capture the ratification meeting. He would obviously, however, have incurred some odium in doing this, and in case of a bolt would have been likely to fare hardly on election day. The present candidate is spoken of as one whom the managers of the caucus would probably have left aside as not pliant enough for their uses. Altogether, the result is very gratifying, and if the innovation should spread we may expect to see it everywhere produce a higher political tone and a greater interest in public affairs. The weak point in the machinery is of course in the counting of the votes, but this might be readily overcome by requiring not only that each voter should write down his choice but sign it with his name. The slips might then, after the count, be pasted on sheets or in a book in alphabetical order, and be open to inspection on demand of any voter, and subjected to a re-count in case of doubt or suspicion. A still further check would be stamping a number on each ballot as received, and giving a duplicate number to the voter.

A decidedly original method of raising funds for campaign expenses was initiated by Boston Democrats last Friday evening. At a meeting of the Democratic Central Committee—the roll-call showing 174 members to be present—held for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Board of Aldermen, twelve candidates were duly chosen, when, upon motion of one of the leaders, a gentleman who has heretofore headed his party's ticket for mayor, it was voted to assess the candidates $50 each for campaign expenses. Undoubtedly candidates for office have been assessed before now, but we do not recall a previous instance when the fact was written out so plainly upon the journal of a nominating convention. The matter-of-fact manner in which the motion was put and carried, its commercial straightforwardness and political *naïveté*, combine to render it worthy of some attention from observers of our national morals. We are not sure, moreover, that there may not be found in this method of raising funds some hint at the kind of steps in civil-service reform likely to be taken by the Democrats should they come into possession of the national offices, and if so, we are obliged to pronounce it preferable to that now pursued by the party in power. Candidates are always more numerous than office-holders, and more ready to pay promptly their political assessments; and it is certainly more in accordance with the kindlier sentiments of our humanity to lay hold upon the pocket-book of the hopeful candidate than to attempt to squeeze his pennies from the poor clerk who is trying to pay his bills on $1,200 a year. It ought to be noted that in the present instance, as the Boston Aldermen serve without pay, it would have been impossible after election to assess their salaries.

On Tuesday evening of last week occurred the saddest and most inexcusable destruction of human life by fire which it has ever been our duty to record. The burning of the Brooklyn Theatre, caused by a portion of the lighter scenery coming in contact with an imperfectly guarded gas-jet, towards the close of a performance, was attended with the unprecedented loss of nearly or quite three hundred persons, most of them those whose seats were in the highest and least accessible part of the house. The gradual dawning of this fact upon the consciousness of the community, the discovery of fresh remains—of remains literally in heaps—the identification of the bodies by friends and relatives, the burial in a common grave, the commemorative discourses from the pulpits, have made the event singularly impressive. The first practical result of it has been to alarm theatre-goers in the two cities, and to move the authorities to inspect the buildings not yet consumed. This inspection has only revealed the general insecurity and want of protection against fire and panic. In the case of the Brooklyn Theatre the means of egress were inadequate, and though water-pipes had been laid upon the stage for such an emergency, not a fire-hose was attached or on hand, nor even so much as a bucket of water. With the fire once well started the theatre was doomed, for like most theatres in this country—especially such as have been altered from churches and lecture-rooms—it was in reality but a single hall divided into lobby, auditorium, and stage by partitions so slight that the fire spread unimpeded through the whole building, the partitions serving only to feed the flames they should have checked. Worse yet, the proscenium arch was not continued to the roof; it only met a false dome suspended over the auditorium several yards below the roof, and as the flames on the stage sprang to the roof, they were drawn by the draught into this open space between the roof and the dome, the flimsy canvas of which caught fire at once, and dropped in flaming fragments, firing the front of the house before the rear was really beyond control. We print in another column a contribution to the discussion as to how to prevent the recurrence of such frightful catastrophes. Clearly the first guaranty against them must lie in the construction of the building itself; but we need besides to follow the European example of a permanent fire brigade attached to each theatre, at its post behind the scenes during every performance, and visible to the public at all the outlets.

The price of silver in London has advanced during the week to 57½*d.* per ounce, English standard. In New York the price per ounce, 1,000 fine, has advanced to $1 24*a*$1 25, and round amounts could not be obtained much below the higher figure. In general terms, it may be said that the London silver market, which controls the markets of the world, has advanced because of the strong demand for silver to ship to India and China. This rise in the price may have an important influence on legislation at Washington respecting silver. When, at the last session of Congress, the furor for the "dollar of our fathers" was strongest, the price of silver in London was as low as 46¾*d.* per ounce, and the gold value of the "dollar of our fathers" would then have been a little less than 79 cents. At that time the promise of the United States Government to pay one dollar (the legal-tender note) was worth, expressed in gold, about 89½ cents. It was, therefore, quite natural that the advocates of cheap money should clamor for the good old silver dollar, and should show an unsuspected reverence for the money of the Constitution. Now that silver has returned to somewhere near the price at which it had ruled, until last year, for a generation, it remains to be seen whether the cheap-money men will transfer their allegiance to the "battle-born and blood-stained greenback," or will prove steadfast in their devotion to the silver dollar of 412½ grains. The actual gold or bullion value of the latter would now be 96⅝ cents, while the gold value of the greenback is now only 93¼ cents. Except for the decline in what is called the gold premium, the silver small change would now certainly disappear from circulation; as it is, there is danger that it may, either by reason of a further advance in the price of silver, or within a few months by advance in the gold premium. Had the gold premium remained as high as before the adjournment of Congress last summer, the silver small change would now be withdrawn from circulation to sell as bullion, and the country would now be using improvised shinplasters, as it did immediately after the outbreak of the war in 1861.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE Presidential contest has now entered on another stage. Hayes has received on the face of the returns 185 votes, having secured the three disputed States, and Tilden has also received 185 votes by the aid of one disputed vote from Oregon, from which State Hayes claims three. This Tilden vote from Oregon has been secured in appearance, at least, by the award of a certificate to the Democratic candidate having the next highest number of votes to a Republican candidate who was found to be disqualified by reason of his being a postmaster. There has been a good deal of legal lore expended on the matter in the newspapers, and the conclusion to which it all points seems to be that nothing but proof of knowledge of the disqualification on the part of the voters of the State would suffice to make the election of the Republican a nullity and give the place to the Democrat having the next highest number of votes, and of course no such proof is forthcoming. But we dare say Cronin's—the Democrat—appearance in Washington with a certificate, regular in form, will furnish the Democrats with a sort of excuse for a contention over the right of Congress to go behind the returns—that is, the House will probably try to use the case as a means of compelling the Senate to look into the work of the three Returning Boards. Whether the move will succeed or not there is no use in trying to calculate, but it is quite certain that if successful it will only make confusion worse confounded. In the first place, whatever moral weight the Democratic position now has in the struggle over the vote will be destroyed by any effort, even though it be only a piece of tactics, to use such a performance as Cronin's as a determining agency. What the public is now most interested in is the election of somebody in a manner that will command general confidence. A technical victory would therefore do the Democrats no good. They would have no popular support in trying to force the Senate to count a vote cast by a person who was plainly not elected by a majority of votes in his State, and in the event of a deadlock they would therefore be sure to be defeated; nor, if successful, can Tilden afford to take office on such a vote. No man can afford to take the Presidency on any quirk or quibble, or in virtue of any merely technical rule. So that the law of the Cronin affair is really of but slight practical importance.

In the second place, if the practice of going behind the returns be established, we probably have seen the last of orderly and decisive elections. Every close election would be disputed before Congress met, and, when it did meet, there would invariably be a controversy over the count and a demand for further enquiry, and committees would be despatched to make reports which would settle nothing, and merely furnish materials for partisan articles in the newspapers and inflame the passions of the politicians. The local quarrels and intrigues in all the States would be transferred to Washington, and converted, like those of South Carolina and Louisiana, into national questions over which the whole country would be convulsed, and about which, nevertheless, nobody at a distance would have the means of forming a reliable opinion. Moreover, "intimidation" being the vague thing it is, every unprincipled governor, working for re-election or trying to help his party, would have, as we believe Kellogg has, a direct and powerful motive for not policing the State or repressing crime. It would always be the interest of the party in power in any Southern State to promote disorder and let crime go unpunished in order to have a stock of "outrages" ready at election time. In fact, we see nothing but chaos as likely to result from the assumption of "judicial functions" by Congress in the matter of counting the electoral vote, and we trust that, in spite of Republican precedents, any attempt to perpetuate the practice in February next will be defeated. The Government could never stand the strain of having Congress act as a National Returning Board with judicial powers. Nor does the proposal to impose the duties of such a Board on the Supreme Court seem any more commendable. We do not believe the Court would long bear up under them. The judges would be the object of frantic denunciation after each "count"; and the last party would, when in power, have as part of its programme schemes for packing the Court in readiness for the next Presidential election, by increasing the number of judges or otherwise, and their credit and authority would rapidly decline under the suspicions of all sorts that would settle down on them. In fact, there is only one course open to us in this matter, and that is to let the States manage their own elections and accept the result as they give it. We cannot make State governments better than the population of the State want to have them. It must be remembered, too, that the performances of the Southern Returning Boards have owed most of their importance of late to the closeness of the contest, and we suspect that they will always be a source of fraud and dispute under any circumstances. When the politicians of a State find that they have a casting vote Satan is pretty sure to enter into them, and nothing the rest of the country can do will hinder him.

Of course, all this means that the wisest course for the Democrats and everybody is to allow Hayes to take the Presidency quietly and without further dispute on the 4th of March next. This will doubtless be a very unpalatable course to those who cannot afford to wait four years more for another such chance as apparently now offers itself to them; but the country desires law and order and certainty, and does not now particularly care who is President, provided there is general acquiescence in his accession. We do not ourselves see how Mr. Hayes can, if he be the man he has been represented, take the place under the circumstances, but this is a matter between himself and his own conscience, and there is every reason to believe that he will make a good President. It is a great misfortune for the country to have any man hold the Presidency by a disputed title, but the continuance of disputes is a worse one. People desire tranquillity, and will punish whatever wrong-doing there may be now at the next election, in the regular constitutional way, and not by threats and vituperation.

We hoped when the real result of the election was first announced that the prospect would have a sufficiently sobering effect on both the candidates or their managers to induce them to take steps in concert to reassure the public and bring about in some way a satisfactory settlement. We hoped, for instance, that Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden would agree upon half-a-dozen men of unimpeachable character and standing who should go down and look into the doings of the Boards in the disputed States, and make a report by which they would both abide and which the public would accept; but neither of them seems to have made the slightest move in that direction. We have heard it was suggested to Mr. Tilden by some of his own friends and rejected; if so, he has incurred a heavy responsibility. We thought it not impossible also that if the President sent down inspectors he would choose them outside the ranks of active politicians, and, if possible, from both parties, but instead of this his selections were all stolid Republican partisans, with one prominent lawyer, Mr. Stoughton, who had written and published an elaborate opinion in 1875 justifying the military interference with the Legislature in Louisiana, which General Grant afterwards repudiated and apologized for. Even if this committee had behaved better in New Orleans, its report could hardly be expected to command much respect or attention. From the Congressional Committees it is possible that something decisive may come, as the Returning Boards begin to writhe, but we are not sanguine. What is worst in the situation is, that owing to the character of the men who were allowed to conduct Mr. Hayes's canvass and the course affairs have taken at the South, there is a strong suspicion abroad, which it will be hard to allay, and in fact which Mr. Hayes will have to "live down," not only that he is profiting by the doings of the Returning Boards, but that those doings were part of a plan long prepared, and that when Chandler assured the Republican papers on the mornings of the 8th and 9th December that Hayes was surely elected, although no fresh figures had come in, and Tilden had apparent majorities, and intimidation had still to be proved, he (Chandler) was relying on the excellence of his own arrangements rather than on his knowledge of facts. He ap-

parently knew that there had been just intimidation enough to give Hayes small majorities. We hope this may prove a lesson in the value of character in managers in these times. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee ought to be a man whom nobody would suspect of such things for a moment. But the time to punish whatever underhand dealing there has been is in 1880. It seems to us that the only sound course now is to stop quibbling and chopping logic, to accept the Southern figures, however bedeviled, and inaugurate Hayes in the interest of peace and quiet, and for the better preservation of constitutional forms. Any other course is Mexican.

APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

IN the absence of any more positive and authoritative interpretation, the true intent of the Constitutional provisions concerning the choice of the President, the appointment of the electors, and the respective functions of the State and of the national Governments, may be inferred, in part at least, from the proceedings of the Convention, by following the progress of the entire subject in its changing shapes and phases through that body. Excepting the representation in Congress, no topic occupied so much time or occasioned so much discussion in the final adjustment of its details. It is a very remarkable fact, when compared with the subsequent rapid development of democratic doctrines, that an election of the President by the people, either directly or through the interposition of electors, seemed to the Convention so utterly impracticable that propositions to adopt such a mode of choice were not regarded as even worthy of debate, but were dismissed as purely chimerical. At an early stage of the proceedings Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, moved that "the Executive should be elected by electors to be chosen by the people in prescribed election districts" This motion was defeated, Pennsylvania and Maryland alone supporting it. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, subsequently moved that "the Executive be chosen by the citizens of the United States," but his motion was supported only by the vote of Pennsylvania. The same suggestions, when renewed by one or two other members, met with a like fate. Until the Convention had nearly completed its labors, the plans which received any serious consideration and advocacy were three: that the Executive should be appointed by the Congress, by the State legislatures, and by the State executives. It was first voted, by eight States against two, that he should be chosen by the national legislature. After a reconsideration, a prolonged discussion, and several conflicting votes, the matter was referred to the "Committee of Detail," who reported in favor of an appointment by Congress. In the meantime, however, a change seems to have taken place in the opinions of the members, as the dangers to be apprehended from a legislative election were strongly presented during the debates, and the subject was again referred to a special committee consisting of one from each State. This committee reported the electoral scheme which was, with certain modifications, adopted as a part of the Constitution. Their report provided that the electors should vote for two persons; that their votes should be sealed up and transmitted to the President of the Senate; that he should "in that House" open all the certificates, and the votes should then and there be counted; in case of a failure to make a choice, the power to elect was conferred upon the Senate alone; and it was added that "Congress may determine the time of choosing and assembling the electors, *and the manner of certifying and transmitting their votes*." Strong objections were at once made to that clause of the report which gave the final power of choice to the Senate, and it was struck out. A motion to substitute "the legislature" in place of the Senate was lost, and the House of Representatives was inserted, with the additional provision that each State represented in that body should have but one vote. It was also directed that the certificates be opened in presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, instead of in the Senate alone. The plan thus proposed by the committee and amended by the Convention was incorporated into the Constitution, with one material alteration, which seems to have originated with the committee on revision—the omission of the clause giving Congress power "to determine the manner of certifying and transmitting the votes" of the electors. The amendment occasioned by the political intrigue and combination which nearly defeated Mr. Jefferson in 1800–1 relates only to the method of voting by the electors, and does not alter the manner in which they are to be chosen.

These proceedings and the debates which accompanied them clearly show that, according to the design of the Convention, the choice of Presidential electors was given to the several States; the manner of their appointment, and, incidentally, of determining all questions concerning the regularity and sufficiency of such appointment, was intentionally left with the individual commonwealths. In discussing all grave questions of construction which are as yet unsettled by any precedents of acknowledged authority, we must recur to the underlying principles upon which the entire organic law is based. The central conception was well stated by Mr. Wilson in the Pennsylvania convention called to ratify the Constitution; and as political parties or governments have departed from it on the one side or on the other, usurpation of power and invasion of rights have been the inevitable results. It may be formulated in the following propositions: Although the United States is a nation and not a mere federation, and although its Constitution creates a national Government and is not a mere federal league, yet that Government assumes and is based upon the States as organic societies; all its departments and branches, except the House of Representatives, so completely and immediately derive their existence from the States acting in their political capacity that without these creative sources it would vanish. The Government, according to this national theory, is certainly the representative of the one people of the United States, and as such must, through some one or all of its departments, finally decide upon the extent of its own powers, since these powers were conferred by the people, and not by the States; but in the single matter of constructing the *personnel* of this Government—of choosing the officials who for the time being exercise its functions, except the Lower House of Congress—the States were made the sole agents.

This principle, which appears in all parts of the Constitution, applies with special force in solving all questions concerning the choice of Presidential electors and in ascertaining the nature and extent of the powers, if any, possessed by Congress or by either House to determine the regularity and sufficiency of their appointment in any particular instance, or to pass general laws by which such regularity and sufficiency may be determined in all cases. The language of article ii., section 1, to which reference has already been made, is very remarkable in two of its features—first, the entire absence of any express authority conferred either upon the national legislature as a whole or upon either of its branches; and, second, the peculiarity of the terms which are employed to describe the part taken by the two Houses in the act of counting the electoral vote. The votes which have been cast in the several States are transmitted to the seat of government, directed to the President of the Senate. In the original draft of the article, that officer was to open all the certificates in the Senate. This provision was so modified by the Convention that he is required to open them in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, "and the votes shall then be counted." These peculiar terms must have been chosen with some design. The certificates are not to be opened in the presence of "Congress," and it may fairly be inferred that the two Houses are not present in their legislative capacity as the Congress, but in their separate and individual capacity; and it certainly is not directed that they, either as the legislature or as distinct branches thereof, shall take any part in the counting otherwise than as spectators. The act of the Convention in omitting the clause empowering Congress to determine the manner of certifying and transmitting the electoral vote also throws some light upon the true intent of the provisions which they did adopt. The absence of any express power conferred upon Congress or upon either House to interfere with the electoral certificates, or to pass upon

the validity of the State proceedings which have terminated in the official appointment of the electors, or to perform any other function except fixing the time when the electors shall be chosen and the day on which they shall give their votes, stands in marked contrast with provisions which do grant an analogous authority to other branches of the Government. For example, the Senators, as well as the Presidential electors, are appointed by the several States, and sit as their immediate representatives in the national legislature, and yet the Senate is permitted to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members. It may be reasonably—even if it must not be necessarily—inferred that if Congress or either House were to decide in any particular instance whether electors whose credentials are regular had in fact been properly chosen in accordance with the laws of their own State, or were to review the proceedings of the State officials conducted in pursuance of those laws, and were thus to pronounce upon the validity of an appointment which appears on its face to be lawful; and *à fortiori* if it were intended that Congress should pass general laws providing for an investigation and decision by itself or under its direction in all cases, such a power, which is opposed to the plain tenor of the entire electoral scheme, would have been granted in express and unmistakable terms similar to those which enable the Senate to pass upon the election of its own members, and for that purpose to go behind their official credentials and certificates.

In conclusion, it thus appears, from the history of the Constitutional plan during its process of construction by the Convention, from the essential nature of the government of which this scheme is an integral part, from the complete absence of any express authority over the subject-matter given to Congress or to either branch thereof, and from the peculiar phraseology employed to describe the part taken by the two Houses in the act of counting the votes, that the power not only to choose the electors, but to determine in every individual case the validity of their appointment, belongs wholly and exclusively to the several States. This must be taken as the fundamental principle which determines the nature and extent of the legislative authority possessed by Congress, and which restricts the functions of the national legislature and of either House simply to the *identification* and *registration* of the official acts performed by the States in pursuance of their own laws. No additional authority can be claimed for Congress under the general clause, found at the conclusion of art. i., sec. 8, permitting the enactment of all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested in the Government or in any department or officer, since the very question to be decided is, What power has been thus vested? and it is an elementary doctrine that this clause is not the source of any power, but rather restricts than enlarges the scope of legislation. The broad and universal principle reached through the foregoing analysis has been intentionally stated in its most general terms. It must control in the decision of every disputed Presidential election, but its application to the present controversy must be made by the reader.

MR. MORRILL ON RESUMPTION.

THE absorbing interest of a disputed Presidential election has prevented Mr. Morrill's report from attracting the attention which is fairly due it. The quarter in which it will receive the most careful consideration will probably be abroad, and, fortunately for us, the result of this consideration cannot but be to strengthen the credit of the country. The showing which he makes is good, while his proposals for the future are marked with much of the same sort of caution and common sense which Mr. Bristow brought into the administration of the finances; and it should not be forgotten that it is really caution and sense of the kind that would enable a rich but embarrassed private company or trader to meet their outstanding obligations, and not brilliant "financiering," that are now most needed at Washington.

With regard to resumption, what Mr. Morrill has to say is plain and direct. The Government is, as he tells Congress, pledged to resume on the 1st of January, 1879, and the only question is, how this is to be done. The fact that the step involves contraction he does not shirk, but points out that this is "not of itself necessarily an evil," and that, "if it were, it is an evil incident to a vicious system, not cured by the continuance of the evil, while the measure itself is demanded by the highest economic considerations and principles of honest dealing among men." He reviews the history of the "blood stained, battle-born" greenback in a way that must be very painful to staunch patriots of General Logan's school, and shows that, though it may from an antiquarian point of view be regarded as a memento of a great struggle, it is, as a matter of law, fact, and reputation, a badge of national insolvency, and has been so declared to be by no less authority than the Supreme Court. Mr. Morrill goes even much farther than this: he recalls the fact that the legal-tender notes are outstanding to-day "only because the original provisions for their funding have not been enforced, and that fanciful and speculative theories have proposed their permanent incorporation into our monetary system as not incompatible with the hard money of the Constitution and the hard-money traditions of our people," and declares that the "policy which tolerated the continuance of these notes as money after the close of the war must be regarded as a public misfortune"—an admission which certainly is as complete as could be desired, though, coming from the party which has been in power since the close of the war, a little late in the day. But Mr. Morrill's own business is with the future rather than with the past, and he therefore proceeds to consider the means for resumption provided by the act of January 14, 1875. This evidently strikes Mr. Morrill, calmly seated in his official chair at Washington, in a very different light from that in which it appeared to stump-speakers engaged in haranguing excited multitudes on this subject during the late campaign. He says:

> "As a further provision deemed essential to the purpose of resumption, it is recommended that, in addition to the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury already conferred—to provide for redemption of the legal-tender notes on and after the day provided for resumption, by the accumulation of an adequate amount of gold to meet the volume of three hundred million dollars of legal-tender notes, which will then be outstanding, by the sale of United States bonds—authority be given him from time to time, as he may deem expedient and the state of the finances admit, to fund these notes into a bond bearing a rate of interest not more than four and one-half per cent., with not less than thirty years to run, with such limitations as to the amount to be so funded in any given period as Congress, in its discretion, may determine."

The actual amount of legal tenders now outstanding is stated by Mr. Morrill to be $367,535,716, and the process of voluntary contraction under the provisions of the two acts of 1874 and 1875 (one authorizing the retirement of the circulation of national banks, and the other compelling the cancellation of greenbacks against new notes issued to banks) seems to be still going on. Taking the bank-notes and legal tenders together, the total contraction in circulation under these acts and the effects of the depression of business, is $43,607,748. When we reflect that this contraction has been going on simply because the country had no use for the money, the old banks insisting on returning a large part of their existing funds to Washington, it seems almost impossible to believe that there is a large political party in the country which insists on the issue of more greenbacks—an organization, too, strong enough to make the dominant party stifle in its convention a resolution ratifying its own solemn pledge of resumption in 1879, and to make the Opposition actually pass a resolution denouncing the act promising resumption in 1879 as an obstacle in the way of specie payments. Now that the campaign is over, the Secretary of the Treasury has no hesitation in declaring that "the volume of currency is largely in excess of the real demands of legitimate business," and that "a portion of the legal tenders might be gradually withdrawn without embarrassment to the business of the country." To sum up Mr. Morrill's propositions, he asks that with authority to accumulate gold he may also issue funding

bonds, and further that the national banks be required to accumulate coin as part of their legal-money reserve. The exact amount of coin which will be needed on the 1st of January, 1879, to redeem such of the legal-tender notes as may be presented, he does not attempt to determine, but gives the outline of a plan which he leaves for Congress to finish in detail. With regard to silver resumption, Mr. Morrill, we are happy to say, has no delusions. He points out that, so far from the "silver dollar of our fathers" ever having been in common use as currency, gold has, as a matter of fact, for many years past been the money of payment in this country; that neither fathers nor sons ever brought the silver dollar into common use, because they preferred the metal in other and more valuable shapes; that this fact and the common understanding among the creditors of the country, and the well-established habit of paying interest on the bonds in gold, and collecting customs (pledged for this purpose) in the same metal, and the law of 1873 demonetizing silver, all together make resumption in anything but gold an act of "doubtful good faith" and "its probable effect prejudicial to the public credit."

That Mr. Morrill's advice will be acted on during the present session of Congress probably neither he nor any one else expects; but the appearance of his report is, nevertheless, of importance as marking the beginning of a distinct attempt to do what ought, as he himself admits, to have been done long ago. We have now evidently entered upon the second stage of resumption, that of actual preparation; and with everything in our favor, as it now is, we ought to be able to resume at an early day. Whether Mr. Tilden or Mr. Hayes comes in, we have no doubt that after the fourth of March the long-needed legislation will be provided and the country put on the high road to prosperity by the reintroduction of the standard of value common to the civilized world.

POLITICAL CASUISTRY.

WE have often spoken of late in these columns of the defective condition not simply of popular but of professional education with regard to the morality of transactions of even slight complication—or, in more general terms, with regard to what may be called the casuistry of commercial and political life. We have had striking illustrations of this, which we have frequently used in the *Nation*, in the treatment of the currency question, both in its paper and silver phase, in the question of the payment of the bonds, and in the question of the distribution of the Alabama damages. On all of them one found not only the "plain people," but even teachers of morality, divines, and professors of moral philosophy, in a state either of helpless perplexity or wrongheadedness, often of tortuousness. There was seldom absolute dishonesty in it, however—for we are not now talking of the race of politicians and "smart men" to whom trickery as trickery has positive attractions. It was simply the result of men's being suddenly forced to pass on a matter which they had never thought out, to apply rules with which they were wholly familiar to states of facts with which they were wholly unfamiliar—the sort of confusion, in short, which might overtake a young lawyer well grounded in the principles of his profession if called on to use them without preparation in a controversy arising in a business of which he knew nothing. But the facility with which this incapacity can be explained does little to reconcile us to it; no matter how we look at it, it is a great public misfortune. To have the ethics of a country in the hands of men who know little of affairs, and its affairs in the hands of men who know little and care less about its ethics, is surely very deplorable, and yet this is not an unfair description of our condition. Sermons on practical questions on Thanksgiving Days and the like often read as if delivered ages ago to audiences long passed away, while articles in religious newspapers often have the flavor of homilies to persons whose temptations are simply in the direction of lying and petty larceny. What we need in the pulpit, and in the religious-paper "sanctum" most of all, is readiness in the application of the great principles of morality to the ramifications of circumstance, the conflicts of duties, the remote dangers, and the duplex responsibilities of which so many of our great social, political, and economical problems now consist, and this readiness cannot be acquired by mere familiarity with principles. It needs practice, and practice means a constant and easy acquaintance with, at all events, the leading phenomena of politics and trade and public law, so that they can be spoken about not tentatively or timidly, but with the force that comes from preparation and reflection.

We have been much interested in connection with this subject in the reception given by a portion of the religious press, and by some of the clergy, to our proposal that one of the Hayes electors should, in order to avoid the calamity of a disputed election, cast his vote so as to throw the election of the President into the House, and thus keep the process of changing our chief ruler within the domain of law and out of the domain of revolution. We do not concern ourselves here with what the party newspapers and politicians said about it. To these persons such a step is, of course, a violation of the rules of their game, and therefore in the highest degree abhorrent, and affects their temper very much as a proposal to restore a prisoner without ransom would affect the temper of a band of Greek brigands. It is only by the strict enforcement of these rules that they keep up their business, and they strain every nerve to make the bulk of the people, especially at the time of election, look on them as sacred. The effectiveness of the machinery of politics, and especially of the caucus and nominating convention part of it, depends on the solemn observance of them by the voters; and, on the whole, politicians meet with but little resistance to their demands from the non-practical man, and are generally able to prevent any unpleasant examination of the remoter results of their schemes as long as the immediate one has palpable merits.

The rule that a Presidential elector must vote for the nominees of his party is a rule of precisely the same character, and with the same moral limitations, as the rule that a Republican member of a legislature must vote for the party nominee for the Senatorship. That is to say, he gives an implied pledge that he will under all ordinary circumstances vote not exactly, as in the case of the Presidential electors, for a particular man, but for a man taken from a particular class (or party). There is no law which obliges him to do so; he is compelled to it by the tacit obligation to act together in political transactions on which party organizations are based, and without which they could not exist. Party is a necessary thing in a free state; to accomplish much for the public good one must in *almost* all cases act with or through a party. But there are, it is universally acknowledged, cases in which it is the duty of honest men, remembering that party is after all but a means to an end, to act in opposition to or separate from their party. They occur in the experience of every upright politician, Senators and Representatives of the highest character every session, and especially in troublous times, occasionally vote against their party, and the best portion of the party honor them for it. How then does it happen that some people are horrified by the suggestion that a Presidential elector should follow his own judgment in casting his vote? The moral obligation to vote for the party nominee is of the same nature in the case of the Presidency as of the Senatorship, though the circumstances are slightly different in this, namely, that in the one case it is obligatory to vote for A. B.; in the other, to vote for some member of the class C. There is only one reason for it—viz., the greater importance of the Elector's trust, and the infrequency and conspicuousness of its exercise, and the excitement of the public mind at the moment of its exercise. People are always impatient of a departure from the party programme, and often in times of excitement do not allow their impatience to be curbed even by the simplest rules of morality. For instance, in 1867, at the trial of Andrew Johnson, excellent, reasonable men all over the country were violent in their denunciations of the Republican Senators who voted "not guilty," on the ground that it was their duty to the party to vote "guilty," although it was well known that those Senators had taken a solemn judicial oath to find a verdict "according to the evidence," and of course "a true verdict," in obedience to their own conscience and judgment. We remember at that time seeing ministers of the Gospel, editors of religious papers, and professed moralists stamping in blind rage over the perfidy of the minority, as if they had been bred savages and had never heard of the judicial oath and were entirely unfamiliar with the civilized conception of justice. In that case, as in this, they were taken by surprise. A state of facts for which they had made no mental preparation came suddenly upon them and disordered their judgments and caused their passions to shoot up with a fiercer flame.

It is not questioned anywhere, and has never been questioned, that the Presidential electors were originally intended to be a select body of men who should use their own judgment in the selection of the President and Vice-President. This duty was taken away from them and given to nominating conventions by a very simple process, and the transfer needed no change in the Constitution, and therefore no such change was ever made. It was at first carried out by making electors of the men who were known to desire

the election of a certain person. But the original idea was not so much that the elector was employed for a certain purpose as that he was chosen because he held certain views. Naturally enough the former idea, however, gradually grew on the latter one, and the elector came more and more to be regarded as the *trustee* of the party, charged with the duty of casting its vote for a certain person designated clearly beforehand, and such he is to-day. Now, we supposed that almost everybody was aware that such a thing as absolute trusteeship was unknown in Christendom. We knew Chandler and Blaine and the like would tell the editor of a religious paper that it was quite common, but we did think he would know better than to mind what they said, and that when the question was asked him, Is there such a thing in our laws or manners? he would have the answer at his fingers' ends, and say promptly, "No, of course not. Not only in American and English jurisprudence, but in the jurisprudence of all Christian states, is the creation of anything of the kind impossible by any contract or understanding. Our legislation and our customs protect under all circumstances, as you will find in any of our elementary books, the rights of the individual conscience and the claims of the public good. We know of no trust, public or private, which is not saddled with the tacit condition that the trustee shall not be called on to exercise it in aid of any species of wrong or fraud, or in the execution of any conspiracy, plan, or combination against the public welfare. If any one tells you that such trusts exist in our politics or business, or are sustained by our religion or laws, tell him he is either ignorant or mendacious. Every holder of a trust in America, no matter of what nature; every agent, employed no matter by whom or for what purpose, is bound to take notice of the moral quality of his acts and of their probable results. If you were appointed a member of a board to build a church, with a large sum of money collected for the purpose, no directions, however explicit, from the donors to employ a particular builder would excuse you for employing him, if you found he was in fraudulent collusion with your colleagues. You would be bound, if you could not communicate with your constituents, to use all your efforts to prevent any contract with him, to procure the employment of another man, or to postpone the whole business so as to admit of further enquiry and discussion. So, too, if a stockholder in a company, knowing that you, a stockholder also, are going to vote for a particular list of directors, gives his proxy and asks you to do the same for him, and you find at the meeting that the ticket is the result of a dishonest combination, with fraud for its object, you are bound not to vote as he requested."

Moreover, every trustee is, under our system of morality, left a certain revisable discretion in dealing with unforeseen contingencies. This reservation is involved in the very fact that he is a man, gifted with memory and reason and conscience. We are aware of this when we give him the trust, and do not ask him to degrade himself into anything less than a man. Mechanical trusts are a contradiction in terms. A machine cannot be a trustee. What we "trust" is human character and judgment, and in giving the trust, therefore, we say by implication that in case before he performs the act or acts which he undertakes for us anything occurs which would in his judgment make such performance injurious to our interest, and he has no time or opportunity to consult us, he must do what he thinks is best under the circumstances. We owe this to his human nature. We cannot use him as a dog or a horse. For instance, if in 1860 a Presidential elector had discovered before casting his vote that his candidate for the Presidency was in secret correspondence with the Confederates, he would have been bound by his highest duty to cast his vote either for some other person or to cast it in such manner as to remit the choice to Congress. Or, again, if an elector discovered before voting that a vast conspiracy had been entered into by the electors of other States, in combination with the Executive, to place in the Presidential chair, by mingled fraud and violence, a man clearly not fairly entitled to the place, and needing but one vote for the consummation of the scheme, good Americans and good men of all countries would hold that he ought not to give it, and that his judgment should be his guide in determining what other use he should make of it. Were it otherwise of course no honorable or self-respecting man would take a place in the Electoral College. For if there be one rule more deeply embedded than another in the political and social morality of the Christian world it is the rule that moral responsibility always goes with power, and cannot be separated from it, and that the responsibility is in the direct ratio of the power. No authority on earth can abrogate this rule; no constituency can do it, whether it consists of one thousand voters or forty millions. The union of the two existed before all political constitutions, is a fundamental part of them all, and will survive them all. The Presidential elector is clothed by law for thirty days with vast power; his vote may save or ruin his country, and this power is during that period irrevocable. He may resign, but he cannot get rid of his responsibility by resigning if he thereby creates a vacancy which may be filled by a person ready to aid in the scheme which he feared to oppose. Technical pleas are of no value in the forum of morals. What some people would now have us believe is that he can keep and use the power, but may at the same time, by a mere "understanding" entered into in evasion of the Constitution with a small portion of the community whom the election is to affect, divest himself of the responsibility, and cast his vote with as much indifference to consequences as a beast of prey seeking food for its young.

As regards the crisis which has just passed, it was, of course, open to any elector to say that he did not share our view of the danger to be apprehended from a contested election; or that he did not feel competent to form such a judgment on the events in the three disputed States as would enable him to decide that any fraud was in contemplation or had occurred: or, in other words, to say that no contingency calling for a departure from the letter of his instructions had arisen—which is perfectly comprehensible and respectable ground, and is, we have no doubt, the ground that the ablest and best of the electors took. That it should have occurred to any thoughtful person that it was "immoral" to tell an elector in public, and with reasons, that a state of things had arisen which called, in the interest of the national safety, for a departure from his official programme and for a solemn retreat on his individual conscience, judgment, and courage, is something lamentable. It is a public disgrace that any body of Americans professing to be educated should suppose that there existed among us, or could be created by any "understanding" or contract, an Asiatic trust, such as pashas used to take from the sultan, binding a man to do a certain thing under all circumstances, come what might, even if, on a fair view of the circumstances, it resulted in the destruction of the Government. The discussion, like other discussions of late, has been useful (like prolonged physical exertion in searching out the weak spot in our body) in bringing to light the tubercular deposits left in our moral lungs by the life we have been leading during the last fifteen years. Huge majorities in Congress doing everything that came into their heads on the plea of necessity; the rise of sorry fellows into honor through devotion to virtues which they were never called on to practice, and resistance to temptations by which they were never assailed; alliances with all sorts of people for objects so good that it seemed impertinence to question the goodness of those who aimed at them; the association of party in the public mind with all that was dearest and best in politics and society, have of course given party obligations a sanctity which under ordinary circumstances and in ordinary times they could never have obtained. They have in the minds of large numbers secured claims on the conscience and judgment which have never yet been conceded to the law of the land, for this used to be subordinated to the "higher law." But now even "the higher law" has to give way to that holier thing—the duty of voting "the regular ticket," even though you thereby defeat all the ends of voting at all, and involve the very machinery you are employed to work in derangement or destruction.

Correspondence.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA BOARD OF CANVASSERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of the 30th ult. you say, in reference to the Board of State Canvassers of this State, that the Board "assumed judicial functions" and "decided the legislative contests in favor of the Republican claimants."

As one of the Board of State Canvassers I desire to correct you in this matter. The Board, when it furnished the Court with a statement of the votes cast as appeared by the returns of the County Canvassers—which statement it furnished under protest—distinctly stated to the Court that, as to Edgefield and Laurens Counties, there were evidences and allegations of fraud filed with the Board which, in their opinion, prevented them from making any declaration as to the election in those counties unless they had the opportunity of hearing protests and contests. Such opportunity was not offered them, and consequently the Board made no declaration as to the election in those counties, and consequently did *not*, as you assert, decide the legislative contests in favor of the Republican claimants, and *did not* issue certificates to them.

Again, as to the peremptory mandamus. The writ of peremptory mandamus was served about midnight of the day on which the Board had finally adjourned, and not before. As one of the Board, I certainly had

no knowledge of such a writ being allowed before the Board adjourned. I think the same can be said by the other members of the Board.

As to the Electors of President and Vice-President, the Board issued certificates to those who, on the face of the County Canvassers' statements, had the highest number of votes. Not a figure was added to the returns nor one taken away. Every return of the several Boards of County Canvassers was signed by one Democrat, and every one was examined by a Democratic lawyer when the tables of votes were prepared by the Board of State Canvassers.

I do not object to fair criticism of the Board, but when it is criticised the critic ought to be sure that his *facts* are correct. I would also ask you to bear in mind that the Supreme Court did not restrain the Board by any writ or order from performing the duties imposed on it by law, from the beginning to the end of the time during which the Board was in session, but, on the contrary, expressly declined to do so.

Yours respectfully,

WILLIAM STONE, Attorney-Gen. S. C.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Dec. 2, 1876.

[The statement that the Board "decided the legislative contests in favor of the Republican claimants" was substantially correct. By doing what Mr. Stone calls making "no declaration" as to the election in Edgefield and Laurens Counties, but what any one else would call *throwing out* these two counties, they gave the Legislature to the Republicans, and thus practically excluded the Democratic claimants, who were afterwards refused admission to the State-House. With regard to the peremptory mandamus, the decision of the Supreme Court that the members of the Board had committed a contempt is the best evidence we could have on the subject. It is notorious, too, that the reason why the Board, if it had no actual notice of the writ, did not receive such notice was that it was running a race with the Supreme Court, and adjourned for the purpose of avoiding notice. To say, therefore, that it had no actual notice is a mere quibble. We do not know that there is any conflict between Mr. Stone's other statements and our own.—ED. NATION.]

THE CHIEF LESSON OF THE TIME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have found it hard work to keep silence under the many suggestive articles in your recent numbers, but those in the issue of the 7th have driven me to ask for a small portion of your valuable space. Your graphic picture of the situation of the office-holders and of the volcanic elements in the relation of the "ins" and the "outs" needs no comment. But what, I ask, can any President do about it? The new incumbent, whether Hayes or Tilden, will not and cannot be the responsible agent of the country, but only of a party majority acting through Congress. Neither the President nor his Cabinet has any power of appeal to the country. They cannot expose the terrible pressure to which they are subjected, nor, so long as they keep well with the majority, can they be called to account officially by anybody. For the success of their administration they must depend on lobbying and intrigue, and for this again they must buy a majority, which majority can be bought only by the offices. If our future President is in accord with the majority, there is no rascality which he will not be permitted, nay, urged to commit. If, on the other hand, he is opposed to the majority, he will be constantly liable to impeachment on the most frivolous pretext, for the success of which it would be only necessary that an adverse majority should exist in both Houses. If there should be a favorable majority in the House and an adverse one in the Senate, the next Congress will exhibit a contemptible process of chicanery between the two elements, while the public will be utterly unable to get at any reliable facts, and the newspapers will simply blow the trumpet of the party to which they belong. Is it not evident that, if the Executive is to exercise any independence in the matter of the offices, it must have some independence of position, must be able to appeal to and be responsible to the minority as well as to the majority, and must turn to the country for support against the pressure of party in the demand for office?

It is the Southern question, however, as the one of more immediate importance, that I wish to dwell upon. Could there be a more stupendous farce than that of the "Innocent Strangers" who went to superintend the operations of the Louisiana Returning Board? Everybody knew that Republicans and Democrats would give exactly opposite accounts of the same thing. Each side was certain to convince its own partisans, and certain not to make the smallest impression upon any one else; and the same is true of the more pompous investigating committees of Congress. Again, the employment of troops in the South is likely to be necessary for some time to come; but the real evil of this is in their employment for partisan purposes. If, however, as we have seen, the President is and must be a mere party tool, how can they fail to be so employed? You remember the scene in 'Barnaby Rudge' where the poor imbecile comes home to his mother, and the latter talks with him in deadly terror of the concealed figure which threatens her from behind the door. Before we judge President Grant we ought to know the pressure to which he is subjected. You will say that he ought to reject party considerations and act for the country. The result of such an attempt would be a quarrel with his own side without gaining the other. The public could never get at the facts. Party misrepresentation, which is now half favorable, would then be wholly adverse to him. The motive power of our government is secret party bullying and intrigue, and the President can live only by getting the strongest portion of it on his side.

Suppose that a serious disturbance were taking place in Edinburgh at election time, and that the Ministry were to send down troops to keep the peace, would there be the slightest fear that they would be employed to return a party candidate? Would the officer in charge be left with such indefinite instructions as to admit of a gross violation of constitutional right? And would not the exceeding his instructions be followed by immediate disgrace and punishment? And why is there no doubt on these points? Because the Ministry know well that within twenty-four hours the facts would be brought to light, and a storm descend upon their heads from the Opposition and the press which, if it did not drive them from office, would seriously diminish their influence and power with Parliament and the country. I ask your readers to observe whether present and future facts do not point to the necessity of independent and responsible executive power; and this can only be obtained through the admission of the Cabinet officers to a share in the debates in Congress. It is futile to object to this on the score of difficulties of detail. The *principle* must be put in operation if we are not to come to utter chaos. It is of no use to ask for a Constitutional amendment, because that would have to pass through twenty-seven legislatures, by their very nature just as hostile as Congress. The experiment could be tried this winter were not Congress, almost to a man, bitterly opposed to it. The majority do not wish to give up an atom of their power, and the minority, hoping to become a majority, do not care to be so unless they can wield the same power in their turn.

Mr. Randall warns Congress against the encroachments of the Executive, a warning which, by the way, would never have been uttered if the President had belonged to his party. But who is there to utter any warning against the encroachments of Congress? You say rightly that the English have once and the French twice turned out their legislatures by force. It was because those bodies tried to do what our legislatures are doing—govern without any executive. The country has to learn that its interest, as well as that of the Executive, is diametrically opposed to that of members of Congress, and that it must be made a test question in the election of the latter, that they will vote for a restoration of the balance.

G. B.

BOSTON, December 8, 1876.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THEATRES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me as an engineer to call attention through your columns to certain features in the construction of our theatres which the recent fire in Brooklyn and the great loss of life attending it now make of general interest.

There are generally legal requirements governing the arrangement of doors and the means of exit, sufficiently lax in themselves and too often even more laxly enforced. The Brooklyn theatre, if in anywise an exception to the general rule, was probably better than the average, and the tragedy which was enacted there was simply what we must expect to see repeated should a fire get beyond control during the performance in any well-filled theatre. The trouble is not so much that the passages and stairways are too small to allow the audience to pass out in the little time which is at their command, though this may usually be the fact, as it is that any promiscuous crowd of people is certain to become scared at the sight of any conspicuous danger, and a frightened multitude can never be moved rapidly; a disciplined army corps could be marched into a theatre, seated, and marched out again in half the time which a frightened crowd of equal numbers would occupy merely in coming out. Since, however, our theatres

are for the amusement of the public at large, it is with a promiscuous crowd that they have to deal; such a crowd can get on very well so long as it has a smooth path before it, but as soon as it comes to an obstacle confusion and delay begin, and one of the most serious obstacles it can meet is a flight of stairs—even two or three steps in a broad passageway may cause serious delay. But theatres are built with a view to give large audiences an unimpeded view of the performance, much talent having been successfully exercised for this end, and this requires that a majority of the audience should be seated in galleries which can only be reached by stairways. Stairways, though the worst obstacle that can be put in the way of a crowd, are a necessary part of a theatre, and a theatre is safe only when an undisciplined crowd, in the confusion of a scare, has time to pass out in spite of these obstacles before the fire can reach them. With perhaps a single exception, I doubt whether there is a theatre in New York which would be found safe if tried by this test.

A theatre as commonly constructed is a large rectangular room of considerable height surrounded by brick walls; in the smaller cities it is often the upper story of a building, the ground-floor of which is occupied by stores and the second floor by offices. In this rectangular room a sloping wooden floor is built for the stage, a stepped wooden floor forms the parquette, wooden galleries make the higher tiers, wooden partitions form the proscenium boxes, and a wooden arch, whose massive breadth is but a mask to the flimsy joiner-work of which it is made, completes the wooden division between the auditorium and the stage. Everything is ornamental and false; sometimes the partitions and ceilings are not even plastered, but simply covered with canvas and paint; the appearance of the rectangular walls is entirely concealed, and the eye sees only the graceful curves of the galleries and the columns supporting the arch of the stage. It looks well and substantial, but everything visible is of wood. The plain rectangular room is thus divided into auditorium and stage—the former to be filled with a dense audience, the latter to be occupied by a few performers and the various mechanisms by which stage-effects are produced; the former, in spite of its inflammable construction, a place where it is almost impossible for a fire to originate, the latter filled with canvas scenery, light wooden frames, and movable lights which require constant watchfulness on the part of attendants and give rapid headway to a fire which has once passed control. The exigencies of the play demand the use of this tinder-like machinery; scenes painted on wire netting and worked on iron frames would be too expensive and cumbersome. Like the staircases of the entrance, the combustible stage appliances must be accepted as among the necessary evils of a theatre.

The one means of securing safety is to separate the stage from the auditorium, not by an inflammable piece of joiner-work, but by a substantial fire-wall, which shall at least confine the fire to the stage for several times as long as is ordinarily required to empty the theatre, and this is perfectly simple and practicable, and would not be unreasonably expensive. A substantial brick wall, starting from the foundation and extending several feet above the roof, according to the usual requirements of a fire-wall, provided with a curtain of stout wire netting which flames will not penetrate, and with a second curtain of heavy woollen stuff to serve as a smoke-screen, is all that would be needed; the brick wall should be placed between the proscenium boxes and the stage; there should be no air-space between it and the boards of the stage floor, and at the sides and top of the stage opening it should project at least a foot beyond any wood-work; it could be carried across the top of the stage-opening by a brick arch, or on an iron girder protected by a non-conducting covering, as might best suit the particular case; whatever small openings might be needed should be provided with self-closing iron doors; the fire-curtain should be closely fitted to the stage side of the wall, and the smoke-screen should be on the side next to the audience, and both should be so hung as to be raised and lowered by ropes and to fall of their own accord if the ropes were burnt. Even such a fire-wall might not confine a fire to the stage—I doubt very much whether it would do so permanently in a majority of cases; but it could always be relied upon to keep back the fire for a considerable length of time, with the aid of a few simple appliances, till the walls of the building became weakened, and, by imposing a visible screen between the audience and danger, it would do much to relieve them of their fright.

There is nothing novel in the use of a fire screen; to say nothing of other instances, the Boston Theatre was provided with a wire curtain when first opened more than twenty years ago, and which was then lowered after every performance before the last of the audience had left the building. It is a simple arrangement and it can be introduced without unreasonable expense in any theatre already built, except where there is a floor below the theatre which could not be divided by a wall. Fire-extinguishers and wide entrances are very good, but they alone cannot always be relied upon. The Grand Opera House in this city is an uncommonly well-arranged theatre; it has roomy entrances, and, besides the usual fire-extinguishers, is provided with a complete set of hose and sprinklers connected with a powerful steam-pump in a distant part of the adjoining office building, but the interior structure is the wooden joiner-work commonly used, and it is very doubtful whether a full audience could escape if a fire got beyond control on the stage. It is the custom of engineers to provide for emergencies and imperfections by using what they call a factor of safety; in proportioning a structure each part is made of such size that the strain required to fracture it shall be five times as great as any strain it will ever be called upon to bear. The same principle should be applied to the construction of theatres: the time which it will take for a fire to spread from the stage to the auditorium should be five times as long as it takes for an audience to go out.

GEO. S. MORISON.

NEW YORK, Dec. 9, 1876.

Notes.

HURD & HOUGHTON publish this month an Index to the *Atlantic Monthly* (thirty-eight volumes). It will be divided into General Articles, Editorial Articles, and Authors. Heretofore anonymous authorship will be revealed.——Porter & Coates promise a new edition of Harriet Martineau's 'History of England from 1800 to 1854.'——'Six Weeks in Norway,' by Edward L. Anderson, is in the press of Robert Clarke & Co. ——Little, Brown & Co. will be the American publishers of Dr. William Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines,' from the time of the Apostles to the age of Charlemagne.——The centenary of the battle of Bennington falls on August 16, 1877, and, as that year is also the hundredth anniversary of Vermont's existence as an independent State, there is a prospect of a great celebration at Bennington on the date mentioned. A Battle-Monument Association has been incorporated, the States of New Hampshire and Massachusetts (whose soldiers fought under Stark) have been invited to join Vermont in erecting the monument, and Vermont has appropriated $15,000 towards it. Already the pedestal of a monument marking the site of the famous Catamount Tavern has been erected, and now only awaits the bronze catamount which is being designed by Mr T. H. Bartlett. The Bennington Historical Society intends to make a beginning next year of an adequate history of the town.——The annual address before the Vermont Historical Society, consisting of a history of the (Confederate) St. Alban's Raid, October 19, 1864, by the Hon. Edward A. Sowles, was delivered October 17. It has since been printed in pamphlet form, by order of the Legislature.——The *Academy* for November 25 prints a highly interesting communication from General L. P. di Cesnola, who, after stating that he is now engaged upon an extensive work on the subject, reviews the whole course of his explorations in Cyprus. He says, in conclusion, that with his excavations at Kurium his labors in the island have terminated.——A circular in English, French, and German has been issued by a committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, inviting geologists throughout the world to co-operate in holding an International Congress of Geologists at Paris during the Exposition of 1878. As an aid to its labors, the geological department of the Exposition will be specially reinforced with collections of rocks, of palæontological remains, and of maps, sections, and models. Those interested may address Prof. T. H. Huxley, London; Dr. Otto Torell, Stockholm; Dr. E. H. von Baumhauer, Haarlem, Holland; or Dr. T. Sterry Hunt, Boston.

—Hurd & Houghton have just issued the first fasciculus of 'The Wild Flowers of America, Illustrations by Isaac Sprague,' somewhat long deferred but yet well timed, for it will be prized by the givers and receivers of holiday gifts, as well as by botanists and amateurs. Mr. Sprague is one of the most truthful delineators of flowers of any country, and chromo-lithography has in the present instance well represented his work. This specimen number is the first publication in this country, so far as we know, which gives an idea of what flower-painting ought to be. Two of the plates, representing our wild columbine and cranesbill, are anticipations of spring; the other two, the wavy-leaved aster and a pair of gerardias, are reminiscences of autumn. The letter-press is by Prof. Goodale of Harvard University, and consists of more interesting and curious matter than is usual in publications of this sort

—Prof. E. S. Breidenbaugh, of the Chemical Laboratory, Pennsylvania

College, at Gettysburg, writes us in regard to a bogus degree agency in Boston :

"In the *Baltimore American* of Nov. 22 and 23 appeared the following advertisement, under the head of Personals :

PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, &c., who wish Genuine Chartered University Degrees, can address, enclosing 10 cents, J. R. VUILLE, no22-2t* Boston, Mass.

In response to a letter of enquiry under an assumed name, came the following communication, with the compliments of J. R. Vuille (the advertisement is in the name of J. R. Vuille) :

"Upon receipt of $50 in gold, a medical thesis, evidence of study or practice, and certificates of moral character, I will procure for you the degree of M.D. that will stand the laws of any State. For $70 in gold I will send with the diploma a registration certificate, matriculation ticket, and a full set of class tickets. The degree of Ph.D. will be furnished at the same rates."

My enquiry as to the names of the universities is not answered. We can no doubt imagine their character."

—The censure with which the *Nation* has been visited in some quarters for pointing out the Constitutional right of an Elector to cast his vote for the best interest of the country, has been unanimous in one respect. Either by implication or direct assertion we have been told that our suggestion was shocking to the moral sense not only of Americans but of mankind ; that any honorable man, whether native or foreigner, must, with the facts before him, stand aghast at what we had done. By a curious coincidence, at the very time our article was in preparation, an English barrister, of eminent talent and high character, was penning us a letter from which we make the following extract. Our correspondent has visited this country, and has had unusual opportunities for keeping up his acquaintance with our politics. Our article entitled "A Failure to Elect, or a Disputed Election" appeared November 30. On the 24th he was writing from London :

"We are watching American affairs with a good deal of interest and, for my own part, I may add, with a good deal of anxiety. As far as I could judge of the affairs of another country, I should have considerably preferred the election of Hayes. But now that the contest has taken its present form I presume that the election of Tilden is the fairer, and therefore the better —or at any rate the least bad of the possible results. I sometimes wonder that, under the very peculiar circumstances, no one raises the question whether the Electors might not with advantage exercise the choice which I conceive on the original theory of the Constitution they were meant to exert, either by deserting their party pledges and thus giving a decisive majority to one candidate or the other, or else by selecting some third person. It is some time since I looked into the Constitution, but, unless I am mistaken, the chosen electors have in theory the right of election."

—The *Galaxy* for December does not contain any very remarkable contributions. Dr. T. M. Coan, from his article on "People and Pictures at the Fair," seems to have found more to observe and enjoy in the crowd at Philadelphia than most people did. The exclusively American character of the assemblage, the marked absence of any outlandish and picturesque dresses or effects of color, and the prevalence of the slightly shabby broadcloth coat, the "duster," and only too familiar national or naturalized types of face, tended, to our mind, to give the crowd very much the look of any other ordinary American crowd, while the extreme slightness of the military display, when there was any at all, failed to give relief. Something of this sort Dr. Coan admits, but afterwards seems to feel that patriotism requires him to forget. Not having his Roman sense of duty, we confess that the external appearance of the crowd at Philadelphia was not ravishing to the eye. Statistics, we believe, show that the American type, physically considered, stands the test of comparison with existing European types, but a vigorous, natural man does not seem to produce when multiplied a picturesque-looking crowd, except at the cost of some labor and thought. For civilized man, as for the savage, the secret of success in the art of making himself pleasing to the eye lies simply and solely in clothes. A devotee of the great principles laid down by Herr Teufelsdröckh in 'Sartor Resartus' might have found much food for reflection at Philadelphia. Monarchical and aristocratic institutions, much as may justly be said against them, do undoubtedly tend to a development of picturesqueness in clothes, and though this at first sight may only seem to concern the wearers of them, the great and steady development of international exhibitions now has the effect of making the clothes and art of wearing them of any nation a matter of direct personal interest to the people of all other nations ; and we have little doubt that what the modern utilitarian calls "altruism," leading on the one side to unselfishness and on the other to a disposition to minute enquiry into other people's affairs, will eventually lead to the recognition among the nations holding such fairs of an international right, at least of protest, on the ground of unpicturesqueness, against certain kinds of clothes in any friendly country. This would of course be an interference with municipal law, and on that ground objectionable. It would also be objectionable to us, because the exercise of the right would bear most hard on nations that had thrown off the clothes and traditions of the past. But these objections are overborne by weighty advantages, as those who recollect the slightly tiresome aspect of the crowd at Philadelphia will admit. The machines, the buildings, the grounds, the goods—every prospect pleased ; man alone—and man only through his clothes—was vile.

—The locust invasion of 1874 is the subject of an able paper in the *Canadian Naturalist* by Mr. G. M. Dawson, some time geologist of the British Contingent of the United States Northern Boundary Survey, during the progress of which his investigations were made. During the year mentioned, he states, none was hatched from the egg in Manitoba east of the 103d meridian, but some were in Dakota as far east as 99° W. The flight occurred in 1874 during the latter part of June and through July, with a general east and south direction. The extraordinary pertinacity with which these insects adhere to a determined direction is noted and commented upon, as well as the instinct or sagacity they display in taking advantage of favoring winds. In discussing the nature of their food, Mr. Dawson notes their likes and dislikes, and the visible effects upon the botany of the region in question, enquiring, for example, whether the great relative abundance of *Leguminosæ* may not be due to the dislike of the locusts for plants of this order.

—We had intended in our last issue to notice the death and impressive funeral ceremonies of Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl, of which the news had just been received. His death is called in Germany "a national calamity.' But it is more than that. It is a European calamity ; and this side of the water his death will be mourned by hosts who have admired him as the founder of a distinctive school of philology and as a pioneer in a new and fruitful line of research. Ritschl was born the 26th of April, 1806, at Grossvargula, a small town in Thuringia ; studied philology at Leipsic under Gottfried Hermann, and at Halle under Reissig ; took the degree of doctor at Halle in 1829, and was appointed extraordinary professor at that university. In 1832 he was called to Breslau, and from there, in 1839, to Bonn. After a brilliant career at Bonn, he was again called to Leipsic, where he labored almost to the day of his death. Through the summer vacation he was incessantly occupied in literary work ; and when the winter term began, growing gradually feebler and feebler, he was unable to go up the stairs to his lecture-room. But with a touching zeal and fidelity to duty, as long as his health allowed, he was carried up the stairs, until the end of October, when he was reluctantly compelled to give up lecturing for ever. The most casual observer must have noticed the great stride taken of late in classical studies, and particularly in the study of Latin. If an entirely fresh life has been breathed into these studies, if they have been rid of the mass of mediæval prejudice and stuff with which they were overlaid, if texts have been reconstructed, if everything—orthography, grammar, and pronunciation—has been revolutionized (and one of the last subjects which occupied his mind was the subject of Latin pronunciation), all this is due to the mighty impulse given by Friedrich Ritschl. An imposing array of works beginning with his 'Schedæ Criticae,' published in 1829, including his 'Plautus,' an inheritance from two generations of scholars, his 'Corpus Inscriptionum,' and manifold academic publications testify to his ceaseless activity for the space of seven-and-forty years. But great as Ritschl was himself as a philologian, it will perhaps be found, when the time comes to pronounce an impartial verdict on his life and labor, that he was greater still as the cause of philology in others. No German has held—certainly in this century—so commanding a position as the head of a great school. Indeed, no man has for centuries carried out more perfectly the old conception of master and disciples all working together for a common end.

—Like other great inventions the "Pupazzi" of M. Lemercier de Neuville are rather a new combination of old material than a thing entirely new ; they are a cross between the ordinary puppet-show and the caricatures of the comic journal. In 1861, M. de Neuville was an unprinted journalist, an unread novelist, an unacted dramatist. Failing in the old professions he invented a new one, which, like many another great enterprise, rose from humble beginnings, and with no thought of its future grandeur. M. de Neuville began by cutting out caricatures to amuse a sick child ; then, to enliven an after-dinner party at the house of an artist friend, he rigged a Punch-and-Judy frame on which his little figures, in the fashion and seeming of the celebrities of the day, recited parodies and gave imitations. Their success opened other houses to them. Then, by the advice of M. Gustave Doré, he abandoned profile silhouettes and modelled caricature heads in clay. He also elaborated the mechanism of his puppets and taught them to dance the waltz, the polka, and even the cancan. He wrote plays for them wealthy

in Aristophanic allusions—full of actuality, as the French call it. A selection from this repertory he has just printed in a handsome octavo volume of over four hundred pages, adorned with the portrait of the author and nineteen etchings—one on the outside cover by M. Ad. Lalauze, and eighteen vignette headings to the plays. His publisher is Scheuring of Lyons, to whom we already owe many curious and interesting works. Punch and Judy have been immortalized by the needle of Cruikshank, and in a *Puppenspiel* the 'Faust' of Goethe had its inception. Neither of them need be ashamed of their successor. Pasquin *in propria persona* presides over his little stage, on which stand, elbow to elbow and face to face, M. Thiers and M. Sardou, Mme. Benoiton and M. Prudhomme, Dumas fils and Mme. Lachaud. The dramatist's favorite framework is a trial-at-law, which allows the putting on the stand and the cross-questioning of the politician or playwright of the hour who may chance to be the most prominent in the eyes of the public. Perhaps the best thing in the volume is the deposition of M. Gustave Courbet. But through these little plays there is a steady fire of puns, parodies, pungencies, and "local hits," as we should call them. Although restrained by taste and sense, M. de Neuville is a true *frondeur*, and few escape his sling.

GRAY'S DARWINIANA.*

THESE are essays that deserve a careful reading. Though addressed to the popular ear, they are not attempts to amuse the occasional reader with ready-made science made up by the quantity by dealers in other men's thoughts. Most of them are accounts or criticisms of investigations in science in which their author bore no unconspicuous part, treating their subject in a philosophical and unmechanical manner, and all of them are connected with that enticing topic, the Darwinian theory. The high position of their author in the front rank of the botanists of our day justly claims the attention that his philosophical position might not otherwise attract—a position not uncommon yet when closely considered not uninteresting. He is, and has been since the first, "scientifically and in his own fashion a Darwinian, philosophically a convinced theist, and religiously an acceptor of the creed commonly called the Nicene," holding thus views sometimes thought incompatible.

The first of these essays was published in 1860, just after the appearance of Darwin's 'Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection'; and in it Prof. Gray extended to the newcomer a frank though critical welcome. The religious bearing of the new hypothesis interested him especially, and in the same year he wrote a discussion of the relation of evolution to design, and another on the harmony of natural selection and natural theology—points to which he several times later recurred. Shorter essays follow on the distribution and succession of the oak genus, the gigantic sequoia of California, and those singular plants which (one is almost tempted to say who) have the power of voluntary motion, the climbing and insect-eating plants; on Charles Darwin, and the physical and philosophical characteristics of his theory; and the volume closes with an essay, never before published, on the broader teleological aspects of evolution. Some half-dozen of the shorter of these articles were published in these columns within the last two or three years, as our readers will remember.

It is with a curious feeling of antiquity that one reads the opening words of this volume: "This book [of Darwin's] is already attracting much attention. Two American editions are announced," etc., and notes the intellectual pleasure with which the author met the then novel arguments of that great work, the caution with which he avoided committing the journal for which he was writing to the extraordinary theory announced, and the anxiety with which he looked to Pictet and others for some modifying theory to control in some measure the too rigorous and sweeping logic of natural selection. This hope has never been gratified; and yet there is little that Prof. Gray will wish to alter to-day, although in the sixteen years that have elapsed since that essay was written a great change has taken place in the world of science, which is quietly but irresistibly carrying the outer world with it. No theory met with greater opposition than that of natural selection. Men of science drew back from it with cold dislike, the clergy attacked it with violence, and society pelted it with ridicule. Yet to-day it stands in a position only second in strength to that of gravitation. And this success has not been barren. The whole theory of evolution, vastly extended, has been converted from a vague metaphysical fancy to a powerful philosophical system, and a new religious creed is dimly shaping itself. Nor is the influence wholly speculative. In the field of ethics, unfertile for so many centuries, new methods of culture are giving new results. Even art feels the influence, and the novelist and the poet are singing the triumph of the naturalist. Yet the dust and smoke of the conflict still hang heavily over the field of battle, and the limits of the conquest cannot everywhere be traced. At one or two points a half-recognized contest still continues; at others the field is quite clear. We can see now that the existence of the Deity was never in any way involved, and that the fundamental truths of the Spirit, whether of personal or Biblical revelation, were not in question. If the Mosaic accounts of creation are now treated rather as religious poetry than as rigorous fact, it is due to geological records that were established before Mr. Darwin sought the ear of the public. The most that can generally be said is that the growth of scientific thought has quietly altered our mental attitude, and modified some of our intellectual conceptions.

In three points, however, Darwin's theory did conflict with the orthodox creed—the belief that this world of ours is governed by special providence; the proof of the intelligence of the Creator from the evidence of design in nature; and the doctrine of sin that lies at the base of the creed. But it would be unjust to place the responsibility for the change which opinion has undergone, and is undergoing, in respect to miraculous interposition in nature wholly upon the theory of evolution by struggle for existence. In extending the domain of law to the origin of species, Mr. Darwin only put the finishing touch to a work which had long been building. The reader may search far for an argument by a scientist against the belief in divine interference with natural laws. Its moral value seemed so great that few relinquished it without dread; and it has faded, as the belief in witchcraft faded, not before any special argument or fact, but under the irresistible power of the culture of the age, before a movement that began with the revival of learning and has not yet reached its climax. The belief in never-changing law, held as Prof. Gray holds it, with the conviction that God does everything, each smallest atom obeying his will, and indeed existing only by "the immediate, orderly, and constant, however diversified, action of the intelligent, efficient cause," is certainly a religious—nay, more, an inspiring one. But Prof. Gray is no doubt right when he says that this is not the popular view, and the abandonment of special creation is only too generally a remission of Divine action to the remotest past. For good or for ill, the belief in special providence seems doomed, and we doubt whether many thinking men to-day would really expect any difference to arise from the use of prayer in hospitals, as suggested by Tyndall.

As to the second point, the relation of evolution to the design argument, we think Prof. Gray exaggerates its importance in making it a test question. Paley's argument was an ingenious and powerful one, but the conclusion that he reached (the intelligence and personality of the Creator) does not depend on it alone, and may well stand after the induction from nature is abandoned. In discussing this argument, we do not think the author appears to his usual advantage. His mind is candid and direct, he has thought at length upon the subject, and, indeed, his whole book turns upon it; yet, strange to say, he does not seem familiar with Paley's argument or the way in which it has been affected by the evolution theory. The point, however, although purely one of abstract reasoning, is not so abstruse as one might fancy from the usual treatment it receives in this country. Prof. Gray handles it most at length in his second essay, which seems a reproduction of a real correspondence between himself and a friend, "D. T." The argument of "D. T." was to the effect that Darwin had destroyed the strength of the design argument by showing that the complicated harmony of organic life arose of necessity from the operation of a very simple quality, the power of giving birth to descendants resembling almost but not quite exactly the parents, and the necessarily limited means of subsistence on our globe; and hence that as far as the proof from nature went the great first cause might not be intelligent, because that, intelligent or unintelligent, the same results would have followed any creation of organic life or probably any creation of matter. Prof. Gray does not fully apprehend the strength of this position. It is not a sufficient answer to say that the variation of species by law instead of miracle does not *disprove* design, or that complicated results produced by simple means *may* have been planned as fully as if caused by direct volition. This is true, but it is a mere negation. The positive force of the design argument fails because the complicated ends may not have been foreseen, and the only intelligence logically required is the very small amount involved in the arrangement of the simple means—that is, in giving to matter a few properties (possibly reducible to the mere power of direct and vibratory motion), and to organized matter the power of reproduction. In short, the argument turned on the complexity, and that is now otherwise accounted for.

If the reader will turn to that often-referred to but seldom-read volume,

* Darwiniana: Essays and Reviews pertaining to Darwinism. By Asa Gray, Professor of Natural History (Botany) in Harvard University.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876. Pp. 396.

Paley's 'Natural Theology,' he will see that Paley, who perfectly understood the scope of his argument, based it entirely upon certain very elaborate cases of harmonious adjustment, and never pretended that any inference of design could be drawn from simple arrangements. "A wen, a wart, a mole, a pimple, . . . a clod, a pebble, a liquid drop," might have been produced unintentionally, he admits, but an eye or a watch never, because they answer "a valuable purpose by a complicated mechanism," and there is no other way of accounting for the combination of such a number of nicely-adjusted parts than the supposition that the adaptation was the cause of their selection, and the thing was designed. We must remember that mere order does not necessarily show design; for that an arrangement is required so complex that it could not have occurred otherwise. Had Paley found rocking in the surf of the sea shore a hollow log partly filled with stones and sand, there would have been an order apparent to him in the arrangement of the contents. The large stones would have been at the bottom, the smaller ones above, with the sand filling the interstices, and any chips or lighter matter on the top; but he would not have attempted to draw from that order any inference of design, because that arrangement might equally well have come about without any intelligent act. That eminent thinker expressly concedes that he would be fairly answered if it could be shown that the organizations from which he drew his inference were "only so many out of the possible varieties and combinations of being which the lapse of infinite ages has brought into existence; that the present world is the relic of that variety, millions of other bodily forms and other species having perished, being, by the defect of their constitution, incapable of preservation or of continuance by generation." This very remarkable conjecture he rejects, on the ground that there was no foundation for it in fact, a position correct enough in the then state of knowledge. But our readers do not require to be told that this conjecture, which Paley suggested only to demolish, is just what Mr. Darwin has endeavored to establish by his theory of natural selection. And we think that the student has a right to expect that when the design argument is examined, either by scientifically-inclined theologians or naturalists straying into philosophy, the main outlines of the subject shall not be obscured.

Children's Holiday Books.—Mr. Edward Abbott's capacity for interesting and instructing his contemporaries is well known. His 'Long Look House' (Noyes, Snow & Co.) is the first of a juvenile series which he dedicates to his father, the veteran author of the Rollo books. In his conscientious and attractive preface he tells us that he has tried to catch the spirit of those famous stories, and, further, that he addresses the reasoning powers rather than the emotions, and excludes the "sensational element." The present volume, addressed to boys from eight to twelve, begins at the very beginning of the House—its planning—and reaches the final moving into it of the family; not an inch of the process is slurred over. Materials and staking out fill each a chapter; next we have plumbing, heating apparatus, etc. The subject in each case, except lighting by gas and waterworks, is elucidated in conversations with (or *at*) Max, aged six, who is the most attentive child we ever met. His father often talks for pages without interruption on the boy's part, and, in fact, the dramatic part of the story goes for nothing. Thoughtful boys of enquiring minds ought to enjoy the details of house-building, which are clearly and simply described. The children would probably be tiresome to them, though Max's questions often make the father's replies plainer. The elder Abbott did better without taking so much trouble as does his imitator, who cannot even omit describing "specifications" when their turn comes.

"H. H.'s" verses in her 'Bits of Talk for Young Folks' (Roberts Bros.) sustain her reputation as a poet. Of the prose portions we may say that "The Christmas-Tree for Cats" is a very funny story of what could scarcely happen in reality. "My Aunt's Cow" is entirely thrown in the shade by James Greenleaf's biography of her. "The Expression of Rooms" is advice to young girls about interior decoration with moderate resources. It resembles much more the teaching of Mrs. Stowe than that (say) of Mr. Clarence Cook. The dicta that the safest color for a wall is cream color, and that one must avoid bright colors in a carpet, hardly proceed from a specialist. For the rest we have only praise for 'Bits of Talk.'

The wholly ephemeral character of the bulk of our juvenile literature so often calls for comment, that we welcome the reappearance of a meritorious volume, 'The Little People of God, and what the Poets have Said of Them' (Lee & Shepard). Mrs. Austin's selections have stood the test of five years, and they are in the main excellent. Parents will take the most pleasure and derive the most profit and consolation from them. Here and there only, a piece may be read aloud to young listeners. A few should on no account be read to them.

In 'Johnnykin and the Goblins' (Macmillan) Mr. Charles G. Leland, who is a successful worker in many branches of literature, has tried his hand at a child's book, and with very good results. It is of the class of the "Alice" books. Johnnykin has a dream and sees alive all the various goblins of his acquaintance, from the maiden Marjolaine carved upon a mediæval tomb, and the gargoyles on the old church, to the pictures he himself had scribbled upon his slate in school-time. Perhaps the most effective passage is where these brigands, ghosts, and school-masters haunt and pester him until he rids himself of them by threatening to wipe them out with a sponge. This book has not the wonderful spontaneity and charm of Mr. Carroll's stories; the machinery sometimes works awkwardly, the poetry is rather labored; but the story is well conceived and well told and full of excellent points, and the illustrations are very good. The scene is laid in England—a land, no doubt, better adapted to goblin life than our new and prosaic civilization.

'Science in Sport made Philosophy in Earnest' (Geo. Routledge & Sons) is "an attempt to illustrate some elementary principles of physical knowledge by means of toys and pastimes." Fifty years ago Dr. J. A. Paris wrote a book bearing the same title, except that the words science and philosophy exchange places. In rewriting this book its scientific skeleton has been readjusted to the latest discoveries. But how has the soft tissue fared—the dialogues and explanations upon which depends its adaptability to those who play with toys? The following extract will show. It is in explanation of a game of marbles:

"When one marble impinges on another, their centres continue to approach each other after actual contact between the marbles until an instant arrives when they have a common velocity. After this, their elasticity, in restoring the original shapes, drives their centres apart again; and in doing so of course generates momenta equal in opposite directions. The backwards momentum thus imparted diminishes, destroys, or reverses the motion of the striking marble, according to the value of a certain relation amongst the masses and actual elasticities of the bodies."

This statement is exhaustively perfect. It could not be improved upon (barring the phrase "of course") for minds trained to apprehend exactly the abstract definitions involved; but this is out of the question for children. And the sentences are everywhere too long and compounded.

'In the Sky-Garden' (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.), by Lizzie W. Champney, is an ingenious and felicitous essay to teach to children a few of the most amusing facts about stars. It does not fall into the error so common in books of juvenile science of appending philosophical explanations, of which 'Science in Sport,' the book last mentioned, is an extreme specimen. It is adapted to plastic memories; but little truth is told, and that little is dressed in cheerful, wholesome stories. The prefatory dream is in the best style of Charles Kingsley's 'Water-Babies,' perhaps a little more merry and a little less keen. Thus:

"These funny bugs, as you call them, are scientific men, whose eyes have become so accustomed to their work that they shoot out telescopes and microscopes of their own [literally illustrated in a cut] and come up here in their dreams to carry on their observations. That very solemn beetle watching the comet is your father. Some of the most remarkable astronomical discoveries have been made in this way. You see they get a great deal nearer to the stars here, and, by looking intently, what they see becomes photographed upon their eyes, so that when they next look into a telescope during their waking hours they see it again; and as they have forgotten all about their dream, they fancy they see it for the first time."

There are a dozen stories fixing the names in the zodiac, fresh and modern, with no flavor of mythology. Thus: Aries is Golden Fleece (a girl with bright locks); Taurus, a bull-fight, etc. A ride in the sun's chariot is made to teach that there are two sides to a quarrel—a lesson in "Parallax." The illustrations, by J. W. Champney, are clever and original, the full-page ones having a sky-blue background.

Among designers, however, the children's English friend, Walter Crane, must be allowed the palm. His brush and pencil have never been more charmingly employed than in the 'Baby's Opera' (Routledge), a choice assortment of nursery rhymes set to music "of the earliest masters," the tunes in many instances being to our mind much superior to those composed for the handsome 'Nursery Rhymes' published by the same firm. Where the song has not a full-page illustration, an ornamental border tells the story in the manner peculiar to the gifted artist. The cover is not the least captivating part of this little gem.

Dottings Round the Circle. By Benjamin Robbins Curtis. (Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1876. Pp. 329.)—This book is a diary of a college gradu-

ate's journey around the world from Boston to Boston, *viâ* the Pacific Railroad, Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, Suez, European railways, and a Cunard steamship. Although most of the travel is by sea, yet but little is said of wind or sail, and the bulk of the space is devoted to Japan, China, and India. There are a few side excursions, such as visits to the Yosemite and the Pyramids. Many other places are mentioned at the heads of short chapters, but the equal appearance of these in the table of contents is calculated to mislead, as the only countries really described are China and Japan, and the latter furnishes the most interesting portion of the book. Of Europe, the only facts which Mr. Curtis everywhere tells are the hours of starting and arriving of trains. In general he deserves praise for avoiding opinions and confining himself to the narration of facts. His selection between the facts worth telling and those of less interest is, for the most part, very judicious. It would be easy to point out errors of haste and errors of inertia, if we may be allowed the expression, but it is pleasanter to recognize an evident intention to be accurate. There is neither map nor index; but there are twelve excellent heliotypes, nearly all of Oriental subjects.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1876.

The Week.

THE critical condition of the country has had apparently a most beneficial effect on the temper of both Houses of Congress. Both the "conspirators" in the Senate and the "Brigadiers" in the House have, during the past week, displayed a spirit of conciliation and calmness which presents an agreeable contrast to the animus of many of the party organs. The two principal measures before the Senate have been Mr. Edmunds's proposal for turning the electoral count over to the Supreme Court, and the old bill vetoed some months since reducing the President's salary to $25,000. The veto, we are glad to say, was sustained. The introduction of the other measure displayed a rather surprising want of acquaintance with the history of the country, inasmuch as the objections to allowing the Supreme Court to have anything to do with Presidential contests were thoroughly considered at the time of the debates in the Convention, and any Senator, or even any simple citizen, who will take the trouble to get a copy of the Madison Papers from the Library of Congress can, after a brief study, make himself master of a number of the strongest possible reasons against any such change as that proposed by Mr. Edmunds. The Senate, judging from the course of the debate, clearly saw how dangerous it must in the long run prove to the independence of the Supreme Court, and voted it down by 31 to 14. We suppose this is the end of the matter, but if it should come up again it may be worth while to suggest that the reason why it is unsafe to give judges the powers of canvassing boards, while it is not unsafe at all to let them try suits involving title to office by *quo warranto*, is that in the former case, as their canvassing powers must be exercised at stated times, whether they will or no, it immediately becomes for the interest of the party in power to fill the bench with its own partisans, so as to control their decision beforehand. On the other hand, against the established method of trying title to office by ordinary writs returnable before an ordinary court, this objection does not exist, because as cases of contested elections in which there is any room for an honest difference of opinion arise seldom and at irregular intervals, and as the process of the court can only be invoked by one of the candidates, and even after that the question of jurisdiction is one of mixed fact and law, no person and no party can possibly tell when the critical moment will come, and therefore is unable to pack the court in advance. In a letter published elsewhere Mr. Albert Stickney maintains that the title to the Presidency is triable in the courts, and that they would be bound in a certain state of facts to say whether Mr. Tilden or Mr. Hayes was elected. We do not ourselves believe that it would be wise to try this experiment, but it ought, as any lawyer will see, to be regarded as a totally distinct proposal from Mr. Edmunds's, and, if objected to as impracticable, must be objected to on grounds entirely other than those which make it unwise to convert the Supreme Court into a Returning Board.

The House has determined to appoint a Committee of Conference on the electoral count, and the Senate will appoint a similar committee. We trust the proceedings of this body will be watched with great care, and that the press will not fail to hunt up the "record" of its members on the subject when it has been under discussion before. Mr. Morton, for instance, is talked of as one of the members of the Senatorial Committee, and whether he is named or not, he will no doubt play an important part in the coming debate. Now, we do not know what Mr. Morton's present "views" are, although we see it stated that they have undergone some change, but we know what his views were last spring, and it is the duty of everybody who has a voice in the matter (for consistency is not his ruling passion) to hold him to them, or to make him explain why he has changed them. In the debate last spring on his own bill he declared emphatically that the presiding officer of the Senate ought not to be allowed under any circumstances to count the votes, and that the assumption by a single House of Congress of the right to throw out the returns of a State duly certified was an outrage. The only exception that he would have admitted was that of double returns, in which case he would have allowed either House to throw them out. His bill for this purpose was not merely discussed but actually passed by the Senate last March by a vote of 32 to 26. We trust he will not be allowed to forget now what he said and did then. The "Brigadiers" in the House are working away manfully on the appropriation bills, and have passed the Post-Office bill and the Fortification bill, as well as a measure which, strange and incredible as it may seem, looks to an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the payment of war claims preferred by disloyal persons. The vote was 150 to 63, and an analysis of it shows that its passage was secured by the union of the Republicans with the moderate Democrats. This shows how unreasonable it was during the last campaign to insist that those who were "supporting Hayes" must pretend to believe that the real object of the Democrats was to "wreck" the country by saddling it with a debt of $2,000,000,000, payable to a small batch of claimants out of the pockets of the majority of the people, and for the liquidation of which no resources are known to exist. We wish the "Brigadiers" understood the currency question as well as this one. They have passed the Silver bill; not the Democratic bill, but that introduced by our great Republican teacher—Judge Kelley—for the coining of the "silver dollar of our Fathers," which, we are sorry to be obliged to state once more, our Fathers were never in the habit of using as currency.

The condition of affairs in the three disputed States has not materially changed during the past week. Wade Hampton has been formally inaugurated in South Carolina, and, having on his side pretty much all the property and intelligence of the State, proposes to try his title in the courts. This is perfectly proper, but Chamberlain, who is evidently ready to play a desperate game, is having a sedition law passed by his Legislature, under which the "setting up" of an opposition government is made a felony punishable with fine to the enormous extent of $100,000, and imprisonment for from ten to forty years, or both, with statutory machinery for bringing these provisions into operation by means of a gubernatorial proclamation, followed by the use of force. As measures for the "preservation of the peace" and the "enforcement of law" in the South now generally have a burlesque turn given to them by their extreme thoroughness, we are not surprised to find that by the third section of the bill any officeholder under Hampton who resists is to be put at hard labor for not less than a year nor more than ten years, and pay a fine of $3,000, or both, according to the discretion of the court. The career of the poor officeholder who began with an assessment and ended by being "sent up" for five years or so would indeed be a troubled one. As soon as he gets this "law" passed Chamberlain will be in a position to "force a fight." Meanwhile we beg to call his attention to a bill introduced into Congress by Mr. Glover, in which he will doubtless take an interest, as it is intended "for the protection of States against domestic violence." It provides, among other things, that "any Governor falsely certifying to the President that riot, insurrection, or overt acts of rebellion are occurring in his State," or "falsely certifying that the Legislature of said State cannot be convened," shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be fined not less than $1,000 nor more than $10,000,

or be imprisoned for not less than one year nor more than ten years, or both. The only defect in this bill seems to be in making the crime a misdemeanor. It ought to be a felony.

General Barlow has written two letters, giving the result of his experience in Florida, in both of which he admits—with the qualification that he had not seen the evidence with regard to one county—that he thinks Tilden had a majority of 55. As regards the county about which he is in doubt, he evidently inclines to the belief that the inspectors there were Republicans, and that, if they were, the returns ought not to have been thrown out for their misconduct, as the majority was clearly Democratic. General Barlow is the only "visiting statesman" who went South on either side who seems to have kept his head clear, and to have reported the result without partiality or regard to consequences, and this in spite of the fact that he is a strong Republican.

The refusal of Mr. Orton, of the Western Union Telegraph Company, to obey the subpœna of the House Committee ordering him to produce the telegrams between Washington and the South, brings up an old question which naturally excites a good deal of interest, not only among politicians but among the public at large. There is nothing, however, particularly sacred or inviolable about a telegram any more than there is about a letter, and, provided the order to produce telegrams is given with sufficient particularity as to the date and names of the sender and receiver, their production will always be enforced in ordinary courts; and it must be remembered that, with regard to the power of compelling the production of documents, a committee of Congress is in exactly the same position as a court. The difficulty with regard to telegrams arises from the fact that the original document is always in the hands, not of the receiver of the message, as in the case of a letter, but of the agent who is entrusted to send it. This, of course, should make committees of investigation act with great deliberation in using their power; but the notion that there is any objection to the exercise of it under these limitations is a mistake. We know of no circumstances which could better justify a thorough overhauling of telegraphic records than those surrounding the late campaign.

The diplomatic correspondence on the subject of Extradition seems to show that the matter is now a subject of sharp practice between the two governments. In May last Sir Edward Thornton informed our Government that a man named Smith, who seemed to be a citizen of the United States, was committed to jail in Canada as a fugitive from justice in the United States, on a charge of murder, and that, as the customary application for his surrender under the Extradition Treaty had not been received by the Canadian authorities, the prisoner would, in two months after his committal, be entitled to claim his discharge. Mr. Fish replied that, as the British Government had already decided that Winslow and other fugitives would not be surrendered, pursuant to the treaty of 1842, it was deemed advisable to desist from attempting extradition until the final decision of the British Government on that question should be reached. The next step was the statement by Sir Edward Thornton that two men, charged with murder in Canada, were fugitives from justice, and were under arrest in Boston, and he requested extradition under the usual forms. In July Sir Edward Thornton also informed Mr. Fish that, according to a despatch from the Governor-General, it appeared that Charles P. Jones of Ohio was, on the 30th of June, committed to jail in Canada as a fugitive from justice. As the usual application had not been received, the Earl of Dufferin had requested the Governor-General to inform Mr. Fish that in two months Jones would be entitled to claim his discharge. In reply to this, Mr. Fish sent to Sir Edward Thornton a copy of the President's message on the subject of extradition, and called his attention to the fact that the position recently assumed by the English Government must, if adhered to, be regarded as an abrogation of the Extradition Treaty. Under these circumstances it would not, in the President's judgment, comport with the dignity and self-respect of this Government to make extradition demands, nor to entertain any requisition from the British Government. This left the matter in exactly the position in which it was before, but later accounts show that the two Governments are gradually coming to an agreement on the subject.

General William F. Bartlett died in Pittsfield, Mass., on Sunday last, at the age of thirty-six, after a lingering illness. He was one of the number of young men who, having determined early in the late war (he was only twenty-one at the time) to support the Government, saw long service and hard fighting throughout. He was engaged at Ball's Bluff, on the Peninsula, in Louisiana, in the Wilderness, and there was no campaign in which he had a part in which he did not come out with fresh wounds and his constitution still more impaired, but also with an increased reputation for courage, for coolness and unselfish devotion. Since the war, with every opportunity to secure political advancement by the sacrifice of his convictions, he has remained throughout the consistent advocate of the reconciliation of the North with the better part of the South, and, as he died, his last words were patriotic, not partisan. His loss will be mourned by many men, not merely in the North, but in the South—men who knew him to be a gallant soldier and an honest man, a man whom nothing could swerve from a sense of duty, and whom every one that knew him trusted, because aware that however his opinions might change, they were guided by a love of what was true and of good report.

The price of silver has fluctuated during the week like the mercury in a thermometer. Starting in London at 57½*d.* per oz., English standard, it advanced to 58½*d.*, declined to 58*d.*, returned to 58½*d.*, then fell to 57½*d.*, again advanced to 58*d.*, fell to 57*d.*, and closed at 57¼*d.*, "with the market nominal." These changes were reflected in the varying gold value of the new standard measure (the silver dollar) which the lower branch of Congress proposes for us, that dollar having been worth as little as $0.9435, gold, and as much as $0.9822. During the same time the extreme range of the gold value of the promise of the United States to pay one dollar (the legal-tender note) was from $0.9259 to $0.9324. At one time during the week the bullion in the silver small-change was worth nearly as much as the gold for which a legal-tender note could be sold, and there was imminent danger that it would be worth more. Had it been, the silver small-change would have been sold for bullion rather than circulated, and the country would have awakened to the fact that there is risk in making small-change of coin while the standard legal-tender money in use is depreciated and irredeemable paper, and while the metal of which the small-change is made is fluctuating in price. The mercantile community are settling down to the opinion that whatever may be the decision in the Presidential contest the defeated party will quietly submit—at least, that the stability of the Government will not be imperilled by violent outbreak. Accordingly there is less fear that political excitement will disturb the next half year's business. Considering that it is near the end of the year, when trade is always dull, there is little to complain of in business, the volume of transactions being above that of December, 1875. At the Stock Exchange there has been an important advance in prices of railroad securities because of the settlement of the railroad war, on the basis of uniform rates from the West to all Atlantic ports for products destined for export to foreign countries; all other rates are to be founded on mileage. This secures to all the roads moderate profits on every part of their business. The gold market was strong early in the week on the news that shipments from London here had practically ceased, although the arrivals during the week amounted to over $2,000,000, which had been previously ordered. The decline late in the week was owing to higher rates for money. The New York banks, by reason of the large importations of gold in the past few weeks, have a surplus reserve nearly $5,000,000 above what they held last year.

The present constitution of the State of New Hampshire was adopted in 1792, and no attempt to amend it since then has met with success. A Constitutional Convention was provided for, however, by the last Legislature, and has just adjourned, having agreed to present for adoption a somewhat formidable list of amendments. The most important of these, in the estimation of the politicians of the State, and that which gave the Convention the greatest difficulty, was the one providing for an alteration in the number of members of the two Houses of the Legislature. The House of Representatives contains at present nearly 400 members and the Senate only 12. The amendment proposes to cut down the House to 300 members, and add 12 more to the Senate, the basis of representation in the latter body being the valuation of property. Other amendments of general interest are those which propose to do away with an existing religious qualification for office; to substitute biennial for annual sessions of the Legislature; to forbid sectarian appropriations of public money; to change the time of holding elections from March to November; to prohibit removals from office for political opinions—a very necessary amendment in view of some recent performances in the State—and to forbid towns to loan their credit to or purchase stock or bonds "in any corporation the object of which is a division of profits." The above are all good amendments, and can only be defeated, if at all, by the votes of the numerous small towns which are deprived of a special representative. An illustration of the economy or thriftiness of the people of a State which manages to support its Governor on $500 a year is furnished by the action of the Legislature in only providing funds for a two weeks' session of the Convention, which body, however, finished its work in eleven days.

A large party of the Free-traders of the Atlantic coast dined together on Tuesday week in this city, in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of the 'Wealth of Nations.' Mr. Parke Godwin presided, and Messrs. Wells, Bigelow, Bryant, and Sumner, President Anderson of Rochester, and others made speeches. The prevailing anxiety about the Presidency somewhat diminished the fervor of the disciples, and perhaps so did the prevailing popular ignorance as to who Adam Smith was. In other words, the economical atmosphere was not exhilarating. But in spite of these drawbacks, and a certain over-seriousness and over elaborateness in the speaking, all went off very well. The fear of the daily press, as displayed next day, that honoring Adam Smith might in some way involve approval of the Free-trade League, or reflect injuriously on the tariff, or "help Tilden," was very curious, though the leading Hayes paper—the *Times*—committed itself with *abandon*. Among the guests was Mr. Cernuschi, the well-known apostle of the double standard and the friend of silver. It ought to be generally known, however, that he does not think it possible for one country alone, in the present posture of affairs, to use silver as a standard.

The revolt of Gen. Porfirio Diaz in Mexico has ended for the present in making him dictator. His turn came when the chief-justice, Iglesias, denied the validity of Lerdo's re-election and declared himself President. Diaz attacked the Government forces under Gen. Alatorre near Huamantla (an old battle-ground of Santa Anna's, north-east of Puebla), on the 16th of November. He was saved from defeat by the arrival of Gen. Gonzales with a heavy reinforcement, and this victory produced a revolt in Puebla, which yielded to Diaz on the 18th. Three days later President Lerdo, with his Cabinet and an escort which rapidly dropped away, fled towards Morelia, and, on the 23d, Diaz entered the capital without opposition and with the usual "demonstrations." Vera Cruz declared for him, and on the 30th he was officially proclaimed Provisional President. Meantime, Lerdo and his followers were captured, not far from the city of Mexico, and Gen. Escobedo, Lerdo's Minister of War and right arm, and some others were shot. Iglesias, who had been aiming, apparently, to reach the capital simultaneously with the victorious insurgent, fell short by a day's march, and thought it prudent to repudiate an agreement with Diaz by which the latter was to appoint the provisional State governors and he (Iglesias) the members of the provisional Cabinet, and to retire to Guanajuato and, still more safely, to Leon, sending orders thence to Diaz to hold Mexico and proclaim him President. Diaz has answered this by despatching a considerable force against him and by appointing his own Cabinet. Monterey and Saltillo have surrendered without fighting to Iglesias and have declared in his favor, and the chief-justice is said to have now the support or control of the entire northern frontier. These events, happening in the midst of our own Presidential dispute, have made "Mexicanization" seem a little more real than it has done hitherto, and have doubtless favored a cheerful acquiescence in the defeat of Mr. Edmunds's proposal to drag the Supreme Court into the Presidential arena.

There cannot be said to be any very startling news from the East. The preliminary Conference is sitting, but nothing is known as to the progress made. The Russian programme is said to include general disarmament in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; the employment of native functionaries only; the establishment of local police containing Christians, and the introduction of Christians into the army in proportion to their numbers; the confinement of the Turkish troops to designated fortresses; the dismissal of the Bashi-bazuks and the relegation of the Circassians to the Mussulman provinces of the Empire; the abolition of the farming of the tithes and their conversion into a regular tax, regulated in its distribution by the representatives of the tax-payers; the employment of the local language in the courts of justice; the appointment of a Christian governor in each of the provinces by the Porte with the approval of the other Powers; rigorous enquiry into the atrocities, and the punishment of their authors; and the establishment of a system of supervision of the reforms by a Consular Commission. These provisions are nearly all borrowed from the Andrássy note of December, 1875, and the Berlin note of May, 1876. Russia, in addition to all this, and as a guarantee for it all, insists on a military occupation of Bulgaria, and to this the Turks will undoubtedly not submit, which is as much as to say that war is all but inevitable as soon as Russia feels herself ready. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that she will have an easy task. The conquest of Bulgaria will be an arduous undertaking, which will probably cost Russia an army and at least one severe campaign. The Turks have at least three first-class fortresses north of the Balkans which they will defend desperately, and the possession of the sea will give them a constant opportunity to operate on the Russian flank.

In France, the ministerial crisis has ended in the formation of a new ministry under Jules Simon, MM. Dufaure and Marcère going out, and the other members of the old Cabinet remaining. M. Martel becomes Minister of Justice. M. Simon is perhaps one of the best-known Frenchmen out of France. He began life as a teacher, and for many years was the successor of Cousin in the Chair of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, and he was a member of the Corps Législatif under the Empire—one of the small minority—and a member of the Government of National Defence, and sat in Thiers's Cabinet. On Thursday last he made his statement in the Assembly, which was commonplace but satisfactory. He is a Conservative-Republican, devoted both to religion and religious liberty, is determined to make officials obey the law, and believes thoroughly in the Republican sincerity of Marshal MacMahon. He seems to have been well received by all of the Left except Gambetta, who is apparently under the impression that the Ministry formed is hostile to himself. He probably begins to think that the time has come when he too should have the recognition of official life. The press, on its part, received M. Simon's declarations very cordially, but on the following Saturday the Ministry experienced a serious defeat on the Salt Tax, by a vote of 392 to 116, Gambetta leading the opposition, and since then the clerical party has shown signs of hostility which it is feared may lead them into an anti-ministerial combination with Gambetta.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME.

WE have received from Democrats a good many strong expressions of dissent from our suggestion of last week, that the accession of Hayes to the Presidency should, failing his own retreat from a position which we still think an honorable man ought to find untenable, be quietly acquiesced in. The terms of some of these remonstrances make it plain that on some points we have not made ourselves fully understood. Let us say, in the first place, that we have little doubt that if the officers appointed by law in the two States of Louisiana and Florida had done their duty honestly they would have given the majorities to Tilden, and that we consider the counter charges of intimidation brought by Republicans against the Tildenites of no more weight in the present case than indirect claims in a court of law, because not proved, and in most cases not provable, before a competent and impartial tribunal. In other words, we believe in the election of the President by legal machinery and legal proof, Anglo-Saxon fashion, and not by newspaper charges or popular rumor, or the "solemn belief" of philanthropic men—French or Mexican fashion. We have little doubt, too, that the operations of the Returning Boards, if not instigated, have been connived at or encouraged, by the Republican official hierarchy from top to bottom, and that their indifference to the moral character of the process, provided the result be in their favor, has been brazen and shameless. General Barlow's report on the Florida count constitutes an *à fortiori* argument against the count in Louisiana, as we believe the Florida Board was the more respectable of the two. We will add that we think the situation greatly aggravated by General Grant's mental condition, which appears to be one of great irritability, great combativeness, strong personal feeling, and lamentable susceptibility to the advice of bad and dangerous men. Finally, we see the danger that if Hayes turns out even a tolerably good President, the unfortunate circumstances of his accession may be overlooked and forgotten, and may prepare people for further acquiescence in gross violations of law and justice by the party in power with a view to the retention of power. Moreover, we know of no reason why those who think Hayes has not been fairly elected should not express that opinion and support it by all the proof and argument they can muster, up to the day of his inauguration. It is not only proper for them, but, we think, incumbent on them to do so. We go over these things in order to show that we have the strong side of the Democratic position fully in view in saying what we are about to say.

But, considering the nature of the crisis and the amount of explosive material the community now contains, they ought not, in tracing out their line of action, to leave any doubt or room for doubt as to what their ultimate recourse is to be. They say they will maintain on the day of the count the right of Congress to direct the President of the Senate in making the count, and the right of Congress to go behind the returns of the State officers and see for whom the popular vote was cast, and that they will demand the rejection of the votes of the three Returning-Board States, and that if the Senate refuses to concur, the House will withdraw and elect a President who will, on the 4th of March, get himself sworn in. Some, we presume, though we are glad to say we think not many, talk of forcible resistance to usurpation as a matter of principle. We think this is about as fair an account of their programme as can be given of something which has not been formally stated.

Now, it needs, both for the sake of the country and of the Democratic party itself, the addition of a distinct repudiation both of all idea of setting up a second President and all idea of anything like resistance to Hayes's inauguration, and his authority after his inauguration, whether that resistance be merely factious or physical. The objections to setting up a second President are, we hope, so obvious as hardly to need stating. A *de jure* king is, in our day, a sufficiently ludicrous and contemptible spectacle. A *de jure* President would be something both more ludicrous and more contemptible. Any man who played any such rôle in this country would, after the newspapers had been at work on him for a few months, have reason to wish he had never been born. In so far as his claims appeared in a serious light they would, sooner or later, produce considerable popular irritation by bringing ridicule on the Government, and reproducing among us an absurd simulacrum of the disputed successions which have done so much to discredit the "effete monarchies of Europe," and by clouding, though ever so slightly, the public credit. A year would probably not elapse before the Democratic party would be covered with odium for having humiliated the country once more in the eyes of foreigners and brought popular government into disrepute, and Hayes would become the object of sympathy and respect as the real representative of the national power and dignity. The Democratic party has certainly no hold on the popular imagination that will justify its indulging in any such ventures. Any resort to force would of course, besides being criminal, be still more unwise, both for the same reason and several others. It is only justifiable when the grievance complained of is intolerable, and is irremediable by peaceful means, and when force is likely to be successful. None of these things can be affirmed of the Hayes usurpation, if usurpation it be. It would not be intolerable, for he would probably be a tolerably good President—a consideration which might have little weight with Mexicans or Frenchmen, but will always tell with Americans. He will go out of office in four years, and will probably have a hostile House and Senate to face before that time. It would not be irremediable by peaceful means, because we have no sort of doubt, and we think no candid man has, that the present performances of the Republican party will sweep it out of existence during the coming four years. Besides this, we must remember that for those who have not definitively abandoned all faith in popular government, the cure for such wrongs as it is now committing is under our system perfectly well settled and perfectly effective. We have in the last resort to appeal to the popular sense of justice and popular respect for law and order in cases of Presidential usurpation, as in all other cases of abuse. If this fail us, all fails us, and it makes no difference who is President, or by what means he gets his power. The Democrats, we take it, not being Mexicans, do not desire to get the Presidency by hook or by crook; they desire to get it in the American way—that is, through general acquiescence in the justice of their candidate's claims; and this acquiescence can be secured neither by fighting nor by chicane.

No matter what happens at the count of the Presidential vote, the present Congress will dissolve almost immediately afterwards. On the 4th of March the Government will be in the hands of the President and the Senate, and that they will inaugurate Hayes—Hayes being willing—no matter what the state of public opinion may be, we have little doubt. The Republican managers are not the men to stick at trifles, and the Opposition ought therefore to be fully prepared in their own minds for this contingency, and leave no question in the public mind as to what they mean to do. They may argue and protest as much as they please in the meantime, and leave no means untried of informing the public judgment; but, this done, the part of wisdom and patriotism is to let the engineers of this great fraud have their way, in the full confidence that their victory will prove their ruin. The public conscience is every day becoming more and more aroused; the remoter consequences of these monstrous proceedings at the South are more and more clearly seen. The moderation and good sense of the Southern Democrats at least are gradually bringing them and their interests into more wholesome relations to Northern opinion. The Republican leaders are straining eyes and ears for massacres, outrages, and conspiracies and seditions, as their last chance of safety. The Opposition have only to indulge in a little violence or folly, or to commit some offence against the national pride and security, to give the Group a new lease of power and a fresh title to public confidence.

The attitude of the Republican press and orators with regard to

the manner of counting the vote, in maintaining that the President of the Senate is the man to do it, and that he will do it, and that there is no question about the matter, and no occasion for argument or consideration, and that it does not make any difference whether the Democrats like it or not, and that the President and "the troops" will do their duty, only strengthens our confidence in the wisdom of the course we here recommend. The best way for their enemies to deal with people in this frame of mind is to let them have their way. Finally, we would remind those who are startled by our proposal that the decisions of the Returning Boards should be accepted if the Republican party dares to stand by them, that these boards, as now constituted, are a direct product and necessary adjunct of carpet-baggery, and therefore, as we hope and believe, a temporary evil, which ought not to be allowed to draw us into a dangerous precedent.

WHAT IS "MEXICANIZATION"?

WE hear every day strong expressions of a desire, and also of a determination, that this Government shall not be "Mexicanized." The newspapers nearly all say this. We observe that Governor Hayes in his recent speech in Ohio uttered his concurrence in this desire and determination, and we have no doubt that almost every man in the country, if you put the question to him whether he did not utterly abhor "Mexicanization," would answer affirmatively. The value of this consensus, however, depends largely on the meaning attached to the term "Mexicanization." As well as we can make out, what most of those who use it mean by it is the use of armed force to decide political contests or legal disputes, or to set aside the result of elections, or settle conflicting claims to power or authority; and it is supposed, apparently, that a government is not "Mexicanized," and cannot be, as long as this resort to arms does not take place.

It seems desirable to point out at this juncture that this is a defective and misleading definition. The term "Mexicanization" denotes not so much a particular act, or set of acts, as a particular state of mind. A Government may be "Mexicanized" long before any settlement of a political question by violence actually takes place; and, per contra, a political question may be settled by violence without any appearance or imputation of "Mexicanization." When the King and the Parliament came to blows in 1640, they settled their disputes Mexican fashion; when the Colonies and the Mother Country came to blows in 1776, they settled their disputes Mexican fashion; and when the North and South came to blows in 1861, they too settled their disputes Mexican fashion; but in none of these cases was there any charge or pretence that the war was the result or the sign of "Mexicanization." There are disputes under all political systems too weighty, and running too deep into the soil, to be settled by argument, and the political capacity of a people may be shown, and has been shown, in as high a degree, and with as little damage, by fighting as by keeping the peace. In fact, the nations of the first rank in politics have won their place mainly by knowing when to take up arms. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that absolute peaceableness stands foremost among political virtues.

Mexicanization is a disease of which frequent fights over presidencies and chief-justiceships are but symptoms in its last and most aggravated stage. It may last long and go very far before ever a shot is fired. It consists in its earlier stages in a change in the political habits and political outlook of the people, or, in other words, in their view of their relations to the Government and to each other; and the resort to arms may be simply a sign that the incurable stage has been reached. The seeds of Mexicanization lie in the notion that free governments are carried on by pure reason instead of by strong and deeply-rooted political habits—by which we mean traditional and hereditary familiarity with and respect for certain forms and processes and principles, and the mental association of these forms and processes and principles with happiness and prosperity, and their absence or destruction with misery and decline. When a people has got these it can make almost any government work well; when it loses them no preaching will save it, and the resort to force is only a question of time. It is not for want of instruction or fairly-drawn constitutions that republics do not succeed in France and Mexico; it is for want of habits of legality.

Among the ways in which these habits are destroyed or the growth of them prevented is the practice of treating the political party opposed to your own as a band of criminals or conspirators against the Government. This practice has been cultivated in France ever since 1790; it is firmly rooted in Mexican politics. It results very rapidly in the abandonment of rational and moderate discussion, for what is the use in discussing with villains who are intent on the public ruin, and whose argumentation would be mere sham and hypocrisy? You accordingly get into the way of threatening and denouncing them instead of reasoning with them. You assert all your rights against them in the high-handed manner you would use in dealing with a burglar, and try to believe that it would be weakness to consider whether they are or are not convinced of the justice of your proceedings. After this has lasted for awhile, you get into the way of thinking that the only proper and effective way of disposing of such fellows is to knock them on the head. You have nothing in common with such people; there is nothing on their side that it would be right for you to consider, and you owe it to the country and humanity to be severe with them. At this point, of course, resort to civil war is a mere question of opportunity and physical ability. If you do not fight, it is only because you are not quite ready. When there comes a crisis which puts a severe strain on the temper, however, prudential considerations vanish. You feel that it is impossible to "stand this" any longer, and you "descend into the streets" or get up a "pronunciamiento." You are very sorry and wish it were not so, but are quite sure that if the outsiders, who criticise and laugh at you, only *knew* the badness of these fellows, their irredeemable depravity, as you know it, they would agree with you that there was nothing else for it.

If, on the other hand, you have the Government in your hands, the army, and revenue, and the machinery of justice, you will, if in the earlier stages of Mexicanization, have probably a loftier sense of your own moral superiority than when you are in opposition. Holding the Opposition to be public enemies and bent on mischief, you will rapidly cease to feel that you hold the government as a trust for more than your own half of the people, and you will consequently harden yourself against the opinions or wishes of any but your own side. You will not only cease to care whether they are satisfied of the justice or legality of your proceedings, but you will get into the way of thinking that whatever they do not like and protest against must be right, and all the better the more they protest, and should therefore be carried out in the way that will be most obnoxious to them, as long as you keep within the forms of law. If you have to make an investigation, you will make it with your own men, knowing well that they will have no confidence in the verdict, and you will take great satisfaction in finding that it has exasperated rather than soothed them. In thinking and talking about them, you will always take care to forget nothing that is odious in their political history, and pretend to believe that, though all the rest of the world has changed, they are just the same as ever. For instance, if they murdered priests and nobles and burnt châteaux in 1793, you will maintain stoutly that that is what they are after still in 1876, and that therefore you cannot take too many precautions against their getting hold of the power again. If they revolted in defence of slavery in 1860, and half of them were killed, and slavery was abolished, you will pretend that the other half are ready to revolt again and restore slavery, and that the logic of events has produced absolutely no impression on them. If anybody questions this, as contrary to our experience of human nature, you will assure him that this is a peculiar case which nobody understands but yourself, and that, society being in your keeping, you cannot afford to run any foolish risks. And then you will treat the forms of law and the general

machinery of justice as weapons of war, and you will not be troubled by any perversion of them, however gross, as long as the object of the perversion is a bad fellow.

The state of things we have been describing exists in a greater or less degree all over the South, and has existed since the war. The South is Mexicanized. The hope of all reflecting men has been that the North, with its intelligence and its habits of order and legality, would gradually rescue it from this condition, and diffuse through it—slowly, no doubt, but still surely—the manners and customs and ideas of good and free government, and abate party passions to such a degree as to make them manageable by constitutional forms. But in the present dispute over the Presidency there are actually signs, not only that we have not cured the South, but that, by nursing and manipulating the South, we have ourselves caught the contagion. We do not like to cite illustrations, because illustrations in certain states of the public mind are exasperating rather than enlightening; but two we must use. We saw the other day in a Massachusetts paper the question what people would say if Judge Bond were to go into that State and release on a writ of *habeas corpus* persons committed for contempt by the Supreme Court of that State. The people of Massachusetts would probably be very indignant, because it would come home to themselves personally. But this proves little. The test of perfect Anglo-Saxon health is, Are they indignant when they see this done to a court of like constitution with their own and belonging to fellow-citizens in another State? Are they reconciled to the perversion of judicial forms to the attainment of purely political ends by a feeling that the ends are good? Any man who asks himself these questions, and answers them in the affirmative, need not flatter himself that because he objects to street-fighting and pronunciamientos, and goes to meeting instead of mass, and calls himself Smith or Jones instead of Lillibullero or Tejada, and wears an overcoat instead of a cloak, that he has nothing of the Mexican about him. He has really acquired one of the most characteristic mental traits of the Mexican.

Take the other illustration. The Returning Board in Louisiana, though not a court of law, is a court of judges. The most important functions of its members are judicial functions. The subject-matter of their decisions is of vast and far-reaching importance. It may be of as great importance to the community, and has proved so this year, that they should do justice, as that the United States Supreme Court should do it. But it is not surprising that they have not done it. The members of the Board were not selected for their capacity or integrity, but for their partisanship, and partisanship is very blinding. Nor is it at all symptomatic that they should under such circumstances have done wrong any more than that such men as Judge Bond should find their way to the bench and do wrong. Such things may happen in any country under the healthiest public opinion. When we wish to know whether there is anything unsound in public opinion, whether the Mexican poison has reached us, we ask, as we have said, How are people affected by these things? Now, here is the deliverance of *Harper's Weekly*, a very prominent organ of public opinion, on it:

"Republicans can certainly not stand an imputation of fraud upon the election of their candidate. Can the Democrats? If the Republican Returning Board of Louisiana is a suspicious body, is the Democratic White League any less so? If active Republican politicians in the disputed States are scalawags, do not active Democratic politicians refuse to put a stop to assassination and terror which enure to their party advantage?"

We do not here offer any opinion on the facts of the dispute. We concede that the Democrats are as bad as the Republicans. What we wish to mark in the above is the fact that the writer considers it if not fair at least excusable and "quits" for a legally-organized judicial body to use fraud as a means of meeting the open violence of marauders or assassins. This is a thoroughly Mexican idea, and perhaps touches what is lowest in Mexican politics. The Anglo-Saxon view is that to lawlessness you oppose *law*, first, last, and always; that the more lawlessness there is, the purer and more upright should your judges be, and that a self-respecting and manly people, capable of carrying on a great government, though it may put down robbers and assassins with a strong and implacable hand, and suspend all constitutional forms for their swift punishment, will never seat a knave at the drumhead, or convert the arts of the thimblerigger and mock-auctioneer into defences of order and liberty.

BALZAC'S CORRESPONDENCE.—II *

PARIS, November 29.

IN 1830 the political fermentation in France became such that Balzac could not escape the contagion. He had no very definite ideas on government; he dramatized politics. Men were to him more than ideas, and he was too much of a moralist not to see through the idols of the day. To Mme. Carraud, who seems to have been a very excellent and sensible person, and one of his constant correspondents, he writes: "France ought to be a constitutional monarchy, with an hereditary royal family; with a House of Peers extraordinarily powerful, representing property, with all possible guarantees of heredity and privileges, the nature of which remains to be discussed; with a Second Chamber, elective, representing the interests of the intermediary masses which separate the highest social positions from what is called the people." In the year 1831, he offered himself as a candidate for the Lower House in two places, at Angoulême and at Cambrai. He was inordinate in his ambitions as in everything: "Do you believe," he says to honest Mme. Carraud, "that I would leave the world of *ideas* and the chance of being a European man for the political world, if I did not feel that I can be something great and serve my country?" His country did not agree with him on that point, and we can only say that it was most fortunate.

There is something very painful in the account which Balzac gives of his literary efforts: he was always in debt, and always engaging his work before he could furnish it; always quarrelling with the publishers, the booksellers; always losing in wild schemes what he had earned with the greatest difficulty. His power of work was exorbitant—all the more that his mind was always at high pressure: "I go to bed (1833) at six or seven o'clock in the evening, like a hen; I am waked at one o'clock, and I work till eight in the morning; then I sleep an hour and a half, when I wake up. I take a cup of black coffee, and I work again till four. At four, I go out, or take a bath and dine; and after dinner I go to bed." It is not to be wondered if this unnatural life put him by degrees almost out of himself. He had fits of enthusiasm and of despair. He speaks of his 'Médecin de Campagne' with raptures: "There is not a phrase in it which has not been read, reread, corrected, read again; it is dreadful, but when you wish to approach the simple beauty of the Gospel, to surpass the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' and to put in action the 'Imitation of Jesus Christ,' you must work hard." This book was written for the people; Emile de Girardin prophesied that 400,000 copies would be sold. Alas! success came only very slowly. He wrote proudly to honest Mme. Carraud: "You will read this magnificent book. I think I can now die in peace. I have done a great thing for my country. This work is better than law or victorious battles. It is the Gospel in action."

It would be endless to enter into all Balzac's schemes with the booksellers, which had at least this advantage, that as he was always trying to utilize all that he had done, he was almost of necessity brought to his masterly conception of uniting his novels in some great plan. Thus he imagined the 'Scenes of Private Life,' 'Scenes of Provincial Life,' 'Scenes of Parisian Life,' 'Scenes of Country Life,' and by degrees the gigantic conception of the 'Human Comedy' came before him, took a more tangible form and a body.

Balzac accepted criticism from his friends—he almost courted it; he did not belong to the "genus irritabile vatum." It may be, also, that the hardships of his life had, if the expression is allowable, thickened his skin. With his old friend Mme. Carraud, whose good judgment he did not overestimate, he is constantly entering into long explanations about his works and their object. When Mme. Carraud finds that in 'Eugénie Grandet' the old miser has too large a fortune for a provincial town, he retorts: "Facts are against you. At Tours there is a grocer who has eight millions; M. Eynard, a mere bagman, has twenty, and keeps thirteen millions in gold at home; he placed them in 1814 in the funds at fifty six francs, and so made twenty out of it. However, in the next edition I will diminish the fortune of Grandet by six millions." He warmly thanks Mme. Carraud on

* See No. 597 of the *Nation*.

every occasion : "There is always," he says, "something true in the sensations of a noble and great soul like yours, especially when it is made greater in a solitude full of thoughts." He begs her to be patient with him : "A work which is to contain all the figures and the conditions of society can, I think, only be well understood when it has reached its termination." Balzac had arrived in 1836 at that period which marks the height of an intellectual curve. He wrote the 'Lys dans la Vallée,' the 'Recherche de l'Absolu' ; he was in a state of constant inspiration ; he was intoxicated with coffee and with his own work. "To work day and night, to be always fighting, when I need the quietude of a cloister ; when shall I be quiet ? Shall I be so a single day ? Must I wait till I go down to the tomb ? Then, perhaps, they will all do me justice. Never mind, if my best inspirations have always shone in the moments of the greatest anxiety" You see here the rebound of this elastic nature ; he cannot be altogether broken down ; he brandishes his pen like a sword, and is always willing to fight with destiny.

Balzac began to correspond towards 1834 with Mme. Hanska, who was to become his wife. Their first letters were burned in a fire at Moscow. Those which are published begin in 1839 ; they show Balzac as a sort of literary adviser and confidant. He could not, however, remain long merely a sort of Grimm ; he became immediately personal, confidential ; he speaks to Mme. Hanska of all his troubles, his perplexities, his endless schemes. He was again in 1836 involved in a failure (as he had been before in 1828), and he had to conceal himself in a garret at Chaillot. From his little room he looked upon the valley of the Seine. He worked during eighteen hours in the twenty-four. We find him some time afterwards on his way to Corsica, where he meditated a great speculation in the mines of the island. As usual, he failed in his undertaking. He took Italy on his way back, and as soon as he returned to Paris, though he was still in debt, he bought the little house at Sèvres which he afterwards made famous. The house cost him 45,000 francs ; it was to him a paradise. It must be confessed that there are few places which have such a great and inspiriting view, combining the charms of the country and the associations which rise like smoke from the distant view of the great capital, with its river, its churches, its domes.

The monetary question never ceases to have a part in Balzac's preoccupations. We find a curious letter of his addressed to the members of the *Société des gens de lettres* (a society which is still in existence, and which has for its duties to defend literary property, and to help poor and aged writers) He makes a great programme of reforms : a letter must be sent to the king, asking him to invite the Chambers to create great literary prizes every ten years—100,000 francs for the best tragedy, as much for the best comedy, *id.* for the best opera, *id.* for the best drama, *id.* for the best novel, *id.* for the best philosophical work, *id.* for the best archæological or linguistic work ; 200,000 for the best epic poem. The French Academy is to be the judge ; the honors rendered to the peers of France must also be rendered to the members of the Institute ; the distribution of these prizes must be a great public solemnity.

In 1843 he started for Russia, and made a visit to Mme. Hanska ; we find him in Berlin in October, where he was received with much distinction ; his reputation was already European. It is interesting to note his sensations : "For a man who comes from Russia, Germany has an undefinable aspect which cannot be explained by the magic word *liberty*, which is better translated by free manners, or freedom in manners." He saw Humboldt, who brought him the compliments of the King ; and made a visit to Tieck in Potsdam. Berlin did not keep him long, nor Dresden, where he went into ecstasies over Holbein's "Madonna," which astonished him more than the "Madonna" of Raphael. He could not stay long away from Paris, and on his return published the 'Maison Nucingen,' 'Pierre Grassou,' 'Les Secrets de la Princesse de Cadignan.' His pride had become almost monstrous ; he wrote to Mme. Hanska : "Four men will have had in this half-century an immense influence—Napoleon, Cuvier, O'Connell ; I wish to be the fourth. The first lived by the blood of Europe ; the second was married to the globe ; the third incarnated a people ; I want to bear a whole society on my head." But this curious pride never made him distant or disagreeable ; he always had, as the French say, his heart in his hand. It was a sort of intellectual intoxication. At one time he thought of presenting himself to the French Academy ; he was not encouraged, and wrote thus on the subject to Charles Nodier : "My good Nodier, I have been assured that the condition of my fortune is one of the reasons which are opposed to me in the Academy ; I therefore beg you with much sorrow to dispose of your influence otherwise than in my favor. If I cannot enter the Academy on account of the most honorable poverty, I will never present myself when prosperity shall give me her favors. I write in the same sense to Victor Hugo, who takes an interest in me" (1844).

We begin to see in the letters of that time the first symptoms of the malady of the *bric-à-brac*—that is, of collecting works of art—which became the ruinous mania of Balzac. You can trace it even in his first novels ; he liked old furniture, old tapestries, armor, pictures, everything. This increasing passion did not help diminish his difficulties ; he was now earning much money, but he spent it faster than he made it. In 1849 he made as much as 80,000 francs. He paid a visit to Mme. Hanska at Naples in 1845, but his journey, as usual, was extremely short. In 1846 he writes to his sister from Rome, where he could remain only a week ; he was received by the Pope, and he sent to his old mother a rosary which the Holy Father blessed for her.

Some time afterwards he began his greatest work : 'Les Parents pauvres.' He describes it beforehand : the "old musician" is the poor relation, covered with humiliations and wrongs, full of heart, who forgives all and avenges himself only by good works. The "Cousine Bette" is the poor relation who is also wronged and humiliated, who lives intimately in three or four families, and who meditates the revenge of her wounded pride.

Correspondence.

MR. HAYES ON PARTISAN RETURNING BOARDS.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : That numerous class of Republicans who regret that the election of their candidate should depend on the action of a partisan Returning Board in Louisiana may find some melancholy consolation in the following extract from Governor Hayes's annual message, 1869, which shows that no one can regret the composition of that board more deeply than Mr. Hayes himself :

"There is much opposition to the enactment of a registry law. Without yielding my own settled convictions in favor of such a law, I content myself in this communication with urging upon your attention a measure of reform in the manner of conducting elections the importance and justice of which no one ventures to deny. The conduct of the officers whose duty at elections it is to receive and count the ballots and to make returns of the result ought to be above suspicion. *This can rarely be the case when they all belong to the same political party. A fair representation of the minority will go far not only to prevent fraud but, what is almost of equal importance, to remove the suspicion of fraud,*" etc.

Republican.

Salem, Mass., Dec. 14, 1876.

OUR DANGER, AND THE REMEDY.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : It is beginning to be felt that the difficulties that now surround us are but a part of the danger that threatens us, a symptom only of what may prove to be a fatal disease. We are losing our faith in the ballot-box.

In a republican state it is understood that the submission of the minority is essentially based on the conviction that the indications of the ballot are true, and on the confident conviction that when the minority shall in its turn become the majority, the same submission will be extended to it. Destroy this belief in the indications of the ballot, the motive for submission is removed, and there follows directly the terrible sequence of anarchy, civil war, and empire.

It must be painfully evident to every one that belief in the indication of the ballot is disappearing. The first severe shock was given by the Plaquemine frauds, which, engineered by the notorious John Slidell, are believed to have been the means of depriving Henry Clay of the Presidency. Since then there have been continually-recurring examples of the same thing. Fraud in New York City has been repeatedly used to overpower the majorities given by the rest of the State. Dr. Leonard Bacon, in an excellent letter lately published, intimates that the majority recently given in Connecticut is open to great suspicion, owing to the extraordinary and abnormal increase of the vote given in the large cities. And as to the state of things in three Southern States it is unnecessary to speak.

In a word, we are losing all faith in the working of the central and most vital part of our whole system of government ; and unless this faith can be restored by remodelling our system of voting, we have anarchy straight before us. We have four years left us, perhaps, to apply the remedy ; a very short time for considering so important a subject, for convincing the doubters, and for overcoming objections, and therefore it behooves us to lose no time.

All our difficulty arises from the use of the *secret* ballot; it is this absurd and pusillanimous element of secrecy that does the mischief. Once establish the principle that every man's vote shall be entered at the time of voting upon a register, subject to inspection and verification, and the worst of our difficulties disappear at once. If a question arises as to the votes cast in any precinct or district, it then becomes possible to verify every one of them, and to settle to a certainty who voted, and for whom. Any evils, if indeed such exist, in connection with the open ballot, are as nothing compared with its advantages.

In fact, in the United States at least, the whole system of secret ballot was founded on a mistake. It was imagined that intimidation and coercion might result from a knowledge of how individuals cast their votes, and that employees and workmen might be subject to persecution at the hands of their employers. Experience has shown that there was little foundation for these fears, and that where intimidation is really brought to bear, other methods are employed, against which the secret ballot gives no protection. The result is therefore unmixed evil.

Personal independence in America attains that completeness that no man is influenced in his opinions by his employer. There are very few indeed who make any secret as to how they intend to vote. In fact, it may be said that if in any Northern State all the men in any election precinct should be asked the day before election how they intended to vote, not one in fifty would hesitate to answer. Even the few who might decline to answer would not be actuated by anything like fear of the consequences. That this is so must be evident to every one, but it is also proved by the experience of canvassing committees and by the singularly exact estimates of majorities constantly made in advance of elections.

In a word, the disadvantages, if there are any, connected with the open ballot are so trivial, and its advantages are so enormous—in fact, at the present time so vital—that the question of the change deserves the most careful consideration of every man who has at heart the stability of the institutions of his country. M. C. L.

PHILADELPHIA, December 11, 1876.

A PRESIDENTIAL *QUO WARRANTO*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read in your issue of the 14th of December as to the Presidential election these words:

"It seems to us that the only sound course now is to stop quibbling and chopping logic, to accept the Southern figures, however bedeviled, and inaugurate Hayes in the interest of peace and quiet, and for the better preservation of constitutional forms."

I have a doubt on this. Here is a question as to which of two men has been lawfully elected President, and the case, as it is put on the one side, is this:

There are four men in Louisiana who constitute a Returning Board, and have, under the statute of that State, the power of canvassing the votes for Presidential electors; and the statute gives them, in certain cases, the power to throw out the votes from a parish or precinct. But it gives them this power, as far as we now need consider, only when there has been intimidation of voters, and where the evidence of this intimidation has been laid before them in a form provided by the statute. Now, as it is claimed on the one side, this Returning Board, in cases where there has been no intimidation, and where there has been no evidence of any in the form required by law, have thrown out the votes of entire parishes and precincts, where the majorities show the ballots have been cast for the political party to which the members of this Board do not belong.

Now, if the facts be as they are claimed, this Returning Board had no more right or authority under the law to throw out the votes of the citizens of those parishes than it had to take away their lands or their lives, or than it had to throw out the entire vote of the State of New York. And it was not an exercise on the part of the Board of a judicial discretion, not even a corrupt one, for there was no discretion to be exercised; but there was a mere falsification of public records, a manufacture of a majority that never had an existence, a creation by four men of a President of the United States in defiance of the people's will expressed in the constitutional manner.

If the law gives us the means of redressing these wrongs, is it wise to allow the wrongs to go unredressed? I cannot think there can be more than one answer to this question; and I am very confident that the ordinary machinery of the law is quite sufficient to meet the case here supposed to exist.

The title to an executive or judicial office has always been held to be a legal right, to be tried and determined in a court of law, like a right to lands, goods, or any other property. It was so under the English common law; it is so under the law in the individual States; it is so under the law of the United States. The procedure is well known—a writ of *quo warranto*, or an information in the nature of a *quo warranto*.

If a candidate has been lawfully elected to an office, but a canvassing board has, through error, honest or dishonest, deprived him of his office, he has his remedy in the courts, to which he is just as lawfully entitled as he is to his remedies when he is deprived of his lands, his goods, or his liberty. The people, too, who have voted for him, and through whose votes he has been elected, have their right to be served by this officer whom they have chosen, and if they are deprived of this right, they have their remedy in the courts. And the proceeding in the court is always, in form, in the name of the people.

The action of a simple board of canvassers has never been held final in any court. Whether under the Constitution the power to count the electoral vote be vested in the President of the Senate, or in the Senate and House of Representatives, the power is and can be only the power to "count." Undoubtedly there may arise, at the time of "counting" of the electoral votes, questions as to the regularity of papers, or as to the qualifications of electors, that must then and there be, as it were, judicially determined. But the persons there assembled, under the Constitution, to "count" the electoral votes, are and can be nothing but a board of canvassers. They never were intended to constitute a court, to finally hear and determine a judicial contest as to the title to an office. There are no parties before them; they have no issues to be heard. They are legislators, converted for the time being into a returning board. Undoubtedly whoever is, upon the count then made, declared elected by the votes of the "electors," whether those electors have been legally or illegally appointed, will be *de facto* President of the United States. His acts will all be valid until he is ousted by a court of competent jurisdiction.

There is, however, unless I am greatly mistaken, a court of competent jurisdiction to oust him, in case he has been elected in the manner above supposed.

I do not, of course, intend here to make a legal argument, or to consider in detail objections that, I am well aware, would be brought forward against the views here taken. But one or two of them may, perhaps, be briefly considered with advantage.

All lawyers are aware that this writ or information will lie in a State court to try the title to any State office, unless it be that of the chief Executive of the State. And it will be conceded, I think, that the writ or information will lie in a United States court to try the title to a United States office, unless it be that of the chief Executive of the United States. It seems to me clear (I may, of course, be mistaken), and the authorities seem to support the position, that there can be no distinction drawn, as to either the right or the remedy, between a State office and a United States office. And the only objection that seems to me plausible is the one that the writ will not lie to try the title to office of the chief Executive, though it might lie to try the title to office of a subordinate officer. And I presume the point urged would be, in some form or other, this: that the Executive is one independent co-ordinate branch of the Government, and the judiciary another, and one of these branches cannot exercise control over the other.

But this begs the whole question. Who is the Executive? That will be the very point in dispute. Undoubtedly, no court has the power to control any exercise of official discretion by the President. The point will be, not whether a court will control any official action of the President, but who is the President?

And who is to decide that question, the court or the one man who claims the office? Concede that this one man has been declared elected and that he is President *de facto;* who is to decide whether he is President *de jure?* As President *de facto* he is undoubtedly to execute the laws, but who has given him power to give judgments? Is he a court, and above all courts?

The courts of the United States adjudicate on all rights of all parties. The Supreme Court of the United States declares void acts of State legislatures and of the national legislature, acts of State executives and of the national Executive, acts of State courts and of the national courts. It enforces its decrees against private individuals, against State officials, against national officials, and against sovereign States. And are we to be told that there is one man in these United States who will set himself above those decrees? I think not.

But this point as to the independence of the Executive (it should be called his lawlessness) is not a new one. It was raised long ago in Massachusetts—not, indeed, in precisely this form—and it was then very clearly disposed of. The information was there brought to try the title to office of

a judge of probate who had been appointed by the Governor. And it was urged that this right of appointing was vested in the chief Executive; that he was to decide whether there was the occasion for appointing, and was to make the appointment; and that his exercise of this power could not be examined or questioned in a court. Chief-Justice Parsons disposed of this very conclusively. He said:

"Our Government is founded on principles not known to the laws of any other country. The sovereignty of the Commonwealth remains with the people. The several departments of the Government—the legislative, the executive, the judicial—are the *agents of the people* in their respective spheres. When the legislature enacts a law not authorized by the Constitution, it is the part and the duty of the judiciary to declare it void. When the executive, in any act or appointment, overleaps the bounds prescribed to it by the Constitution and the laws, it is alike the part and the duty of the judiciary to pronounce such act or appointment null and void. Where one is charged with usurping an office in the Commonwealth, there must be authority in the court to enquire into the truth of the charge."

And it so happens that, as to the office of chief Executive of a State, the very point here considered has been raised and decided in the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin, and the jurisdiction upheld, on grounds that cannot fail, I think, to command the thorough assent of every lawyer.

I quote a few sentences, for they state so clearly the points under consideration, and they carry weight:

"A contest arises between two citizens of the State, who were candidates for the office, as to who has received the higher number of votes; for whoever it may be who has received the highest number of votes, unless constitutionally ineligible, must be governor. So the Constitution declares. . . . Now, in what forum is this to be settled? Where and by whom is it to be determined as to who received the highest number of votes—by the legislature, by the executive, or by the judicial department of the Government? . . . The question again recurs, what power of the Government can give a specific and adequate remedy? What power of the Government is to settle the controversy? I think the conclusion is irresistible that it is the judicial power. If the contest cannot be settled in the court of this State, it cannot be settled at all; and if redress cannot come from that source, it can only come in a violent manner by revolution."

These cases decide that, the matter being properly before them, the courts are bound to take cognizance of the suit, and determine the title. Undoubtedly there should be nothing but peaceable and orderly legal procedure. There should be no lawless violence. But I cannot think it expedient, in any point of view, that a number of political adventurers should be allowed (if they have done so) to decide by false counting the election of President of the United States; and I do not think that we shall promote "preservation of constitutional forms" by refusing to use constitutional remedies in cases like this. And if it be the fact (I do not say it is the fact) that a fraud has been committed on the people of the United States by which a man is illegally declared President, and the laws afford the constitutional remedy for such a wrong (as I confidently believe they do), then that remedy should be used.

Whatever may be the evils existing in Louisiana or in South Carolina, they are most certainly not to be righted by a fraudulent election of a President. If there has been such a fraudulent election, it should be set aside by peaceable, lawful, constitutional procedure in the constitutional tribunal. And if there has been such a fraud and such a wrong, the party most immediately aggrieved—the defrauded candidate—owes a duty to the people of the United States to see that wrong remedied. His rights are of comparatively small moment; but the people have rights, and he is bound to use all the remedies of the law to their extremest limit to protect those rights.

ALBERT STICKNEY.

NEW YORK, Dec. 18, 1876.

Notes.

A BOLD translator, Herr L. Abenheim, has translated for Herr A. B. Auerbach's series of 'Philosophen der Neuen Welt' Dr. Holmes's 'Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.' The title offered the first difficulty, which was overcome by rendering it 'Der Tisch-Despot.' A cold sweat must have stood on Herr Abenheim when he attempted some of the humorous verses of the Autocrat. In translating the "One-Hoss Shay," for instance, he can find no equivalent for "one-hoss," and we must refer to the handsome and handy little volume itself any one who is curious to see how he wrestles with Germanic lines like

"When berries, huckle-, rasp-, and straw-,
Grow bigger *downwards* through the box."

On the other hand, it is interesting to see in their new garb Dr. Holmes's loftier flights, such as "The Two Armies" and "The Chambered Nautilus."——Mr. Jerome Hopkins's programme for the three yearly festivals in aid of his laudable Orpheon Society's Free Vocal Classes appoints the Christmas-tide Festival for Jan. 12, at Chickering Hall, the original feature of which is a series of tableaux after the great masters, illustrating the nativity of Christ. At the Spring-tide Festival Mr. Hopkins will bring out his new dramatic oratorio of "Samuel," to be performed in full costume at the Academy of Music.——The more or less important questions, "When, where, and by whom was the American flag first saluted?" seem to have been settled by Mr. B. F. Prescott, Secretary of State of New Hampshire. In a pamphlet called 'The Stars and Stripes' he produces documentary evidence from the Dutch archives which proves that Johannes de Graef, Governor of St. Eustatius in the West Indies, saluted the flag of the American ship *Andrew Doria* from the island fort Nov. 16, 1776. A portrait of the spirited Dutch Governor was presented to the State of New Hampshire nearly forty years ago, and now hangs in the Representatives' Hall.——We are glad to learn that the desire of the citizens of Philadelphia to recognize the invaluable services of Mr. John Welsh, President of the Finance Committee of the late International Exhibition, has taken the shape of endowing in his name a professorship at the University of Philadelphia, and erecting there a commemorative tablet. The sum of $50,000 has nearly been raised for that purpose.——One of the successful improvisations of the Centennial was the *New Century for Woman*, an eight-page weekly, and "an exhibit of woman's work throughout, from the compositors' stands to the editorial room." The editor was Mrs. Sarah C. Hallowell, a well-known writer for the press as well as author. Some attempt appears to have been made to test the expediency of continuing the paper after the close of the Exhibition. Naturally the pecuniary prospect, especially in these times, was not flattering, and we therefore have to regret the suspension of the *New Century*, which, emancipated from the restraints of its semi-official character, would have proved not merely a rival but a useful example to the *Woman's Journal*.——Mr. E. Steiger sends us the prospectus, list of contributors, and specimen pages of Kiddle and Schem's 'Cyclopædia of Education.' We refrain from judging it by detached and incomplete articles. The scope of the work seems to be very broad.

—Two important volumes (ix. and x.) have recently been added to the series of quarto reports of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories (Hayden's), and fully maintain the standard of excellence of preceding volumes. Mr. F. B. Meek's work, forming vol ix., and consisting of pp. lxiv., 609, with 45 lithographic plates of about 1,000 figures, is 'A Report on the Invertebrate Cretaceous and Tertiary Fossils of the Upper Missouri Country,' in which all the known genera, subgenera, species, and varieties of the invertebrate fauna of the region are fully described and figured. The genera number about 120, the subgeneric divisions, 170, and the species, with their varieties, over 300. Most of the species and not a few of the genera are here for the first time illustrated. The unwearied patience and extreme conscientiousness which Mr. Meek brings to all his work are well known to palæontologists, and, when it is considered that the best energies of some thirty years have been given with little interruption to the study of these fossil forms, the great value of the present memoir, which represents the chief outcome of such protracted labors, will be appreciated. Mr. Meek has long been a leader in his specialties, and this, his principal treatise, at once becomes of the highest authority. The "Upper Missouri Country" includes the region between that great river and the Rocky Mountains north of the Platte and south of the parallel of 49°. The invertebrate fauna appears to be of a peculiar *facies*, as but few of the species represented there occur in the Old World, or even east of the Mississippi (there, all from the cretaceous). The elaborate introduction notices the origin and progress of palæontological research in this country, describes the fossiliferous formations, and discusses the relations of the cretaceous to that of other parts of the United States and of the Old World. The questions respecting the relations of the lignites, which have been the occasion of so much discussion and contrariety of opinion, are reviewed, and it is maintained that they belong partly to the cretaceous and partly to the tertiary periods.

—A work of co-ordinate value in its own department of zoölogy is Dr. A. S. Packard's 'Monograph of the Geometrid Moths,' an exhaustive treatise which amply deserves the appellation of "monograph," now too often given to comparatively superficial articles. This elaborate memoir of the *Phalænidæ* entomologists must regard as opportune in the present state of our knowledge of the subject, and of the highest value, not only as a compilation of the literature of the group, but for the amount of original

matter which it contains. How much labor has been expended upon the genera and species only those conversant with the subject can rightly estimate, and the same may be said of the bibliographical matter, which, though always incidental to the leading features of a work of this character, nevertheless makes heavy drafts upon the naturalist's energies. The probable number of species of *Phalænidiæ* of our country is estimated by the author at nearly a thousand, between three and four hundred of which are elaborately described. To classify them, the reverse of the usual order is adopted, the author beginning with the lower and going on to the higher forms. In nomenclature Dr. Packard adopts the Hübnerian genera. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the thirteen beautiful and accurate plates which adorn as well as illustrate this admirable treatise. They are fairly crowded with figures, the author being by this means enabled to illustrate so large a number of species at comparatively moderate expense. We understand that another volume, the eleventh, of this quarto series of reports of original researches is rapidly passing the press, and will shortly appear, doubtless to date 1877. This volume will contain a series of ten memoirs on the several families of North American *Rodentia*, to be entitled 'Monographs of North American Rodentia.' The authors are Dr Elliott Coues, U.S.A., and Mr. J. A. Allen of Cambridge. Among other recent publications relating to surveys made under Government auspices we notice the report of S. T. Abert on a "survey of a line to connect the waters of the Neuse and Cape Fear Rivers in North Carolina, and of a line to connect the waters of Norfolk Harbor in Virginia with the waters of Cape Fear River at or near Wilmington in North Carolina" (U. S. Eng. Dept., Sen. Ex. Doc., 4th Congr., No. 35), which contains much matter of value on the physical geography of the maritime portions of Virginia and North Carolina, the changes in depth and extent of the Sound, their origin and mode of operation, etc.

—The illustrated gift-books of the season, of home manufacture, are not intrinsically important. Those which lie upon our table are mainly reprints of poems that seemed to lend themselves to artistic embellishment. Moreover, either to a large extent or wholly, the designs have been made by women. Thus, in the new edition of Dr. Holland's 'Mistress of the Manse' (Scribner), by far the most elegant of the volumes before us, Miss Mary A. Hallock furnishes the frontispiece and five other illustrations; Miss Helena De Kay, four flower vignettes, which she is extremely fortunate in having engraved by Mr. Henry Marsh; and Miss Fidelia Bridges, one illustration of a bobolink perched upon a stalk. We cannot see that the work of these ladies fails to maintain itself by the side of their more practised compeers, Messrs. Edwin A. Abbey, Thomas Moran, Alfred Fredericks, and A. R. Waud. Miss Hallock's art lies in figure-drawing, and her women and children strike us as being good in a way that shows the sex of the designer. Male artists too often ring the changes on the same model, even if they are careful to change the costume of their heroine. Miss Hallock's hand is seen again in W. F. Gill & Co.'s edition of Bayard Taylor's 'National Ode,' and though she contributes but two designs they are at once perhaps the most striking and the most satisfactory of all the number with which the volume is overloaded The second one, to be sure, is defective in drawing and in the action called for—

> "Pluck them [thy garments] back, with the old disdain,
> From touch of the hands that stain!"

—but it has a freshness of fancy in bright contrast with some of the regulation melodramatic designs which accompany it. Miss L. B. Humphrey serves a less exacting muse when she illustrates 'Oh, Why should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud' (Lee & Shepard) and 'Hold the Fort!' (W. F. Gill & Co.) Her hand appears somewhat uneven, and we could hardly decide whether her forte is in figures or landscape. For the latter she seems to have some feeling, but her tree-forms show defective study. Her initial letters are only rarely successful.

—Gift-books of another sort than the foregoing are 'The Tiber and the Thames' and Mr. Edward C. Bruce's 'The Century: its Fruits and its Festival,' both of which the Messrs. Lippincott reprint from their magazine. The illustrations in the former volume are a little antiquated, those in the latter frequently a little bald, as in the outline "keys" to the pictures in the Art Gallery at the Exhibition. We do not know, however, of any better *collection* of articles on the Centennial than these of Mr. Bruce's, in spite of the writer's labored efforts to lighten the weight of his statistics by the amenities of his literary style. From the same publishers we have received 'An Illustrated History of Painters of all Schools,' a work based on M. Louis Viardot's contribution to 'Les Merveilles de la Peinture,' but enlarged to the extent of a dictionary of reference by gleanings from all sources. Living painters are not included. The American school is allotted the final chapter. A chronological arrangement by schools is supplemented by an alphabetical index. We remember so many of the illustrations that we judge that none were engraved expressly for this work, which still makes a very presentable appearance. Admirers of Edgar A. Poe will be pleased with a Memorial Volume edited by Miss Sara Sigourney Rice (Turnbull Bros.), to which Mr. John H. Ingram contributes a sketch of the poet's life, and Col. J. T. L. Preston some reminiscences of him as a school-boy. The history of the monument to Poe lately erected at Baltimore, and of its dedication, is also related with interesting details. Besides a view of the shaft, there is an admirable photograph of Poe (from an early daguerreotype), and Miss Rice has appended fac-similes of letters addressed to her on the subject of the monument by the most eminent poets of the Old and New World. We conclude our list with mention of Little, Brown & Co.'s one-volume edition of Clough's Plutarch's Lives. Published in 1859 in five volumes, it is now contained between two covers, and fills nearly eight hundred octavo pages of easy print. As a gift-book for all times and seasons we need not dilate upon its merits. Unlike those already described, it has no pictures, and needs none. Or would some one perhaps think the Commemoration Ode "illustrated" by having a portrait of Lincoln placed above the line—

> "And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face."

—The *World* some weeks ago took up the defence of the Rev. Dr. Taylor against the strictures of the *Nation* on his arguments about Evolution. That is to say, it did not pronounce the arguments good, but it said that the treatment of him was shameful. We are pleased now to find the *quid pro quo* in Dr. Taylor's paper, the *Christian at Work*, of last week, and gladly copy his eulogy on the *World*:

> "The *World*—whatever be its politics—was never so readable and able a paper as now, and we are glad, too, to see its valuable influence given to the cause of evangelism. Its editorial writers tilt sharp lances at times; and in the cause of a true and hearty religion can render effective service in the tournament of to-day. There is no earthly reason why religious papers should monopolize religion. You might as well try to monopolize the atmosphere."

Now let us hear the *World* on the *Christian at Work*. This spirit of mutual confidence and respect between two leading organs of "true and hearty religion" will, we are sure, give widespread satisfaction.

—Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Mycenæ seem likely to prove as fruitful both in "finds" and in controversy as those at Troy. A cable despatch to the *Herald* repeats a despatch of Dr. Schliemann's to King George informing him of the discovery of "the monuments which the tradition related by Pausanias indicates as the tombs of Agamemnon, Cassandra, Eurymedon, and their companions." He adds that in these tombs he has found "immense archæological treasures and numbers of articles of pure gold," all of which he freely surrenders to the Greek Government. In the *Academy* of Nov. 18 Prof. Sayce gives an interesting résumé of the discoveries up to that date. According to Dr. Schliemann, the walls belong to three distinct periods, and in the oldest and lowest portions resemble the architecture of Tiryns. The tombstones uncovered, four and five feet high, are often adorned with sculptures having Etruscan parallels, while the pottery indicates a connection with the East through Phœnicia. Bronze objects have been found in abundance, along with stone implements, including two hatchets of diorite, and iron keys, arrow-heads, and knives. Glass beads, fragments of a lyre and a flute, painted and crystal vases, and a wooden comb, are still other objects enumerated. The inscriptions thus far are not numerous nor clearly decipherable.

—For the especial benefit, seemingly, of those who like to be taken into the literary workshop of a great author, there have recently been printed half a hundred unpublished dramatic fragments of Lessing's—'Vierundfünfzig zum Theil noch ungedruckte Dramatische Entwürfe und Plane' (Berlin: Gustav Hempel; New York: L. W. Schmidt). They fill a separately printed half of the eleventh volume of the new complete edition of Lessing now publishing under the direction of several German critics and scholars. The book is a fair specimen of the merits and demerits of German work; but the editing is excellent and apparently exhaustive. Nine of the fifty-four dramatic sketches and plans here arranged in chronological order now appear in print for the first time, at least in full. They are all accompanied by lucid and copious notes, and by full references to the correspondence and other works of the author, and to the numerous biographies of him or his associates, whenever these can shed any light on the history or subject of any sketch. The plans vary in length from a few lines of his collectanea, merely suggesting a subject for dramatic treatment, to the three full and progressive drafts of the 'Matrone von Ephesus,' filling

thirty pages. We have here what remains of his sketch of a tragedy on the story of Virginia, a story which he afterwards modernized in his tragedy of 'Emilia Galotti.' We are shown just how far he had proceeded with his 'Faust,' and we have fifty pages filled with his early studies for 'Nathan der Weise.' We find of course ample proof of his intimacy with English dramatic literature, of his intimacy indeed with the drama of almost all literatures. There are versions and imitations and fragments here of plays by Lee and by Thomson, by Regnard and by Marivaux, by Calderon, by Goldoni, and by Plautus; and we can see that from the study of these he did not hesitate to descend to the mapping out of "Nachspiele mit Hanswurst," confirming his confession that he would rather see a brisk, healthy farce than a lame and sickly tragedy after the correct tediousness of Gottsched.

LANFREY'S NAPOLEON I.*

THE general character of Lanfrey's work and its manifold and great merits neither need nor ought to be the subject of this review, for in these respects we have, to the best of our ability, tried to do the author justice in speaking of vols. i. and ii. If we confine ourselves to more particularly pointing out some of the principal defects, therefore, we do not intend to convey the impression that, in our opinion, more blame than praise is due to the work. We merely wish to indicate in what respects the reader ought to be more especially on his guard not to take without further proof the views of the author for incontestable historical truth.

Lanfrey is too intensely bent upon proving the moral depravity of his "hero." Black never appears more black than with white as background. Tempting as this effect of contrasts is, the historian, before ever making use of it, ought to think over it not twice but ten times. In nine times out of ten either the black has not been black or the white not white, and generally both have been different shades of grey. Now, it is true the more we get hold of the authentic documents the harder it becomes to paint Napoleon too black. But the white which Lanfrey so frequently uses has been very far from being anything like white. The view he takes of the French Revolution in its first stages no historian who is not a Frenchman can share in our days; and his lack of criticism with regard to this period often leads him to make the most astonishing distortions of the true historical perspective even so late as 1806 and 1807. One hardly trusts one's eyes in reading a sentence like this: "Hitherto [until after the collapse of Prussia at Jena and Auerstaedt], in spite of all the acts of violence and treachery which had dispelled their illusions, the nations had continued to regard her (France) as an instrument of deliverance and liberation" (p. 3). It seems that it was particularly so with the Germans, for: "Yet [*i.e.*, in spite of the sacking of towns, which 'a shot fired from one house was often sufficient' to bring about] the Germans received our soldiers with kindness, and, in consideration of their light-hearted, thoughtless gaiety, they constantly pardoned them the confusion they caused wherever they appeared" (p. 250). Thus the Germans are said to have felt in 1803, before the rising of the Spaniards, while in 1796 the retreating columns of Jourdan were so pursued and harassed by the peasants of Franken that "their losses in men and arms by this petty peasants' war equalled the losses of a battle"

Such glaring blunders only occur where the author tries to describe the general situation, and especially the state of public feeling, in a few words, and there is perhaps not one which he himself does not contradict in some other place. This proves that they are not to be ascribed to a want of knowledge. They are, in fact, committed unconsciously, for a more honest and truth-loving writer one could not find. But Lanfrey is too zealous a moralist to be a perfectly reliable historian, and his moralizing propensities converge too sharply upon a single person not to mislead his judgment with regard to other persons even more than with regard to Napoleon. The Emperor Alexander may serve as an example. Speaking of him up to the time of the Treaty of Tilsit, Lanfrey says: "He was . . . weary of his disinterestedness, so ill-rewarded. . . . Was this the reward for the numberless sacrifices which he had made for the independence of all? Had Russian territory or the national honor for a moment been threatened? No; all that Alexander had done he had done with chivalrous and disinterested views, in the belief that it was for the general good, for European public right, for civilization; and if the illusions of youth and self-love had had any influence over his determinations, they had at least been pure from all selfish and narrow ambition" (pp. 85, 86). Now let us hear another eminent historian. Haeusser writes: "For six years we have seen the Czar entangled in a policy in which nothing is steady except the unsteady ambition everywhere and at every time to play the first part. Now on friendly terms with Bonaparte, now in bitter enmity to him; at first busy with France to divide Germany, and then the very soul of the coalition of 1805; now pliant, then defiant; always ready with big words, and yet never efficient in either deeds or means; to-day driven forward by the deep-rooted spirit of Russian conquest, to-morrow announcing mediation and the restoration of the shattered institutions (*Ordnungen*) of Europe, but always, no matter how the color changed, full of impatient thirst for power; always, even in philanthropic drapery, greedy for influence, profit, pre-eminence—thus, and never differently, Alexander's policy had appeared from the day on which he was called, over his father's corpse, to the throne." There are to-day certainly not many historians who would hesitate a single moment to award the prize to the latter portrait, though the majority of the public at large might still judge differently. Even in Russia itself one has long since learned to appreciate better the threadbare tinsel which the Frenchman—by no means always, but in this place—takes for genuine gold.

The attentive reader, who is wont to think for himself, will not find it very difficult to correct the more conspicuous mistakes of the two kinds mentioned, especially as Lanfrey himself furnishes sufficient material for it. Harder it is with regard to the erroneous details into which the author is betrayed because his knowledge of the facts is not sufficiently extended. Direct misstatements, though not entirely lacking, do not occur very frequently; but the events often appear in a false light, because important details are entirely disregarded, or an importance is attributed to details which neither have been nor ever could have been of great consequence. The part played by Ney and the Prussians with regard to the battle of Eylau may serve as an illustration of the blunders of the first kind. Lanfrey says: "Napoleon had all his army with him, except . . . and Ney's corps, which was engaged a little distance off with Lestocq's Prussians, *whom he neutralized*" (p. 37). "Ney, who had been recalled from Kreutzberg a little later, was to complete the issue of the battle" (p. 39); . . . "he [Lestocq] deployed his eight thousand men." "Lestocq, *escaping* from Ney's pursuit with a portion of his *corps d'armée*." "Ney, who after several hours *lost in useless skirmishes*" (p. 41). Now as to the facts. Not a word is said of the action at Waltersdorf on February 5. There six battalions and ten squadrons of Prussians were completely crushed by the overwhelming numbers of Ney's troops, but they fought so desperately that this action was the main reason for Ney's not arriving in time on the battle-field of Eylau, which would have secured the victory to Napoleon. Furthermore, Lestocq did not steal away from Ney's pursuit, and Ney could not help those useless skirmishes which cost him so many precious hours. Lestocq was able to effect his decisive march to Althof because the few companies of fusiliers and the small number of cavalry he had left behind sacrificed themselves by contesting every inch of ground, while steadily retreating, to Ney's corps until late in the afternoon—*i.e.*, as long as it was necessary. Finally, Lestocq had not eight thousand, but barely six thousand men.

If Lanfrey had known or duly appreciated these details, the Prussians at Eylau would have been to him a better "sign of the times" than the *Tugendbund*, which certainly also has a very good claim to be regarded as such, but of whose character and weight Mr. Lanfrey conveys a very erroneous idea. He says of it: "The organization of the *Tugendbund* very much resembled that adopted later by the Carbonari. . . . The association . . . silently prepared its forces, awaiting the hour of national rising. The highest as well as the lowest were proud of being affiliated to it. . . . Before long the soil of ancient Germany was covered with similar associations, grafted on to this head institution. The governments being forced, as all private individuals were, to dissimulate and to make use of none but secret and evasive measures, thoroughly seconded this vast conspiracy" (p. 282). The programme of the association, according to its own statements, was to spread "patriotism, uprightness, attachment to the monarch and the constitution, religiousness, firm resistance against immorality, vice, and artificialness, love of science and art, humanity, and fraternal feeling," and to increase "the virtues of courage, hope, frankness, and bodily vigor, as well as the hatred against adulation, fawning, and effeminacy" On the 30th of June, 1808, the association received the sanction of the king; in the beginning of 1809 it numbered three to four hundred members. After the failure of the insurrections of 1809 (principally Schill's raid), with which the association had nothing at all to do, it lost its vigor and activity, and on December 31, 1809, the king decreed its dissolution. Long before that many of the members had lost their faith in it. Stein had never thought much of it, and Gneisenau, whom Lanfrey names as one of the most active mem-

* 'The History of Napoleon I.' By P. Lanfrey. Vol. III. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

bers, stood in intimate relations with only a very few of them. Yet it certainly was not lost labor. A number of influential men had been brought into personal contact, the impulse to a "vast conspiracy" had been given, the best men of the nation conspired to effect its *moral regeneration*—really a striking similarity between the *Tugendbund* and the *Carbonari*. One could have wished to hear a little more of this moral conspiracy. We hear nothing of Jahn's exertions "to reaccustom an effeminate generation to the open air"; not a word is said about the revival of true religiousness; in vain we search for the names of Fichte and Schleiermacher.

We have dwelt thus long on the battle of Eylau and the *Tugendbund* in order to emphasize still more strongly what has already been noted in the reviews of vols. i. and ii. What we then asserted, Lanfrey, in this volume, directly acknowledges to be true. In a note on page 24 he says: "I am indebted to a distinguished military writer, M. Guillaume Rumpf, for a great deal of valuable information on German works and documents relating to the campaigns of 1806–7, and not translated into French." What would be said of an American or English historian writing the history of the American Revolution without consulting any of the French sources except those which may happen to be translated into English? And as in that case it would be simply impossible to write a really satisfactory history of the War of Independence, so it is simply impossible to write a really satisfactory history of Napoleon I. without any knowledge of the German sources not translated either into French or any other language. At the time of the "vast conspiracy" just spoken of Villers wrote to Steffens: "You would be completely lost if you did not write in a language which to the French is an absolutely incomprehensible Sanskrit." It is not only astonishing, but also very much to be regretted, that this cutting remark still so often applies to French scholars of Lanfrey's high standing.

AN AMERICAN AND AN ENGLISH NOVEL.*

THE keynote of 'Mercy Philbrick's Choice' is given in the opening lines of the story, in the sentence in which we are told that there is "something pathetic" in the attempt to put fences round small gardens. The authoress takes the pathetic view not only of fences, but of things in general. We wish, by the way, that the adjective in question could be excluded for ten good years from the literature of New England, in which of late it has played a very active part. Mercy Philbrick is a young widow from Cape Cod, who comes, with her invalid mother, to occupy, in a small inland town, the wing of a house of which a certain Stephen White is the lessee. The young lady is a poetess of remarkable talent, whose verses exert much influence upon her contemporaries. These verses are, in too liberal a measure, reproduced in the pages of the tale. Stephen White is a young man of an "artistic temperament," burdened also with the care of an invalid mother, who, however, unlike the aged parent of Mercy Philbrick, is an intolerable scold. In spite of his artistic temperament, he bears his cross with the meekness of a Catholic saint of legend, and his "sweet reasonableness," as Matthew Arnold has it, wins for him the affection of the frigid Sappho of the wing—or, as the author terms it, the jag. Nothing particular happens between them until towards the end of the book, when Stephen White finds behind the chimney-piece a bag of gold, concealed there by the owner of the house, which he exultantly appropriates, with the view of procuring for his mother some of those comforts which their poverty has hitherto kept out of her reach. Against this conduct Mrs. Philbrick violently protests, representing to him that the money properly belongs to a certain Mrs. Jacobs, a destitute old woman, some time owner of the house, and from whom he has been holding a mortgage on the same. This mortgage he has just foreclosed. Stephen White declines to surrender the bag, and the strenuous Mercy, who has lately lost her mother, threatens, in case he keeps it, to "inform the authorities." Stephen White, foregoing his lifelong mildness, tells her she may do as she will; but she contents herself with saying she will never look at him again, and devotes the rest of her life to literary composition. The "choice" mentioned in the title is between studious solitude and marriage with a man of questionable honesty.

This little story is more noticeable for something typical and characteristic in its tone than for any especial force or brilliancy. It reads like a Sunday tract, enlarged and improved; and yet we must add that in the author's part of the work, as it may be called, there is nothing disagreeable. She has done her work—the work is plainly a woman's—with evident zeal and care, and bestowed much serious sentiment and thought upon it. But the subject is rather too thankless; the three or four people she has put forward are hopelessly disagreeable. New England life is not the most picturesque in the world, but there is something regrettable in this pale, unlighted representation of a dry and bloodless population, and a style of manners farther removed from the spectacular than a cranberry-bog from a vineyard. The typical part of it is that in certain circles there is an extreme relish for histories of sternly moralistic young women, whose social horizon is bounded on one side by the vines trained round their picture-frames, on another by a system of feeble casuistry, and on another by poetical contributions to the magazines. Mercy Philbrick is haunted by the fear "of appearing to like her friend more than she really did"—the fear of telling wicked lies for the sake of good manners. We must declare that, in spite of her "great gift" of creating a "vitalized individuality" in rooms (the author admits that this accomplishment is hard to define), she was decidedly too angular and pedantic a young woman. And what put it into the author's head to make her a poetess and endow her with the "poetic temperament"? These things do not at all hang together. Poets are not a literal but an imaginative folk, devoted to seeing the charm, the joke, of things—to finding it where it may be, and slipping it in where it is not. It is an equal oddity to talk about Stephen White's "artistic temperament." He is very vague—we don't particularly see him; but we are told that when Mercy offers to embrace him, he "puts her away with almost a reproof," and that, after spending a more lover-like evening with her than this conduct would seem to make possible, he wastes no time on his pillow in thinking it over, but goes stupidly to sleep. His conduct about the bag of gold is certainly very shabby, and the reader, on being made acquainted with it, feels injured at having been talked to during two hundred and fifty pages about so ill-conditioned a young man. There is something puerile in making him the pivot of the history of a lady whose "influence as a writer was very great." He is of a very secretive turn, and when he walks with Mercy he insists "upon going in by-ways and lanes, lest some one should see them who might mention it to his mother." Of Mercy we are told that "truth, truth, truth was still the war-cry of her soul"; so that she naturally objects to these underhand proceedings. But it is a mistake to have made her fall in love at all with a youth of such slender virility. The authoress was very welcome to choose a hero who should be characterized by interesting weaknesses, but in the choice of these weaknesses she has not been happily inspired.

We must mention Parson Dorrance, the town minister and college professor, who has also had a cross to bear—a cross almost exactly similar to those of Mercy and Stephen. His wife has been an invalid for twenty-five years, and his career has been fatally obstructed by his having to sit with her for days, holding her hand. He has performed this task with heroic devotion, and on the death of his wife he proposes to Mercy to marry him. She answers characteristically that "it would not be right." Whereupon Parson Dorrance, convicted, apparently, with singular promptitude of an impropriety, asks her if she "will let him be just as he was before." She says she will try, and he kisses her hair and departs. He is a venerable gentleman, with a daughter of Mercy's age; and in her sketch of him the author has not avoided the suggestion of disagreeable models. She shows a curious monotony of fancy in giving exactly the same background to the lives of each of her figures. An elderly female invalid of an exacting temper is in each case the governing influence. Does the author mean to suggest that this is the universal background of New England lives? What a dreary generalization! Indeed, the extreme dreariness of this little tale—the mingled blackness and tameness of its subject-matter—is most surprising. Why should the mother of the ladylike Mercy be represented as speaking a barbarous dialect of the "American humor" family? Mercy dies at a hotel at a summer resort in the White Mountains. If the book had less feebleness, we should say it exhibited much purity of imagination.

It has, however, a crystalline purity as compared with the latest production of the remarkable author of 'Cometh up as a Flower.' If there is something typical in the tone of 'Mercy Philbrick's Choice,' there is in 'Joan' an even more forcible suggestion of the social *milieu* from which it has sprung. The contrast is curious, and is altogether to the advantage of the American tale. If the latter is written for the edification of circles in which young ladies commune with their consciences over the question whether they have not seemed to like their friends more than they really do, this is a nobler range of speculation than any that we find alluded to in 'Joan.' 'Joan' and its sister-productions are, we believe, devoured by

* 'Mercy Philbrick's Choice. No Name Series.' Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.
'Joan. By Rhoda Broughton.' London: Bentley; New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

the young ladies of England, among whom the appearance of a new work by Miss Broughton is a literary event of high importance. To form an idea of what the English manufacture of fashionable fiction has come to when such productions as these are possible, the present tale must be attentively perused. The reflections it suggests will be found worth the trouble. 'Mercy Philbrick's Choice' is a very rare and perfect work of art in comparison—so much so that it is really almost an offence to couple it, however discriminatingly, with such a farrago of puerility and nastiness, inanity and vulgarity. But both books have been successful, and it is interesting to see what it is that "takes" in different communities. In one, to make a hit, there must be a balancing of moral questions, and a nice adjustment of righteousness in the walk and conversation of heroes and heroines; society must be represented as much preoccupied with ethical hair-splitting, and as addicted to no grosser form of sensuality than the decoration of rooms with green twigs and vines, and the enjoyment of the "vitalized individuality" so produced. In the other, there must be strapping young Guardsmen, with "race-horse nostrils," who frequent country-houses, and profit by the occasion of presenting bedroom-candles to young ladies to keep hold of their hands. There must be a great deal of talk about legs and shoulders, horses and dogs, and the "longevity" of first kisses. There must be about as little delicacy as may be found in the higher walks of Hottentot society, and an English style which reads like a backward school-girl's burlesque of 'Guy Livingstone.' On one side, in short, there must be allusions to "high planes," and on the other to those phenomena of human life which it is indecent to treat otherwise than by allusion. Both stories, written by women, are addressed virtually to young girls; and it is in view of this fact that 'Joan' is especially remarkable. 'Joan' is the product of an age in which young girls must be supplied with a strongly-seasoned literary article for their own especial consumption. It must keep within the traditional limits of this species of literature; it must deal with the beautiful young orphan who becomes a governess, and captivates the tall young men who visit the family, etc. But, as young girls have become "fast," as they say in England, the novel must in tone keep up with them, and while it remains ostensibly deadly stupid, must insidiously furnish them with the emotions in which "fastness" delights. Miss Broughton's insidiousness is like the gambols of an elephant; but it is curious to see how she fulfils the conditions required of her—by what immaturity and crudity of art, what coarseness of sentiment and vacuity of thought.

Children's Holiday Books.—Certainly the title of 'We Boys' (Roberts Bros.) is a challenge to youthful readers; but the sub-title frankly warns them off by confessing that the story was written "for the amusement of pa's and ma's in general, Aunt Lovisa in particular." We are safe, therefore, in passing it over to those for whom it was intended. Whether or not it have the calculated effect on their risibles, they can hardly be insensible to its total unfitness to be placed in the hands of children.

Miss Alcott's 'Rose in Bloom' (Roberts Bros.), being a sequel to her 'Eight Cousins,' requires a previous acquaintance with the latter work. Rose, who returns from Europe, is engaged as the story ends; but as the line between what is juvenile reading and what is not must be drawn somewhere, we suppose childish curiosity in regard to her married life will not be gratified. Her lover seeks to give a direction to her blooming and unfolding, and hands her Emerson's 'Essays,' with marked passages and leaves turned down; tells her that Emerson "has done more to set young men and women thinking than any man in this century at least"; quotes "my Thoreau" at her, by way of "poetical reproof"; and easily beguiles her into correspondence on the subject of her reading. Mac's declaration and subsequent courtship take us to the utmost verge of fiction for minors.

'Long Ago' (Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) has no plot and no pretensions to any. The writer, a young grandmother, if we understand an allusion in her prefatory verses, recalls for her children the events of her own childhood, with her brothers and sisters for the principal characters. The narrative is vivacious, the incidents of a kind to appeal directly to childish imaginations. "Pa's and ma's in general" are not invited to this entertainment, which is in good faith spread for "May, George, and Harry" and their little contemporaries. These will not trouble themselves with our doubts as to the exact date of this "long ago." We have found it hard to unite in one grandmotherly period "Look out for the engine when the bell rings," negro minstrels, "the Brighton road" (the scene of the story is laid in the vicinity of Boston), "a huge cooking-stove" standing beside the brick-oven not yet wholly in disuse, Germania concerts, "Johnny Schmoker," the 'Swiss Family Robinson,' and Fourth of July floral processions from "the chapel" to the Common. But, as we have said, this is none of our business, and we can only congratulate "Ellis Gray" on her success with her chosen audience.

Picture-book first and story-book afterwards is a proper description of 'The Prattler' (Lippincott), a series of short stories adapted to a medley of plates furnished by the publisher—a sort of book always in order, though often indifferently executed. In this case the execution is commendable, and, in spite of its inferior illustrations, we prefer 'The Prattler' to *Chatterbox*, although it must yield the palm to Mr. Stockton's 'Roundabout Rambles.'

When we have mentioned Prof. Hoffmann's 'Modern Magic,' and added that it is published by Routledge in a stout 12mo of 500 pages, freely illustrated, we have said enough to make every boy clamor for it. Prof. Hoffmann's aim is to furnish a complete wizard's course of instruction, and that careful study of his directions will turn out very good parlor magicians we do not doubt.

Something better than sleight of hand is manual dexterity in the arts, and youngsters who have already derived help in the use of tools from 'The Young Mechanic' or the late Sir Thomas Seaton's 'Manual of Fret Cutting and Wood Carving' will be encouraged to make an essay at wood-engraving. Especially is this true of boys who have printing-presses, and their name is legion. We smuggle in here a notice of Milton Bradley & Co.'s Little Engraver's Cabinet (Springfield, Mass), on the strength of a practical treatise on the art which accompanies it. Of the treatise itself we will only say that in a dozen pages it tells all that is necessary to a good start in wood-cutting. The cabinet, which is sold at a very low price, contains four tools (unmounted), two drawing triangles, tracing-paper, and six blocks prepared for the design, of which three are of box wood and two of a coarser wood for experiments. The pad, lens, and oil-stone must be procured separately. We hope that young artists, of both sexes, may under proper physical guidance avail themselves of this opportunity of amusing themselves and perhaps of giving pleasure to others.

'Snow-Shoes and Canoes,' by W. H. G. Kingston (Lippincott), purports to describe the early days of a fur-trader in the Hudson's Bay Territory. We place it on our list not because it is written for children, nor simply because the heroes are youthful, but because it is an unpretentious narrative, easily understood and certain to interest. We might compare it with Gerstaecker's works, but the English author has less imagination and a much less graphic style than his German prototype. In fact, we rather recommend the story for its apparent adherence to facts and the small quantity of romance in it. It has much to tell of hunters, trappers, voyageurs, and Indians, and of the hardships of life, half a century ago, in the region now known as Manitoba. The author fails, from want of sympathy, to give a marked individuality to his characters, but he succeeds in persuading the reader that he is telling the truth. The volume is beautifully printed and bound.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Abbott (Rev. E.), Long-Look House	(Noyes, Snow & Co.)
Adams (W. T.), Young America in Spain and Portugal	(Lee & Shepard) $1 50
Aiken (J. R.), Gems of Prose and Poetry	(James Miller)
Aiken (J. T.), The History of Liberty	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)
Alcott (Louisa M.), Rose in Bloom	(Roberts Bros.) 1 50
Alger (H., jr.), Shifting for Himself: a Child's Story	(A. K. Loring) 1 50
Alvergnat (Prof. V.), Grammaire Française	(Clark & Maynard) 1 50
Amongst Machines	(G. P. Putnam's Sons)
Anderson (E. L.), Six Weeks in Norway	(Robt. Clarke & Co.)
Apples of Gold, Vol. V	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 00
Arnott (Dr. N.), Elements of Physics; or, Natural Philosophy, 7th ed	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Austin (Mrs. G. L.), Little People of God	(Lee & Shepard) 2 00
Baker (G. M.), Handy Dramas	(Lee & Shepard) 1 50
Bates (Mrs. C. D.), Classics of Babyland	(D. Lothrop & Co.) 50
Beardsley (Rev. E. E.), Life of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D.	(Hurd & Houghton) 2 50
Bennett (G. L.), Easy Latin Stories for Beginners	(Rivingtons)
Bishop (J. P.), Law of Nolle Prosequi in Criminal Cases, swd	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Bliss (P. P.), Hold the Fort: Illustrated	(Wm. F. Gill & Co.) 2 00
Boller (A. P.), On the Construction of Iron Highway Bridges	(John Wiley & Son)
Broadus (Rev. J. A.), Lectures on the History of Preaching	(Sheldon & Co.)
Broughton (Rhoda), Joan, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) 75
Bruce (E. C.), The Century: Its Fruits and its Festival	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Bushnell (Rev H.), Sermons of the New Life, revised ed	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 50
Sermons on Christ and His Salvation	" " 1 50
Cahun (L.), Adventures of Captain Mago	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 2 50
Castlemon (H.), Frank Nelson in the Forecastle	(Porter & Coates) 1 25
Chadwick (Rev. J. W.), A Book of Poems	(Roberts Bros.) 1 00
Champney (Lizzie W.), In the Sky-Garden	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 2 00
Chellis (Mary D.), Ten Cents	(Nat. Temp. Soc.)
Clough (A. H.), Plutarch's Lives	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Cox (Rev. G. W.), The Athenian Empire	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) 1 00
Cozzens (S. W.), The Young Trail Hunters	(Lee & Shepard) 1 50
Crane (W.), The Baby's Opera	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Davies (Rev. J.), Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Der kleine Lehrer, 4th ed, revised	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 75
Dillon (J. F.), Law of Municipal Bonds	(G. I. Jones & Co.)
Donald (J.), Chambers's Etymological Dictionary	(R. Worthington & Co.) 1 25
Douse (T. Le M.), Grimm's Law	(Trübner & Co.)
Edwards (Mrs. A.), A Point of Honor	(Sheldon & Co.)
English History in Short Stories	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Ewing (Juliana H.), Jan of the Windmill	(Roberts Bros.) 1 25
Farman (Ella), Mrs. Hurd's Niece	(D. Lothrop & Co.)
Farrar (Rev. F. W.), "In the Days of Thy Youth"	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 00
Life of Christ, 4 parts I.-V., swd	(E. P. Dutton & Co.) 25
Faunce (Rev. D. W.), A Young Man's Difficulties with his Bible	(Sheldon & Co.)
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1876.

The Week.

THERE is little change to report in the political situation beyond a decided strengthening of moderate and law-abiding opinion, and of hostility to the reckless and high-handed modes of settlement at first thought of on both sides. Mr. "Zach" Chandler still insists that Hayes has been surely elected, and that the Vice-President will surely declare him elected, and that nobody else has anything to say about it, and that he will be inaugurated peaceably or forcibly as the Democrats please, and that there is no room in the matter for any compromise or for any respectable difference of opinion about it, and so on; and the New York *Times* supports him in this view with a wonderful tick-tock accuracy and regularity. But somehow this sort of talk is disgusting the sensible portion of the community more and more. If it were not that General Grant is such an uncertain element in the problem, the prospect of a rational solution might be said to be increasing daily. That we shall by March 4 see the last of "Zach" and his politics we think may, in any case, be set down as certain. Nothing is more wonderful in reading the organs on both sides, when the public judgment stands in so much need of help and enlightenment, than to find how unfailingly all the members of the other party do wrong; how they lie and blunder whenever they speak; how they cheat whenever they act; and how wholly given up to the devil they are in all their works and ways, and what perfect models of holy living our own men are.

But in what way a rational solution of the problem will be reached is no plainer than it has been. For instance, if the Senate and House agree to go behind the face of the returns, and should throw out, say, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana on the Democratic demand, and Alabama and Mississippi on the Republican demand, would a majority of the remaining votes be sufficient for an election? The Republicans will probably support the affirmative, as it gives the majority to Hayes; the Democrats would oppose it in order to throw the election into the House. In fact, when we come to going behind the returns with a view to throwing out the votes of States, we find ourselves at once launched on a sea of difficulty. The Republicans have all along maintained that the "intimidation" in Alabama and Mississippi infused an element of fraud into Tilden's election which ought to invalidate it just as much as the tricks of the Returning Boards ought to invalidate Hayes's, and they are not likely to abandon this position. Then, again, the decision of the Supreme Court of Florida has been substantially that, "on a fair count," the vote of the State was due to Tilden. Now, if Congress throws out the vote of this State as cast in the Electoral College, will it substitute the new return of the Canvassing Board acting under the direction of the Supreme Court? Will the Republicans agree to this, knowing what its result will be? The fact is that, though the temper of both parties has improved, the difficulties in the way of any settlement which is not in the nature of a compromise appear more clearly than ever. Once a question of such magnitude gets off the beaten track of law and precedent, nothing is harder than to replace it without some surrender of claims and expectations. One of the schemes which begins to be talked of is another election, referring the whole matter again to the people. No solution would command so much respect as this; but then it would almost certainly result in the overwhelming defeat of Hayes, and is, therefore, an "immoral proposal," from the Republican point of view. Some effect may be produced by the Congressional enquiries; but our experience of the investigating powers of those bodies does not make us sanguine. The extent to which the Republicans, at least, have lost the sense of fair-play and have forgotten the decencies of judicial functions, is shown not simply in the partisan composition of the Returning Boards at the South, but in the conduct of men like General Garfield and Senator Sherman, going down as members of a party committee to make a party report on matters which were sure to come, and are now coming, before them in their judicial capacity in Congress.

The President of the Senate and the Chairman of the House having agreed upon the method of appointing the joint committee on the electoral count, the appointments have been made. The basis determined upon was four to three in both Houses—an arrangement which divides the committee evenly between the two parties. The Senate appointees are Messrs. Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Logan, Thurman, Bayard, and Ransom; those on the part of the House, Messrs. Payne, Hunton, Hewitt, Springer, McCrary, Hoar, and Willard. Both branches of the committee are fairly representative, but it is useless to attempt any speculations as to what the result of the conference will be. Mr. Morton is represented as criticising the appointment of Mr. Willard as altogether too "independent," though this, to a "sensitive man like Logan," is no doubt a recommendation. The two Houses have also come to an agreement on the holiday question by three-day adjournments over Christmas and New Year's, with the understanding that no business is to be transacted in the interval between the two recesses. The difficulty in the case has arisen from the Constitutional requirement that neither House shall adjourn, without the consent of the other, for more than three days at a time. No further business will be transacted, unless some extraordinary emergency arises, till January 3. The Oregon debate has terminated very satisfactorily in the passage of a resolution handing over the case to the Committee on Elections for investigation, Senator Mitchell having developed impartiality enough to adopt a preamble which simply recites the alleged facts without prejudging the case. The Senate has passed the Pension bill, and both Houses have voted to accept the statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams, presented by the State of Massachusetts. The best speeches on the occasion seem to have been those of Messrs Hoar and Garfield, Mr. Ingalls in the Senate having had the misfortune to refer to the "many eminent statesmen whom Massachusetts could claim as her sons"—a remark which, in the presence of the two sons who were just then taking a prominent part in the ceremony, must (as Nasby once said of the mention of the name of Lincoln at an Andy Johnson meeting) have "cast a gloom over the whole proceeding."

The House has adopted a report offered by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Knott, denying the privileged character of telegraphic communications, asserting the right to compel the production of messages in the same way as of books or papers, and the right to punish for contempt on refusal to obey or obstruction of the subpœna. This right has never been successfully questioned before, so far as we know, and should be distinguished from the attempt to extend it so as to cover the right of members of the House to employ their private servants to steal telegraphic messages passing over the wires. The matter was closed by a resolution directing the Speaker to have Barnes, the recusant manager at New Orleans, brought before the Bar of the House.

The stand made by the Western Union Telegraph Company in this matter led Mr. Hewitt to make a statement in the House that his letters had been opened in passing through the mails, and the newspaper reports represented him as saying that they had been opened in the New York Post-Office. This led

to a protest from Mr. James, the postmaster, and a Congressional enquiry, and it appeared that Mr. Hewitt's charge was based on information communicated by an anonymous letter, and apparently confirmed by the appearance of some of his letters which he showed to two or three friends. But this, apparently, is all that there was in the matter, and it seems a pity that Mr. Hewitt should have thought it worth mention. The enquiry, however, has had the good effect of confirming the public confidence in the management of the New York Post-Office, which we believe to be excellent in every respect—as good as any reform of the civil service could make it—and which, we trust, the new Administration, to whatever party it belongs, will take care to preserve.

The conflict between the House and the Western Union Company has an important bearing on the proposition for the transfer of the telegraph lines to the Government. Mr. Orton, the head of the Company, is a Republican politician, and is deeply interested in the success of the party. Of course, he is unwilling, as a party man, to have the secrets of the late campaign get into the possession of the Democrats, and his company proposes to have all the original messages destroyed hereafter at the earliest possible date after transmission, so that there may be no possibility of violating the rule of secrecy. There is no objection whatever to this—though it might, we suppose, be prevented by a statute—any more than there is to the destruction of letters by the receiver. Nevertheless, if all messages were destroyed on being sent, and the despatches destroyed on being received, a court of justice or a committee of Congress would still have the right, and it would be their duty, to discover the contents of messages sent, through the testimony (from recollection) of the sender, the receiver, or of the agent who transmitted them. Of course, in the case of destroyed messages, the last alternative would be very difficult. But if the telegraphs were transferred to the Government, and the telegraph office became a branch of the Post-Office, it would be practically impossible to get at any evidence in its possession, and, with the civil service in its present condition, we should have the party out of power either shut out from the use of the telegraph altogether, or else forced to allow all its secrets to be known to the party in power without the intervention of any subpœna. It would, to all intents and purposes, be a post-office in which the Government could read all the letters it thought worth opening and keep a copy of the contents for future use. The absurdity of the position taken by some of the Republicans in the House as to the telegram question is shown by a decision like that just given in a Baltimore court, in which the local managers of the Western Union and the Atlantic and Pacific Companies declined to produce original despatches on the same ground taken in the Congressional investigation. The judge immediately gave a verbal order for their production, and without any delay they were brought into court.

There is a rumor afloat at this writing that the President thinks of "supporting Hayes" by appointing Mr. Daniel E. Sickles District-Attorney for this district in place of its present "active and intelligent" incumbent, Mr. George Bliss, whereupon some of the Republican papers protest. We do not believe Sickles's appointment would be a sign of reform within the party or a good mode of "supporting Hayes," but, nevertheless, there is something to be said in favor of it. One can hardly help desiring to have the present system worked out fully and cleared of all the sham and hypocrisy by which attempts have been made during the last few years, and especially during the last six months, to disguise its real character. Newspaper denunciation of it has, apparently, not been sufficient to open the popular eyes about it; practical demonstration probably would. It was perhaps well, therefore, that Tyner was made Postmaster-General in order "to carry Indiana." It would be well if he were dismissed for not carrying it; and the dismissal of the Philadelphia postmaster may also have done good. If Sickles gets a conspicuous place, and Chandler succeeds in counting Hayes in by the Vice-President, and Grant inaugurates him with troops because the Democrats are bad men, and all the other frauds, excesses, and deviltry of every description which have been running in the heads of the Republican leaders during the last four years be more fully executed, it will be worth more to the country than a thousand quartos of reform writing.

The Florida Supreme Court has unanimously ordered a recount of the vote of that State, and has made such rulings in the matter that the recount will necessarily result in giving the vote to Tilden. In South Carolina the tax-payers have held a meeting in Charleston and passed resolutions recognizing Hampton as Governor, promising him all moral and pecuniary support that may be needed; recognizing also the Democratic House; denouncing Chamberlain as an usurper, and promising to resist him to the utmost, but disclaiming all intention to resist the United States. The Chamberlain government now rests solely on the troops, and it is said that the troops are being sent to Washington. The Democrats in South Carolina have taken an unassailable position, and they must either succeed or the State must be changed into a military despotism—a change which they may rest assured will not be permitted by the rest of the country to last long.

The news from Illinois shows that Senator Logan's seat in the Senate is in great danger of going into the hands of the Independents and Democrats, who, by a coalition in the Legislature, may elect a Conservative senator. Of the candidates opposed to him the best known are Governor Palmer and Judge Trumbull, between either of whom and himself there is no room for comparison. General Grant, who was talked of as a Republican successor, positively declines, and so we shall not have the chance of seeing a second political resurrection, somewhat like, but more extraordinary even than, that of Mr. Johnson. With regard to the effect that the approach of the end of his term is likely to have upon Mr. Logan, the prevailing impression is that it will incline him to feel that "supporting Hayes" is more of a duty than ever, inasmuch as from the Democrats he has nothing to hope for, while a "vindication" in the shape of a fat office from Mr. Hayes would be quite on the cards.

At the New England Society's Dinner on Friday evening the only speech which reflected the prevailing political anxiety was that of Mr. George William Curtis, who responded to the leading toast of "Forefathers' Day." We reproduce the passage which contains the point of his remarks, and which elicited the most demonstrative applause of the evening:

"The voice of New England, I believe, going to the Capitol, would be this, that neither is the Republican Senate to insist upon its exclusive partisan way, nor is the Democratic House to insist upon its exclusive partisan way; but Senate and House, representing the American people and the American people only, in the light of the Constitution and by the authority of the law, are to provide a way over which a President, be he Republican or be he Democrat, shall pass unchallenged to his chair."

This seems a very tame and colorless generalization compared with the threatening demands of extremists on both sides that their candidate, having been duly elected, shall be inaugurated at all hazards, but it does represent exactly the "voice" not of New England alone, but of the thoughtful and prudent and patriotic men of all sections and of both parties. That a peaceable and orderly solution of the present dispute is of infinitely greater importance than the candidate that may result from it, is the message which Congress should daily be receiving until it is called upon to count the electoral vote. In Philadelphia a paper, headed by Mr.

John Welsh, and signed by a large number of prominent citizens, is in circulation with a view to impressing Congress with the unpopularity of any attempt to meet the Presidential issue in a stubborn or partisan spirit. We hope that the same or similar warnings may go up from other cities; it is all that can be done, and no one should refuse to lend his name for this purpose.

As supplementary to our last week's notice of a dinner given recently in this city in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' and as another indication of the class of subjects likely, under ordinary circumstances, to demand a good share of public attention, may be mentioned the forthcoming National Convention of Free-traders, to be held in Chicago some time in March, or as soon as the Presidential difficulty is fairly out of the way. It will be composed of representatives from the various States—that is, we suppose, of free-traders residing in the various States, for we know of few free-trade organizations which could be represented anywhere. The Boston Free-trade Club, which appears to be one of the most active and rapidly-growing organizations of the kind, and which is, we believe, one of the principal instigators of this movement for a national convention, has sent a delegation to Washington to urge action in response to a petition, recently presented in the House, for free-trade in ships—that is, for a law permitting citizens of this country to purchase foreign-built ships and sail them under the American flag, and for the removal of the existing tariff on all articles used in ship-building.

The French Senate has restored the salaries of the clergy in its vote on the Public Worship Estimates, which had been reduced by the Assembly, and it also has restored the appropriation for the scholarships in the Catholic seminaries which had been suppressed by the Assembly. There are here the materials for a serious collision, and the financial powers of the Senate are giving the French papers plenty of food for discussion. The clerical scholarships were one of the points on which the Dufaure ministry fell, although they only amount to $120,000. The increase in the priests' salaries proposed by M. Dufaure was also $120,000, and the Assembly adhered to the recommendation of the Budget Committee, voting only $40,000. The question involved, however, goes deeper than constitutional law or public finance, and involves the attitude of the Liberal party towards the church. The debate on the estimates in the Assembly before M. Dufaure's resignation was greatly influenced by the speech of M. Joly, a lawyer, who made a text of the Papal Syllabus, showed its incompatibility with the principles of modern society, and clinched his argument by showing that it was respected and taught in the seminaries in which they proposed to increase the scholarships. The trouble about funeral honors "to the deceased members of the Legion of Honor" has its root in the same quarter. It is customary to send troops to their funerals, and we believe a firing party to discharge a volley over the grave. The Conservatives are, however, unwilling to allow the soldiers to be present at the funerals of free-thinkers who have no religious services, fearing the effect on the men of anything that might seem an official recognition of scepticism.

The new Turkish constitution has been proclaimed with much solemnity at Constantinople, and the Turks evidently look on it as a sort of checkmate for Russia. We have already given an outline of it. It resembles in its details, in so far as reported by telegram, the constitution of France, but seems to contain provision for the responsibility of officials for the execution of illegal orders, which would be an advance on any Continental constitution. It is, in fact, an embodiment of what Frenchmen call "the principles of 1789." There is to be a "Court of Accounts," which is irremovable except by a vote of the Chamber of Deputies, which is to frame the budget and present it. The subjects of the Empire are to be all called "Ottomans," which will seem to the Christians very like an ordinance that hereafter all sheep are to be called wolves. Islamism is to remain the religion of the state, but is not to have any other distinctive or theocratic character; in other words, is to occupy the position of the Catholic Church in France. There is to be thorough decentralization (in form); the affairs of the provinces and communes are to be managed by elected councils. The fatal objection to it all, and the reasons why it will probably produce no effect, are that previous reforms made in the same way—that is, by imperial khat—have proved nullities. To commit the execution of such reforms to the Turks would ensure their non-execution; to commit them to the Christians would ensure the ruin of the Ottoman Empire. The gulf of hatred and distrust between the two creeds is now too great to be bridged over by any paper constitution. This would be true even if the Turks were an energetic and progressive people. It is safe to say that they will neither work such a constitution nor permit it to be worked; and if Russia declares herself satisfied with it, it must be because she is unable or unwilling to fight.

There is apparently not much likelihood that the Turks will agree to the occupation of Bulgaria in any shape. To meet the suspicion of Russian designs, it has been proposed to Belgium to supply troops for the purpose, but the little kingdom has wisely declined to risk the lives of her people in a distant region in an enterprise in which it has no interest whatever. The armistice is, in the meantime, being prolonged, both parties being desirous of gaining time—Russia because military movements are out of the question at this season, and Turkey because she hopes every day that something will turn up to get her out of the scrape. The plan presented by the Conference to the new Vizier, Midhat Pasha, and which he is either to accept or reject *en bloc*, is said to include the division of Bulgaria into two provinces, with a Christian Governor-General in command of the police force, and the mayors of the towns chosen by popular vote; the organization of the law courts by an international commission, with seats on the bench for foreigners, as in Egypt, if the commission thinks it desirable; the organization of a militia containing one per cent. of the male population; the retention of seventy per cent. of the taxes for expenditure on local objects by the local authorities, the whole amount having hitherto gone to Constantinople. The scheme of foreign occupation of the provinces seems by the latest advices to have been modified, and what is now proposed is a "guaranteeing force" of gendarmery, composed of foreign soldiers, numbering only three thousand or four thousand men. This force could hardly be better composed than by a draft from the British army in India, which has had unequalled experience in the kind of work to be done in Bulgaria—*i.e.*, the enforcement of law and order for the protection of helpless subject populations against Mussulman fanatics and marauders or sensual Oriental despots. Sir Henry Elliot is said to be going home, the ostensible reason being ill health. Lord Salisbury threatens to follow him instantly unless Turkey assents to the plan of the Conference, and all the other Embassies will be similarly vacated in concert. Turkey's decision must be given to-day.

Mr. Göschen, who was sent out to regulate the Egyptian finances, has come home in triumph, and published an amusing and somewhat interesting report, which recounts his struggles to get at the truth and his gradual success in shutting up the Khedive within the limits of reasonable economy. He got rid of the old finance minister, who was sent into exile, and is said to have since died or committed suicide while drunk. Mr. Göschen found out that the revenue was about $52,000,000, and half of this the Khedive tried hard to have allotted to him for the ordinary expenses of the government, but was cut down to $25,000,000. Whether he can be got to devote the remainder to the payment of his debts is, of course, still a doubtful question, as he is an active-minded speculator, who will find living on a comparatively small income dull work.

THE PLEASANT ASPECT OF THE CRISIS.

WE presume most people will witness the close of the Centennial year with a sense of disappointment. The promise of peace and harmony and reconciliation which seemed so sure last year has not been fulfilled. A small knot of ambitious and unscrupulous men, "soldiers in peace and citizens in war," who have made their reputation in civil strife and would lose it if the passions of the war died out; who not only take no interest in reform but to whom all talk of reform sounds like an indictment, set themselves, in the midst of the public rejoicings over the prospect of a happy close to the century, to rekindle the fires of hate and to revive baneful memories almost as soon as the new year was ushered in. That they have been in a measure successful there is no denying. They have filled the land with the sounds of evil omen, and have even managed to give a touch of irony to the great festival of peace and good-will in Philadelphia, and a touch of burlesque to the oratory and poetry which celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the national existence, by persuading hosts of good people that, while it was well to love and welcome foreigners, nearly one-half of their own countrymen were legitimate objects of dislike or distrust. And then what a contrast the Presidential election has presented to what a year ago we fondly hoped it might prove—the union of a vast majority of voters on some conspicuous and honored name which should be in itself a guarantee that for four years at least this Government should stand for peace and purity and justice! Who has not blushed, in secret at least, over the transparent trick of one side in setting up a candidate on one platform, and running him on another of subsequent manufacture and cheap material, and on the degrading subservience with which the other candidate, who was at first denounced in the vilest language, was subsequently accepted as the long-looked-for deliverer of a suffering people? And then to think of the miserable termination of the vote—a campaign carried on fiercely on both sides in the name of reform ending in a dispute as to whether the frauds of one party can or cannot be fairly weighed against the atrocities of the other, and offering the country as the year runs out the prospect of two Presidents—sweetened, however, by the assurance that their respective supporters will be too sensible and forbearing to shed blood in assertion of their claims. Finally, the darkest touch in the picture is this—that through all this miserable business thousands of men, calling themselves moral and patriotic, have been sitting by in silence watching the tricksters playing their game, conscious of their cheating, but willing to let it pass if it seemed to promise even remotely to result in gain to something they valued; scorning themselves to lie, or equivocate, or suppress, but quite ready, and indeed willing, that the orators and editors, and especially the editors, should do it for them.

If there was nothing behind this—if the crowd on the benches were no better than the gladiators in the arena—he would be a bold and sanguine man who should look forward to another centennial anniversary of republican government, such as we know and prize it. But one does not need to be fanciful or unduly optimistic to see in the very excesses and designs which we deplore reason enough for entering on the second century, not indeed with the fantastic and unreasoning joy with which the republicans of the last one began their course, but with the sober and chastened confidence on which, after all, great and successful governments have to rest. For let us remind those whose faith is shaken by the tricks of the Returning Boards, and the dodges and exhortations of the party leaders, and the Mexican jurisprudence of the party newspapers, that it is not in peaceful times only or in contact with patriotic and upright men that the Anglo-Saxon race has learnt the art of government, and made the best display of its political capacity. Perhaps no race can point on its calendar to fewer tranquil and happy years, when everybody did his duty, and public affairs were well managed. The most glorious periods in its history have been those in which everything seemed going wrong, in which the devil seemed to be let loose, and all that good men most valued seemed to be in imminent deadly peril; and when traitors, conspirators, cheats, and profligates seemed to have laid firm hold on the machinery of justice and on the public force. When we go back over this history in search of hope and courage we involuntarily stand by More's scaffold, or on the slippery deck with Drake, or charge behind Cromwell, or cross the sea with Winthrop, or toil and fret with Samuel Adams, or plan and fight with Washington, or share the agony of Lincoln's struggle with adverse public fortune. We never seek the little intervals of sweet time in which everybody thought that perpetual peace and prosperity had at last set in.

We do not believe now that the confidence in the great principles of government which so many generations have displayed has been weakened in the minds of the great mass of the people. And we cannot help seeing in the calm and order and patience with which the public awaits the development of the present extraordinary crisis, and which converts what would otherwise be a sorry farce into a most imposing spectacle, a fresh display of that sober-mindedness to which the American Republic owes its existence and the English race its political history. Any people could work a government in which no conflicts or disputes ever arose; the way in which Americans and Englishmen have hitherto displayed their political capacity is in settling them either without damage or with as much damage as was necessary to solid and permanent improvement. The danger a country runs at such a crisis as this is the one which has worked so much ruin in France. It lies in the tendency to conclude that nothing so serious has ever occurred before, and that long-tried usages and principles must be laid aside for the present occasion in order to secure the triumph of complete right and perfect justice, and that, having secured it, we can go back and be as we were. But no such returns are possible. What Time has created, Time only can restore. The only right and only justice in the world which men have fully enjoyed and permanently held has been the reward not of fevered struggle, but of patient self-denial and persistent vigilance.

So that even if we are now disappointed with the results either of "supporting Hayes" or "helping Tilden," let us be thankful that we are dependent on neither Hayes nor Tilden, and that Blaine and Chandler and Cameron and the rest of them will speedily pass away into the great limbo in which so many of the would-be marplots of history lie in unhonored oblivion. We do not enter on the new century with a visible supply of great statesmen, or in the midst of a crisis which to us seems very ennobling or picturesque. But if we are not greatly mistaken, this crisis will appear in history as one of the illustrations and proofs of American political capacity, and not improbably as the entrance of the Government on a stage of greater mechanical efficiency and of increased subjection to matured public opinion.

THE *RATIONALE* OF INTIMIDATION.

MANY people are watching the investigations now in progress in Louisiana convinced that if intimidation of voters is proved to a pretty large extent such proof will be the end of controversy, and that there will be no further objection to the action of the Returning Board. It is not improbable that some such view as this has led the Morrison Committee to take testimony showing intimidation on the other side. The *rationale* of intimidation as a political force, however, has not received all the attention it merits.

A little reflection will show that the amount of intimidation necessary to vitiate the gross contents of a ballot-box must always be a matter of uncertainty, and that if intimidation is to come in as a factor in deciding what are the true returns of an election, no rules whatever can be laid down for estimating its value. They must always be the subject of arbitrary judgment. If the polls on the day of election are surrounded by a hostile force, making it impossible or extremely difficult for voters of a certain class or party to deposit their ballots, we have a solid fact for the lever of the law to rest upon; but in the absence of any such visible and tangible fact, we find ourselves at once on a very broad sea. A series of

questions arises which must be answered somehow, and under our form of government the answers must be such as to satisfy public opinion:

I. What acts or words constitute intimidation?

II. Within what period of time previous to an election must these acts or words have been committed or spoken?

III. What kind and amount of intimidation are sufficient to justify a voter in staying away from the polls?

IV. What amount of intimidation is sufficient to justify the disfranchisement of persons who have taken no part in the intimidation?

V. What kind of evidence is admissible to prove intimidation?

VI. In cases where intimidation has been mutual ought an account of plus and minus to be kept, and a balance struck, so as to throw out the votes of the more experienced and successful intimidators?

These are only a part of the questions likely to arise under the head of intimidation, but the bare statement of them must convince an impartial mind that the result of an election canvassed under such auspices will probably be that which a majority of the Returning Board are personally interested in securing; that the arithmetical product of the ballot-box will be no criterion of the result; and that after a few repetitions of the process, all voters opposed in politics to the Returning Board will perhaps be sufficiently intimidated to abstain from voting.

It is not our purpose here to examine the election law of Louisiana, or to enquire whether its provisions have been complied with by the Returning Board. It is asserted by the Democrats that the affidavits of intimidation were not filed at the proper time; that they were prepared at the Custom House after it had been ascertained how many votes must be thrown out in order to give the State to Hayes and Packard. These are matters of technicality, undoubtedly important at the present time, but after they are decided the main question recurs; for these technicalities may be easily covered the next time by attaching affidavits of intimidation to the returns of every parish or precinct immediately after the polls are closed, and then using as many of them as may be necessary. This, we say, is what may be done without implying that the equivalent has been done in the present case in the manner charged by the Democrats.

After the heat of the present encounter shall have passed away it must be perceived that the *rationale* of intimidation is something wholly incompatible with the majority principle upon which our institutions hinge. When a few persons are invested with the power to enquire how terrible Mr. A. was in the mind of Mr. B., how timid Mr. B. was in the mind of Mr. A., and what importance should be attached to these mental conditions in determining whether to count or reject the votes of those who were neither terrible nor timid, the majority principle has clearly gone overboard. The actual count of the votes does not even establish presumptive evidence of the result of the election. There is a growing fashion to decry universal suffrage; but universal suffrage plus intimidation and a Returning Board is a farce too broad for any republic in North, South, or Central America. The law rightly presumes that the voter will take pains to deposit his ballot in the proper place at the proper time. It undertakes to afford him all needed facilities for the exercise of this right, and to punish any one who molests or interferes with him. It was never intended, however, to set a premium on cowardice and slothfulness; still less to punish the courageous voter with disfranchisement because his neighbor is chicken-hearted; still less to punish whole communities with disfranchisement because four or five men on a Returning Board, who were not personally present at the election, conceive that the non-voters had good and sufficient reasons for not voting. The *rationale* of intimidation is a labyrinth of absurdities, at the other end of which is something altogether different from the democracy described by De Tocqueville.

Thus far we have considered the intimidation principle in the abstract. In the concrete it will be found a worse thing for the Southern negro than for the white man. The future of the negro depends mainly on his numerical strength. He does not possess either knowledge or wealth, but he does possess numbers—numbers which knowledge will one day make available to him for good, if the majority principle be not meanwhile uprooted by the action of Returning Boards. But if this principle is uprooted, his numbers will avail him nothing, even after he shall have acquired knowledge. The Democrats have, or will soon have, all the Southern Returning Boards except three, and there are seven doubtful or debatable States in the North, any one of which giving its narrow majority to the party opposed to the Republicans will place the country in the hands of the "enemy," whereupon the three Southern Returning Boards now held by the Republicans will likewise disappear from the scene. In what place will the negro then look for a foothold if his numerical strength is no longer valuable to him; if the Democrats of Mississippi, for instance, shall have adopted the law and practice of the Republicans of Louisiana and remitted the decision of all elections to the arbitrary judgment of a Returning Board chosen by themselves?

CONGRESS AND THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

II.

THE fundamental principle was reached from the discussions in our former article (No. 598) that the power not only of choosing the Presidential electors, but of determining in every particular instance the validity of their appointment, belongs wholly and exclusively to the several States, and that the functions of the general Government are restricted simply to the identification and registration of the official acts performed by the States in pursuance of their own laws. We purpose in the present article to develop this principle and exhibit the practical results to which it necessarily leads; in other words, to show what actual legislation in relation to the electoral votes is within the authority of Congress. We say of Congress, because certainly neither House acting separately and without the sanction of a statute can interfere with the process of counting the electoral votes, or decide upon their *prima-facie* regularity, much less their validity. No such power is expressly granted, and the implied powers of the Constitution belong to the Congress as a whole, and not to its individual branches. Undoubtedly, the Senate or the House of Representatives may each for itself, by its committees or other appropriate means, obtain all the information which it deems necessary; but this information, if used for any definite purpose, must be made the basis of some joint action which shall take the form either of a general law or of a special statute applicable to the circumstances of a particular case. We dismiss, therefore, the question, What may either House do in the matter without any statutory authority? by the sweeping answer, Nothing.

As a preliminary to the proposed discussion it will be serviceable to ascertain the construction of the Constitution upon which Congress has hitherto proceeded in its legislation. A brief summary of all the statutes which have been passed since the Government was established shows that no departure has yet been made from the general principle which was reached in our prior article, and no attempt to exercise powers which belong to the States alone. The first statute (of 1792) prescribed the day on which the electors shall cast their votes; the manner in which these votes shall be officially preserved, made into three separate lists for purpose of security against loss or other accident, and transmitted to the President of the Senate; the day on which the votes shall be counted in presence of the two Houses—the second Wednesday of February—and that "the said certificates shall then be opened and the votes counted, and the persons who shall fill the offices of President and Vice-President ascertained and declared agreeably to the Constitution." A second statute was passed in 1804 in order to carry into effect the Twelfth Amendment. It merely changed the mode of casting the electoral votes for the two officers; in every other respect the provisions of the prior act were retained and have continued in force to the present day. In 1845 a power expressly conferred upon Congress was for the first time exercised, and the electors were directed

to be chosen by each State on the same day—the Tuesday after the first Monday of November. Two provisos were added: (1) that each State may provide by law for filling any vacancy occurring in its electoral college at the time of their assembling; and (2) that if any State fails to choose electors on the regular day, they may be appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the State shall by law direct. All the foregoing enactments have been incorporated into the United States' Revised Statutes, and they constitute the entire body of Congressional legislation touching the subject-matter now under discussion. We have purposely refrained from any mention of the "joint rules" adopted by the two Houses, because these rules are not proper acts of legislation; they have not the force and effect of statutes but are mere regulations of procedure, and as such are not the legitimate means by which the supervisory authority of Congress can be exercised.

Have the functions of the national legislature been exhausted by the enactments referred to in the foregoing abstract? To answer this question it is necessary to understand the exact position in which the Senate and the House of Representatives are placed by the Constitution. The electoral votes, having been cast and certified in the proper manner, are transmitted to the President of the Senate, who is made their custodian; at the time fixed by statute the two Houses meet, not as the Congress, but rather as a convention; the President of the Senate produces the certificates and opens them before the assembly; the votes are there counted, and the persons receiving a majority are elected; if no choice is made by the electors, the House of Representatives is charged with the high duty of selecting the President, while the Senate appoints the Vice-President. There are gaps in this constitutional plan which must be supplied by implication. The electoral votes are ordered to be counted; the time, place, and occasion are prescribed, but not the agent. There is nothing in the language of the Constitution, nor in the nature of his office, which necessarily points to the President of the Senate as the one upon whom this duty devolves. He was chosen as the depositary of the votes because he is a permanent officer, and when he produces and opens the certificates his authority, as created by the Constitution, is ended. "The votes shall then be counted." Here a positive act is required to be done; an express power is granted, and it is necessarily vested in the Government of the United States, or in some department or officer thereof, for otherwise it could not exist. The case, therefore, falls directly within the 18th sub-division of section 8, article i., and Congress is authorized "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution" this power. The conclusion is thus demonstrated that Congress may, by general law, regulate the whole matter of counting the electoral votes in the presence of the two Houses, and may, of course, determine by what officer, or by what body of persons, taken from its own members or otherwise selected, the proceeding shall be conducted. In the process of counting the electoral votes is, of course, included the act of ascertaining and declaring the results—that is, the persons upon whom the choice of the electors has fallen, or the fact that no choice at all has been made.

The "counting" of the electoral votes, which we have thus found to be under the control of Congress, is a purely ministerial act; it consists in a simple enumeration and summing-up of figures, and does not involve any discrimination between votes, or any pronouncing upon the regularity or validity of certificates. Congress must, however, within certain very narrow limits, possess this power to discriminate and to decide. As each House, in the contingency of a non-election, becomes clothed with the authority of appointment, there must be some means of ascertaining whether this contingency is reached in a legal manner. In fact, the function of identifying the official acts of the several States includes the power of determining whether the votes certified from a State are *prima facie* regular and lawful, and whether the laws of the State have been complied with, so far as is shown by the documents themselves which purport to contain the action of the electors and other local officers. If two certificates should be transmitted from the same State having the color of lawful authority, it cannot for a moment be pretended that the President of the Senate could decide which is valid, or could refuse to present both to the assembled Houses. Congress alone can pronounce upon such a controversy in any particular instance, and can pass general statutes applicable to all similar circumstances. The principle which would permit the national legislature to interfere in the case supposed is universal in its operation, and applies to all votes and certificates, whether contested or not. All these votes and certificates must purport to be regular and in conformity with the State laws, and Congress may enquire in every case whether such regularity and conformity exist.

LORD BEACONSFIELD'S UNPOPULARITY.

LONDON, December 2, 1876.

A STUDENT of political philosophy would do well to study the phases of public opinion as they have been developed during the last six months in this country on the Eastern Question. The pendulum has swung first to one side and then to the other with almost the regularity of clock-work. About the time—the fatal time, as it is now considered—at which Lord Derby refused his concurrence in the Berlin note, public opinion testified that we never had a better Government; that the foreign policy of our rulers was worthy of the best days of Pitt; that we had regained the position among European nations which Mr. Gladstone had lost for us; and that our diplomacy was a model for other nations. The story of the Bulgarian horrors followed upon this, and the pendulum swung heavily the other way. Lord Beaconsfield was a heartless scoffer; Lord Derby was undecided and incompetent; our Ambassador in Constantinople was remiss and untrustworthy; Mr. Gladstone alone could guide the destinies of the nation. The autumn holidays came round, and with them the pendulum swung back again. Mr. Gladstone was a sentimental fanatic; he wanted rest, bodily and mental; he was eager for office, and was betraying his country into the hands of Russia in order that he might get back into power; the Liberal party had made a fatal mistake, it was more divided than ever, and the Conservatives, with their spirited foreign policy and their determination to maintain the road to India and fight for British interests in the East, had got a new lease of power which would outlive the present generation. And now we are in December, and the pendulum has taken the other swing. The anti-Turkish policy is in the ascendant, and for the moment Lord Beaconsfield is the best hated man in Britain. Never in my experience have I heard any public man denounced as the Prime Minister is at this moment in general society. In Tory circles Mr. Gladstone's name was a byword and a reproach four years ago. Ladies, in my own hearing, protested that nothing could induce them to touch his hated hand, and children in Tory nurseries were taught by their attendants to regard him as the impersonation of all the horrors of childhood's legendary lore. To-day you hear denunciations of a like character levelled against Lord Beaconsfield. On all sides and in all circles you hear one universal outcry against him.

The feeling may not last, and before Parliament meets opinion may change again, and he may regain his popularity; but I hardly think he will. People were shocked by his cynical levity, at the close of last session, upon the outrages in the Turkish provinces. They were irritated by the tone with which he spoke of the Servian war of emancipation, as most people here regarded it, in his speech on the eve of the Buckinghamshire election last September, and the best feelings of Englishmen were outraged by his and Lord Derby's treatment of the recent peaceful declaration of the Emperor of Russia. That declaration was in Lord Derby's hands on the 3d of November. Lord Beaconsfield spoke at the Guildhall dinner on the 9th, six days thereafter. One or two—I think two—Cabinet meetings on the Eastern question were held between these dates, so that Lord Beaconsfield must have fully considered the declaration. And what did he do? He ignored the declaration of the Emperor as if it were unworthy of credence, and bragged and blustered about the military resources of Great Britain, and sneered by implication at the bankrupt condition of the Russian Treasury; and, to make matters worse, he or Lord Derby answered the declaration by an ill-conditioned taunt about the mobilization of the Russian army and the emission of a Russian loan. Whatever estimate we may make of Russian honesty, matters have not come to this, that we are to presume to deny the Emperor of a great people the courtesies of gentlemen. But there is worse to follow. The Prime Minister or the Foreign Secretary kept back the despatches containing the declaration until they were forced from

them by a special request of the Emperor, and when they were produced they were published in such a manner as to throw dust in the eyes of the public and obscure their true intention. All this brag and all this tricky manipulation of the despatches is, as you might suppose, bitterly resented in the country. Such manœuvres are unworthy of an honest government, and they are essentially un-English. There is an absence of straightforwardness and a presence of swagger about the whole transaction which offend right-minded men, and hence the strong reaction which is surging through the country at the time I write ; and, after all, these tricks are as futile as they are unworthy. People try to excuse them : "It is only pretty Fanny's way," they say. "Mr. Disraeli, as every one knows who has followed his career"—and, by the way, a most amusing biography of Mr. Disraeli is coming out just now in monthly parts, which is well worth reading—"cannot resist display ; he has never been consistent or straightforward in word or deed. You must not mind him." In domestic matters it matters, perhaps, but little what he says or does. He is old now and cannot be broken of his wicked ways. We have often in the past three years been irritated by him, but he has not done much harm. But in foreign policy, when the honor of this country is at stake, and when, impossible though it seems, the issues of peace or war and the misery or happiness of thousands of human beings may depend upon his words, his ways and manners come to be of serious import. People here feel that he has no sympathy with the cry for freedom from oppression which is borne to this country from these unhappy provinces. They are at last alive to the fact that two nations worked up to white heat of antagonism by the strongest emotions in human nature cannot be cooled down like an excited House of Commons by a shrug of the shoulders and a humorous epigram. They see that an honest man is wanted who can work in earnest and can realize truly, and not theatrically, the momentous issues that are before the world ; one, too, who has clearness of vision and range of mind large enough to grasp and deal with the problem of the hour.

These qualities do not exist in the Beaconsfield Cabinet, and that Cabinet consequently is, at the time I write, in the strong ebb-tide of popular favor. If Parliament were dissolved just now, the Liberals, under Mr. Gladstone or Lord Granville, would be recalled to power. The recent condemnation of the Education policy of the present Government by every school district in London—a manifestation which took both parties by surprise—shows how the tide is flowing. They have one chance of retrieving their fortunes in the mission of Lord Salisbury to Constantinople. He has shown no desire to save himself in his search for an ally among the Cabinets of Europe, but a real anxiety to inform himself accurately of the opinion and policy of these Cabinets. It appears, therefore, as if he were entering upon his task with a full appreciation of the difficulties before him, and with a mind open to receive new impressions and to profit by experience. If he should succeed in securing a peaceful settlement of the intricate question which is before him, and in persuading two nations armed to the teeth and eager to fly at each other's throats to shake hands and come to reasonable terms, he will indeed achieve a diplomatic triumph. He will deserve well of his country. He will save his party and his colleagues from discredit, and he will return home before Parliament meets to assume the Premiership of England, *vice* Lord Beaconsfield, relegated to the back benches in the House of Lords.

But what chance is there of preserving peace ? As matters stand at the present moment war between Turkey and Russia seems inevitable, and perhaps it may be better in the end that it should not be prevented. Something of the fanaticism of the old Crusaders lingers in the Russian mind, and that is now aroused. The Cross must once more—probably for the last time in Europe—meet the Crescent on the field of battle. There can be but one issue. The crescent must falter and fail and finally disappear from Europe. But what will take its place upon the Bosphorus ? A change from the withering and decrepit despotism of the Sultan for the vigorous and scientific despotism of the Czar will be no gain, but probably a loss, to civilization. We do not want to see the despotic or monarchic principle extend itself in Europe, and there is very little chance of any such extension. When Servia commenced her war last spring, it was a certainty that the Turks would never be permitted to take possession of Belgrade. Russia would see to that. Now that Russia is about to commence her war with Turkey the tables will be turned She may push her arms as far as the southern slopes of the Balkan ; but it is a certainty that she will never be permitted to take possession of Constantinople. England, Germany, and Austria will see to that.

If this be so the war will be localized. Russia may overrun Bulgaria and advance, as she did in 1829, even to the southern slopes of the Balkan, perhaps as far as Adrianople ; but no further in this century. She will gain the glory of freeing the subject provinces, and will no doubt have much to say with regard to their future government. She will likewise secure free access for her navies to the Mediterranean. But it is unlikely that she will gain any accession of territory. Is there, then, any chance for the extension of the constitutional or democratic principle in these northern provinces or in Rumelia ? Not much as yet. Free and constitutional Greece may get the opportunity of extending its institutions into Thrace, and perhaps into Macedonia and Epirus. But as for the future administration of the northern provinces, it must await the issue of the war, if war there be, and the determination of the conquerors.

Correspondence.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

To the Editor of The Nation :

Sir : The machinery for electing the President is just now creaking loudly, and it is taken for granted that we want something new. The general structure seems, however, to be good. That the President should be chosen by a special election from the people, and not by Congress ; that this election should be entrusted to the States, and not to Congress ; that weight should be given to States as geographical organizations ; that the direct influence of great local majorities should be restricted to the States in which they exist ; that Congress should be the resort in case of failure to elect—all seem wise provisions. The trouble now is mainly one of substance, which no forms or provisions could cure : an ignorant and corrupt mass of voters and office-seekers. But there is one defect in the Constitutional provisions, the absence of well-vested power to decide whether any one has received a Constitutional majority of the electoral votes. It seems that the Senate and House of Representatives must decide this matter, each for itself, since each is required to take independent action on it, one to choose a President and the other a Vice-President, and no power is given to any other body to decide it. Moreover, it is provided that the electoral votes (sealed ballots) shall be opened and counted in their presence, evidently that they may be witnesses and inspectors, and have direct knowledge as to whether it is necessary for them to act. How far they can rightly go in the scrutiny of the votes is a nice question. It is plain that the ordinary decision as to who are electors belongs to the States, and that questions of that sort should be referred to the States. But in special cases it is equally clear that Congress must decide. It is the duty of Congress to admit new States, to decide whether a State has a republican form of government, and so, where two bodies claim to be the government of a State, to decide which is the true government. Under these powers it has several times been the duty of Congress to decide whether persons claiming to be electors are really so, as in the case of Missouri at her first vote, and of the doubtful States after the Rebellion.

It would seem also equally clear that they are to know, as witnesses and inspectors of the vote, whether the votes are accurately reported and summed up by the officers who open and count them, and are really a majority ; whether votes are void through any Constitutional defect, as if both candidates voted for are from the same State as the voters ; whether any candidate voted for is a foreigner, or too young, or a non-resident ; and whether the Constitutional provisions as to time of voting and form of recording and transmitting votes have been complied with. It would seem plain that nothing can be done by the President of the Senate, who opens the votes, or by any counters, which can make void the knowledge of the Houses on these points, or control the action which they are required to take upon it. It would be the plain duty of Congress to proceed to elect a President and Vice-President if both Houses were agreed that no majority was given.

There is danger, it is true, that Congress may carry their scrutiny of votes beyond its Constitutional limits, but there seems to be no course with less danger. It has been proposed to make the Supreme Court of the United States judges of the election ; but such a proposition can hardly commend itself to statesmen who understand our institutions and have confidence in them. The Court itself can easily be made a sanctuary for rings, and that is the lowest ultimate. Besides, after all provision for the decision of specific questions, Congress must be the final resort and seat of power to sum up the whole matter in ordinary cases and to intervene in extraordinary cases, as in case of notorious fraud or conspiracy beyond the reach of the States, or other vital emergency left unprovided for. Congress have to act. They must judge when to act ; and so long as both Houses agree, no resistance would be made to their action except as avowed revolution or usurpation.

But they may differ, and for this no provision is made, and no easy solution is at hand. Joint resolutions do not bind either House; they are merely forms of agreement.

There ought to be a Constitutional provision declaring what shall be done in case the Senate and House do not agree that any candidate has a majority of votes for President or Vice President within —— weeks after the opening of the certificates. This might be that a new election shall be held for President and Vice-President, or that a general election of a new Senate and House shall be held, or that the Houses shall decide the matter in joint session. The second provision would probably bring them to terms, but the last is simpler and more in accord with our methods in other cases, as in the election of Senators. The House would be most likely to have the majority in the joint session, and it will be remembered that the framers of the Constitution, after much deliberation and discussion, decided that the House rather than the Senate should elect the President; and the Constitution as at first adopted, which includes no voting for Vice-President by the Electors, gave the initiative to the House alone.

An amendment providing for a joint session would therefore seem to be in the spirit of the Constitution, and it would certainly make our electoral system an easy-running machine for one so complicated, and, on the whole, more satisfactory than any other yet suggested. F. A. M.

HOW NOT TO DEAL WITH SHIRKS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: There is a familiar agricultural implement known as the winnowing-machine, which, by processes of blowing and sifting, removes dirt, stones, weed-seeds, and imperfect kernels from the sound, merchantable grain. Human society likewise, working in a great variety of ways, constantly separates and casts out the lazy, the vicious, and the incompetent from the "fair to middling" people who constitute the great bulk of every stable community, and but for the existence of whom civilization would be impossible. The refuse from the winnowing-machine is easily disposed of. The mere dirt is thrown away, the weed-seeds can be burned, and from his poultry-yard the farmer calls a corps of keen-eyed detectives who will pick out from the chaff and refuse every kernel that has even the least worth. But the problem how to dispose of the human material which society rejects is anything but simple. Systems of apprenticeship, schools, and churches can and do keep down in some measure the proportion of waste material, in that they help to perfect the human grain during its term of development, and the charity of home and of kinship shields many a "light weight" from the winnowing blasts of the world. Almshouses and prisons and hospitals, too (in all kindness and sympathy be it spoken), receive each their allotted share of the rejected matters; but a mass of broken and imperfect grain and chaff-like products remains unprovided for, to the despair of statesmen and philanthropists.

One method that has been put in practice with the hope of solving this problem of the incapables is that of the charitable intelligence offices, of whatever name, which seek to get situations for persons who cannot find any one willing to employ them through the intervention of the ordinary intelligence offices where labor is traded in according to the laws of demand and supply. But the question presents itself, Is this so-called charitable method a legitimate method? Can society, in justice to itself, countenance such dealing in rejected and for the most part intrinsically worthless matters? Is it not apparent, in short, that the charitable intelligence office must act mainly as a machine for shovelling back all manner of impurity and worthlessness into the clear grain from which this refuse has once and again been separated?

Would not a careful analysis of the statistics of these intelligence offices —or a closer system of statistics, perhaps, than now obtains—prove that such societies really do more harm than good? We need to know not only how many "places have been found" for the applicants to a given society, but how many of the persons thus assisted have justified the help. We should be told how many of the placed persons have remained in place, or, rather, how soon they were again set adrift.

It has sometimes been set forth by the trustees of such societies that they have many applicants who represent that they would be glad to work upon farms, if they only knew how to use the tools of agriculture; and the thought seems often to have recurred that it would be well to teach such persons how to rake and to hoe, with the view of converting them into farm laborers. But what would the translation of such material from the city to the farm really mean? It would mean worthless tillage, broken tools, spoiled crops, half-fed cattle, ruined horses, and general wreck. Almshouses and jails are costly contrivances, no doubt; but it would be better and cheaper by far to maintain them at every cross-road than to harbor at the farm such people as commonly fill them.

Count Rumford, with his tow-cloth manufactory at Munich, seems to have had a far clearer idea of the necessities of the case than many moderns. Perhaps when the United States army has once been permitted to prove itself capable of solving the Indian problem, the thought may suggest itself that scientific military advice and practice as to the best disposition of shirks and malingerers might be resorted to with advantage. As things are now, we can hardly be said to be upon the right track. On the contrary, there is great need of looking sharply into the doings of those philanthropists who maintain establishments for throwing the chaff back into the grain. The shirk, or incapable, is not simply unproductive himself; he impairs the productive power of others. To "get him a place" is to do harm and not good. Why do we not have a "Bureau" for the introduction of gravel into the works of watches?

Fair-Play.

November 20, 1876.

Notes.

We purpose devoting in our next issue a larger space than usual to letters, on the present political situation, for which we could hardly make room within our ordinary limits. They are a part of the voluntary correspondence received by us from all parts of the country, and show what depth of feeling and variety of opinion the crisis through which we are now passing has evoked. We believe our readers will find them an important contribution to the discussions of the hour.

—The American Geographical Society's new rooms at No. 11 West Twenty-ninth Street are now open daily to members, and to persons introduced by a member, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.; also socially on Monday and Thursday evenings. The first Monday evening of each month will be devoted to the reading of papers and discussion of geographical subjects. ——The Senate, last week, rejected the name of Pembina for the new Territory to be made out of the country of the Red River of the North (Dakota), and dubbed it Huron instead. There is nothing to be said against the new name, the selection of which is one more tribute to the aborigines. But Pembina may to some ears sound more euphonious, and we lose in it a rhyme to Arkansas that might have come handy to bi-centennial versifiers. According to one Senator, the name is derived from *pain béni*, and this was thought to be against it, perhaps as having a Popish significance. We hope the Senate will not stop overhauling our Territorial nomenclature until it has found equally acceptable substitutes for Washington and Wyoming—two inexcusable duplicates.——The era of good feeling has been reached in Virginia City, Nevada, where the "Union and Confederate Veterans" hold a reception on January 8. The programme sent us shows a very fair division of the honors and offices.——A pamphlet report of the proceedings of a conference of Western Governors and entomologists held at Omaha in October, at the call of Gov. John S. Pillsbury of Minnesota, has just been printed in a large edition. It contains, besides much interesting discussion in regard to the locust plague, an historical paper by Governor Pillsbury concerning the visitations in this country and elsewhere, and an appendix of practical advice for the destruction of the insect. A memorial was adopted praying Congress to add a special Locust Commission to the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, and to appropriate $25,000 for that purpose. This petition should certainly not go unheeded. ——Capt. Eyre M. Shaw, of the London Fire Brigade, whose pamphlet on 'Fires in Theatres,' which we noticed in the *Nation* No. 566, deserves renewed attention just now, has in preparation a larger work on the prevention and extinction of fires. We may also note that those interested in the subject will find the admirably rigid regulations as to the protection of theatres from fire issued by the Prefect of Police of Paris in the 'Code des Théâtres' of M. Charles Constant, noticed in the *Nation* No. 588.

—The sale of Mr. John Taylor Johnston's art gallery last week was remarkably successful, the total receipts being about $316,000. The highest price obtained ($12,500) was for Church's "Niagara," which was purchased for the Corcoran Art Gallery at Washington, and is therefore permanently lodged at last. Meissonier's "Soldiers at Cards," a tiny canvas, brought $11,500, and will go to California if report says truly. Turner's "Slave-Ship" sold for $10,000. The following is a list of the pictures for which more than $5,000 was paid: Troyon's "Autumn Morning" ($9,700); Meissonier's "Marshall Saxe and Staff" ($8,600); Decamps's "Turkish

Patrol" ($8 350); Müller's "Roll-Call of the Last Victims of the Reign of Terror" ($8,200); Gérôme's "Death of Cæsar" ($8,000); Brion's "Brittany Peasants at Prayer" ($7,150); Schreyer's "Arabs Retreating" ($6,700); Zamacoïs's "Two Confessors" ($3,500); Vernet's "Italian Bandits" ($6,100); Bouguereau's "On the Way to the Bath" ($6,000); Gleyre's "Young Roman's Bath" ($5,200); Van Marcke's "Herd of French Cattle" ($5,100); Becker's "Reapers' Return Home" ($5,100). One other picture we single out, although its price was considerably below $5,000—we mean Mr. Winslow Homer's "Prisoners from the Front"—an epitome of our civil war concerning the fate of which no one, we think, who has ever seen it could be indifferent. This canvas brought $1,800—more than was originally given for it by Mr. Johnston. Two pieces of statuary were offered—"Disappointment," by Palmer, and Vela's "Last Days of Napoleon." The latter brought $8,100. Story's "Cleopatra" was reserved for subsequent sale.

—Some interesting experiments were made in the early part of last week at Wallack's Theatre, under the direction of Mr. Dion Boucicault, to illustrate a method of rendering stage scenery uninflammable. The process used is simple enough. The canvas on which the scenery is painted is first covered with a coat of silicate and tungstate of soda. This does not render the canvas itself incombustible, but acts as a heavy fire-proof paint, surrounding the canvas with incombustible surfaces so that combustion does not spread beyond the limits of the external fire which may be applied to it. The experiments, which were intended simply to revive a process so old as to have been generally forgotten, were entirely successful, and proved conclusively that inflammability is not a necessary property of stage scenery. With the introduction of scenery prepared in this way, and some modifications in the construction of the buildings, theatres could be rendered as safe as any other public places, and there need be no recurrence of those terrible disasters whose rarity, under existing circumstances, certainly reflects great credit on the discipline of theatrical managers.

—"It is not the vulgar only," writes a correspondent, "who believe that a peculiar weight attaches to the utterances of a clergyman, even when he leaves the field of theology, in which we all know him to be infallible, and enters that of science. So learned a man as Mr. Todhunter is properly castigated by Prof. Tait for the following passage in his 'Conflict of Studies':

"'It may be said that the fact makes a stronger impression on the boy through the medium of his sight, that he believes it the more confidently. I say that this ought not to be the case. If he does not believe the statements of his tutor—probably a clergyman of mature knowledge, recognized ability, and blameless character—his suspicion is irrational, and manifests a want of the power of appreciating evidence, a want fatal to his success in that branch of science which he is supposed to be cultivating.'"

—Professor Charles Meyer, of Rutgers College, writes us: "*Ad vocem* 'Ohrfeige' and its synonyms, I would offer the following remarks for what they are worth: 1st. The word 'Ohrfeige' does not appear in German before the XVIIth century. The older word is 'ōrslac,' ohrschlag, a blow on the ear. 2d. 'Ohrfeige' is of Dutch origin, 'oorvijg,' a compound of 'oor,' the ear, and 'vijg,' the fig. 3d. Its more or less vulgar synonyms are 'Dachtel,' Dutch 'tachtel,' a date; Dutch 'muilpeer,' from 'muil,' mouth, and 'peer,' pear; 'Nuss,' nut; 'Kopfnuss,' a nut on the head. 4th. For the explanation of this strange combination of 'Ohr' and 'Feige,' ear and fig, we must, I believe, look to mythology. The syckoth of ancient Palestine might easily have reminded the Greeks of their σῦκον and συκίτης, their god of figs. The Romans called Faunus 'ficarius.' On the island of Cyprus the swine consecrated to Venus Sicca were fed on figs. Hercules bore the name of Δάκτυλος, a word signifying date, a species of figs, and also finger. The thumb, 'pollex,' is regarded as the begetting finger, which explains the vulgar French phrase, *faire la figue*. 'Ohrfeige,' therefore, seems to be a euphemism, expressing the union of the hand with the ear, and thereby producing knowledge, understanding. Similar associations of ideas can easily be found in other languages; I will mention only one example: the Hebrew 'jad,' 'jada,' and 'jadah'—*i.e.*, manus, cognoscere and celebrare."

—In the Church Ognissanti, at Florence, there is a fresco by Ghirlandajo, dated 1480, mentioned by Vasari in his life of the artist as having been painted in competition with Sandro Botticelli, who made the fresco of St. Augustine on the opposite wall. The subject of Ghirlandajo's picture is St. Jerome in his Cell. The saint is seated in a narrow but comfortably furnished cell, surrounded by a complete literary man's apparatus. His table is covered with a thick Eastern rug; he writes on a movable desk, which supports a four-sided lectern, and on one side of this desk are hung his double ink-horn, his shears, and his lunettes—those celebrated spectacles which five years later the artist put upon the nose of the bishop who is reading the office for the dying St. Francis in the fresco of the Sassetti Chapel. On the table itself and on the shelves against the walls of the cell a multitude of objects, painted with extraordinary care and precision, attract our curiosity as authentic records of the manners of a long-past time. But perhaps the most worthy of note among these objects are three *albarelli*, or drug-pots, of the form familiar to those who are acquainted with the Italian majolica, and which is figured in Fortnum's hand-book on the subject, p. 53, fig. 2, and of which several first-rate examples were in the Castellani Collection at Philadelphia. Of the three *albarelli* in Ghirlandajo's fresco, two are in full sight, while of the third only the edge is seen. One of them is decorated with horizontal lines of different colors and thicknesses, the other has only one line at top and bottom, and on one side an oval containing the sacred monogram I. H. S. In Signor Castellani's catalogue of his collection at Philadelphia, he says, speaking of the specimen of majolica No. 8, that "its date—1436—is anterior by nine years to that of the oldest known piece of Caffaggiolo ware." We should like to know if there is any earlier instance than this of Ghirlandajo's fresco of the representation of a piece of majolica. The date of the fresco, transferred to the *albarelli*, would make them among the earliest specimens known—fourteen years later, indeed, than the heraldic shield of the Castellani Collection, but only five years later than the oldest piece known before the discovery of this shield. A wood-cut of this fresco may be seen in Kugler's 'Hand-book of Italian Painting,' vol. i., p. 241; London: 1874; 4th ed. The writer of this paragraph had photographs of the two frescoes—Ghirlandajo's and Botticelli's—taken by Philpot & Jackson, Florence, in 1870–71. The wood-cut in Kugler is a mere memorandum of the composition; the photographs show all the details very clearly. The wine-vessels, conspicuous for number and position, introduced by the painter (Cimabue or another) of the frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi into his composition of "The Marriage in Cana," as well as those in Giotto's fresco of the same subject in the Arena Chapel at Padua, are, apparently, not majolica at all, but unglazed clay. The forms of those in Giotto's picture are clumsy modifications of certain of the antique amphoræ. Their ornamentation is a simple fluting, radiating from the circles of the neck and the base, and stopping above and below a band encircling the belly. They stand on a foot, and three of the six are furnished with handles. They are interesting to the student as records of a transitional form.

—We venture to suggest that the shape of these primitive *albarelli* may have been derived from a joint of the bamboo. In the East these joints are often employed as receptacles, and they may have been used to bring drugs in from the countries which at first as now had almost a monopoly of supplying them to Western Europe. These bamboo joints, sometimes carved, sometimes inlaid with ivory, pearl, or bronze, sometimes elegantly unadorned, are tolerably familiar to us here in America. This may be allowed a natural enough explanation of a shape which has no analogy with any of the vase or jar-shapes manufactured in Europe. It would not, however, be an isolated example of a shape borrowed from the vegetable world. The gourd-shaped bottles of the Japanese and Chinese are well known, and the oldest pottery vessels in the Di Cesnola Collection are evidently modelled—perhaps moulded—on gourds cut in halves.

—The striking resemblance in the treatment of the same subject between the fresco of Ghirlandajo and the copper-plate of Albert Dürer has, we believe, never been pointed out. Dürer's copper-plate of St. Jerome in his Chamber is dated 1520, and was therefore made forty years later than the fresco. Dürer places his saint in an ample chamber, and surrounds him with German instead of Italian utensils. The desk at which he writes is similar to that of his Italian prototype, and even the great moulded beam which unnecessarily spans Ghirlandajo's narrow cell is repeated in Dürer's ample room, copied, as is thought, from the room in which he worked in his own house at Nuremberg. The motive of Dürer's print is so strikingly like that of Ghirlandajo's fresco it seems hardly possible it should not have been suggested by it; but, though Dürer was in Venice in 1505, we hear nothing of his having visited Florence. The only other instance, by the way, which we recall of the introduction into an Italian picture of a piece of majolica is in a Madonna of Raphael called the "Orleans Madonna," painted probably in 1506, and now in the possession of M. Delessert. The Virgin with the Child sits in a room the homeliness of which is indicated by a plain wooden shelf above her head, on which stands one of these same *albarelli* or drug-pots. This picture was beautifully etched a few years ago by M. Gaillard for the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. In the etching (for we have never seen the picture) the *albarello* has no decoration whatever. It is interesting to find in an early picture of Raphael a piece of the ware with which in later times his name was to become so intimately joined.

—We have lately received the first year's publications of the Old French Text Society, consisting of 'Chansons du XV^e siècle' and 'Les plus anciens Monuments de la Langue française (IX^e, X^e siècle)' (Paris: Firmin-Didot. 1875). The first-mentioned volume contains one hundred and forty-three *chansons*, edited by M. Gaston Paris in the most scientific manner, with copious historical and philological notes, and will prove a welcome contribution to a department of literature too long neglected in France. The editor remarks that the songs which have survived on the lips of the peasants have been collected, while but little attention has been paid to those which can be found in the manuscript or printed collections of former generations. The character of the songs is as varied as possible—*pastourelles, rondes, chants d'amour*, satirical pieces, and songs occasioned by contemporaneous events. Some are Norman, others from Lyons, Picardy, and Burgundy. The Savoyard, Provençal, and Gascon dialects are all represented, and there is even a ballad in Spanish on the death of the young Prince Alfonso of Portugal (d. 1491). Of no slight addition to the value of the work is the transcription of the original music of all the songs into modern notation, a work of considerable difficulty, as a reference to the fac-simile will show. This has been performed by M. Auguste Gevaert. Of more general interest to the student of Old French is the Album containing fac-similes, after the most approved methods of heliotypy, of the five oldest monuments of the French language, viz., the Oaths of Strassburg (842), the *Cantilène* of St. Eulalia (IXth cent.), the Passion of Christ and Life of St. Léger (Xth cent.), and the Fragment of Valenciennes, which Littré ('Histoire de la Langue française,' II. p. 307) considers as old as the *Cantilène* of St. Eulalia. The great value of the present publication can be seen at once when we say that the commonly received forms of the above texts rest, not on a collation of the original, but on conjectural emendations of careless copies. This is the case, for instance, with the text in Diez's 'Altromanische Sprachdenkmale' (Bonn, 1846) and 'Zwei altromanische Gedichte' (Bonn, 1852). The fac-similes before us afford every one an opportunity to study the originals, and ought to be especially welcomed in this country, where scholars have so little opportunity for independent work in this direction. We may add also that, with the exception of the Fragment of Valenciennes, which is partly written in *notes tironiennes*, the other monuments can be easily read without much previous palæographical knowledge. The editor promises a philological commentary which is not yet issued; while waiting for it, the literature of the subject may best be found in the above-mentioned works of Diez and Littré, and there are careful transcripts (from the MS.) of the Life of St. Léger and the Passion of Christ in the *Romania*, I. p. 273, II. p. 295, with valuable philological notes by G. Paris. The Old French Text Society has made a fortunate beginning of its labors, and, we trust, may receive a fitting recognition from the Romance scholars of this country.

—In Germany, no less than in this country and in England, there is a growing demand for popular encyclopædias, new editions of the works of Brockhaus, Pierer, and Meyer being at present in course of publication. Pending their completion, the first number of a new German encyclopædia, under the title of 'Schmidt's Universal Lexikon,' reaches us from Switzerland (Zürich: Cæsar Schmidt). The absence from its title-page of all reference to editors or contributors, and the brevity of its prospectus, which addresses itself mainly to such readers as have neither the money nor the time for Brockhaus, Pierer, and Meyer, tend to create certain suspicions as to the merits of this work which an even cursory examination of the contents justifies. The absence of the names of contributors, indeed, partly explains itself on a comparison of the 'Universal-Lexikon' with the corresponding parts of Brockhaus and Pierer, from which most of the articles were borrowed, no particular pains being taken to conceal their origin in the process of abridgment. This discovery, while it may rouse indignation, ought to disarm criticism; for it would hardly seem fair towards Brockhaus and Pierer to review their articles in the shape which Herr Cæsar Schmidt has given them. But in reality they have suffered in the transfer as great a deterioration of value as faults of judgment, lack of system, and carelessness of revision could effect, and they now compare favorably with whatever of original matter the 'Universal-Lexikon' may possess. Originality must be conceded, at all events, to its definition of "Adynamie" as "ein Schwächezustand, der ungefähr mit dem Asthma zusammenfällt," which, if it means anything, means that adynamy is a state of feebleness nearly coinciding with asthma (astheny ?). Equally correct is the definition of "Acceleration" as a "change" ("Veränderung") instead of an increase (Vermehrung) of velocity. There seems to have been a design to furnish the etymology of the foreign words and phrases forming the subjects of articles; yet, while the Latin origin of "Absent," "Absolut," and "Absurd" is indicated, that of "Accept," "Accession," and "Accidens" is not; nor is it stated that "A capriccio" is Italian, "A coup perdu" French, and "Ad referendum" Latin, although "Adagio," "Abat-jour," and "Abhinc" are characterized. "Accussativ" appears as the heading of an article; and there is an abundance of less conspicuous errata, such as moter (for mother), fleth (for fleet), cam*g*aign, evidence*e*, Mac*n*ulay, Quadr*a*mana, Gran Sass*e* d'Italia. Of the accuracy of the dates the articles on the Adamses furnish sufficient examples. John Adams is stated to have been born in 1755, instead of 1735; Charles Francis Adams in 1817, instead of 1807; 1799 instead of 1789 is given as the year when Samuel Adams became lieutenant-governor; and a mysterious "10. Decbr." stands for 10 vols. Here and elsewhere omitted or misprinted words render entire sentences unintelligible, and what we take to be Swiss provincialisms occasionally obscure the sense. Thus, we can barely guess at the meaning of the verb "beschlagen" in the following sentences: "Er (der Affectionswerth) beschlägt die Lehre vom Recht," etc., and "Seine literarischen Arbeiten beschlagen die ältere deutsche Literatur.'

LORD ALTHORP.*

LORD ALTHORP'S career is a satire on English political arrangements. His lordship was in tastes and habits a squire of rather an ordinary type. He enjoyed what is called a good education—that is to say, he left Harrow possibly knowing a little Latin and Greek, and certainly knowing nothing else. He went up to Cambridge, and, to please his mother, worked for a term or two at mathematics, and when his position as a nobleman precluded him from further credit by success in examinations, he pleased himself by giving up mathematics and devoting his whole energies to the hunting field and the gambling-table. He left Cambridge after having gained the reputation of a bold rider, and having lost five or six thousand pounds. His friends thought that a foreign tour might supply something of that polish and knowledge of the world which Lord Althorp had not gained at college. In consequence, he wasted a year or two in travelling over the Continent, and returned to England without having entered into foreign society, "which, with the true English feeling of an earlier date, he regarded so superciliously that he boasted on his return of being still unable to speak French." His tastes were in most respects what one would expect from his education. Bred in the country, he took a manly interest in agriculture and county business. Hunting was as much his profession as his pleasure, but his keenest enjoyment—what Pope would have called his "ruling passion"—was the prize-ring. In Parliament he was never eloquent, and he was rarely, it may be suspected, even an effective debater; but to the surprise of his friends he could be impressive and even eloquent on the subject of prize-fights. His "conviction of the advantages of boxing was so strong" that he seriously considered whether it was not a duty he owed to the public to go and attend every prize-fight which took place, and "so to encourage the noble science to the extent of his power." There is every reason to suppose that in this as in other cases Lord Althorp acted well up to his principles and gave ample encouragement to the noble science. His friends attributed to him a "gift for figures." He certainly kept his accounts with neatness, and in later life thought of the turf as a field for his arithmetical talents. When Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp worked out, as his biographer asserts, the details of his budgets for himself. The assertion can easily be believed, for Lord Althorp's budgets were failures and financial blunders, and ruined the reputation of the Whigs.

Nor can it be urged that a deficiency in marked talents was in his lordship's case compensated for by any originality of mind or brilliancy of conception. He was by nature and training thoroughly commonplace. In nothing is this more remarkable than in the short but curious references to his religious views. To "become a religious man" would seem in his mind to have been as distinct a pursuit as becoming a lawyer or becoming a politician, and there is something pathetic in the *naïveté* with which a worthy gentleman, whose whole life was influenced by high principle and a desire "to obtain the favor of God," held to the end of his days that there was a distinct opposition between political pursuits and a religious life. In this, however, as in most other respects, he shared the sentiments of his time and of the class to which he belonged. He was a thoroughly good specimen of a Northamptonshire squire, and thought the thoughts, as, if he had had his way, he would have led the life, of the squires with whom he associated on the hunting-field and at Quarter Sessions.

The curious feature of Lord Althorp's career is that the practical working of the English Constitution did not allow him to lead the life of his choice. The future Lord Spencer was born to be a minister, just as he was born to

* 'Memoir of Viscount Althorp, Earl Spencer. By Sir Dennis Le Marchant.' London: Bentley & Sons.

be a peer. He was, so to speak, forced into politics, and when once placed in the House of Commons he was compelled to be a leader. Men of genius have time after time missed a leading place among English politicians. Burke never entered the Cabinet; Canning became the leader of his party only after years of toil and management. Brougham served the Whigs at a time when nothing but his talents buoyed up their credit. The Whig leaders wished to make him attorney-general, and when he forced his way into the Cabinet he was compelled to take a position which deprived him of scope for the exercise of his extraordinary powers. Lord Althorp, on the other hand, found power thrust upon him. He was made leader of his party against his will. When at last the Whigs came into office he became at once nearly the most influential of the members of the Ministry. That Cabinet carried through, to their own surprise, a pacific revolution, and the man to whose guidance the fortunes not only of the Whig party but of the country were committed was the hunting, prize-fighting, awkward country gentleman, who was far too modest to dream that he was a statesman, and who must often have been astonished to find himself a minister.

The success, indeed, of Lord Althorp and his colleagues may give some countenance to the truly English idea, that good birth, honest intentions, and moderate talents are sufficient qualifications for playing a leading part in politics. The history, however, of the Reform Ministry shows that the system of preferring respectable mediocrity to originality and genius has its drawbacks. Lord Althorp and the ministry to which he belonged had great merits to which historians should always do justice; but the Whigs of 1832 suffered in popular estimation from the want of that originality and talent which, as a general rule, English politicians of whatever party underrate. They did not know how to use the success which their own vigor, combined with the favor of fortune, had thrown into their hands. They blundered in their Irish policy, and contrived to offend England without conciliating Ireland; they blundered in finance till even Liberals longed for Peel's administrative skill. Their greatest permanent achievement was the new Poor Law. But the new Poor Law had been, at any rate, thought out by the so-called philosophical Radicals. Lord Althorp's moral merits stood his party in good stead; but a year or two of ineffective administration convinced the public that "honest Jack Althorp" was as honest a fellow as could be found in the hunting-field, but that a bold rider and an excellent chairman of Quarter Sessions lacked some of the qualities required in a Chancellor of the Exchequer. The belief, however, that the absence of marked talents is, when combined with high rank, a special qualification for political leadership, has not died out. The politicians who have elected Lord Hartington to be their leader have no reason to sneer at the Whigs who placed their confidence in Lord Althorp; for if Lord Althorp's career illustrates the weak side, it also as surely illustrates the best side of English party government. He was not, and he never pretended to be, a man of genius, but he possessed some rare and sterling moral qualities. He was ignorant of politics, and his education was defective; but if ignorant, he was free from prejudice and looked at things with his own eyes. Every step in his career proved him a man of singular honesty and of marked resolution. At a time when the leaders of both parties wished to screen the incapacity, if not the corruption, of the Duke of York, Lord Althorp, then quite a young man, boldly denounced the conduct of the duke. At a time when every lawyer opposed law reform, Lord Althorp all but forced through a measure for the foundation of cheap local courts. In the midst of the crisis of the Reform Bill Lord Althorp's resolution never for a moment gave way. As readers study his career and read his speeches they begin to understand how it came to pass that men who distrusted Brougham, and who never really trusted either Canning or Peel, placed implicit faith in the good sense and sound judgment of the plain-spoken Northamptonshire country gentleman. With so wary a politician as Sir James Graham "the counsel of Lord Althorp went for more than that of any other man." Jeffrey certainly was not deficient in respect for talent, but no one seems to have struck Jeffrey with so much admiration as Lord Althorp. "There is something," he writes, "quite delightful in his calm, clumsy, courageous, immutable probity and well-meaning, and it seems to have a charm with everybody." That such qualities—which may be summed up under the one word "character"—have always been found to have a charm for the House of Commons is, in truth, the great glory of that assembly. One of the few striking passages in Lord Russell's memoirs calls attention to the fact that the House of Commons has never in reality been mainly governed by speakers. Connection, sagacity, a reputation for common sense, weight of moral character, a hundred qualities, in short, some good and some bad, have at all times told in Parliament far beyond oratorical ability. Lord Althorp's career is perhaps the most marked instance of a man becoming a parliamentary leader mainly because of the confidence placed in his honesty and resolution. What is true of him was, in a great measure, also true of the party to which he belonged. The influence of the Whigs certainly arose quite as much from their moral qualities as from any reputation for extraordinary ability. Their long and disinterested sacrifice of office, their strenuous hatred of injustice, their adherence, in spite of unpopularity, to liberal ideas; above all, the manly resolution with which they clung to their policy of reform at a crisis when the boldest might fear and the wisest might anticipate a revolution, gave them that hold over the English people which enabled them to carry out a revolutionary change without the use of revolutionary methods. The strength of English constitutional arrangements is seen in the fact that at a crisis the perils of which can scarcely be overrated the destinies of the country were, so to speak, by the natural course of things confided to men like Lord Althorp, whose virtues deserved and received the trust of the nation.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF ANDERSONVILLE.*

THIS book is a rather handsome octavo of some five hundred pages. It is well written, but it certainly is not pleasant reading. It can hardly be called interesting, and it is doubtful, to say the least, whether it is instructive. The preface is excellent in spirit. The author professes a desire "to give to the world this impartial account, which, however imperfect, is at least written fearlessly and impartially." If such was the author's desire, however, he has not succeeded. It is probable that he is himself incapable of appreciating his own failure. He is apparently quite unconscious that there is a difference between assertion and proof. The book is full of assertions confidently made and quite unsupported. Even in his own case, his unfamiliarity with not only the technical but the ordinary rules of evidence is shown in a way that is almost amusing. He says that at the Wirz trial one Thornburg, formerly an assistant surgeon at Andersonville, charged him "with embezzling about eighty thousand dollars of the 'Hospital Fund,' for which he was court-martialled and relieved of duty there." He asks "the reader's attention to the following *verbatim* copies of documents, which furnish in themselves a sufficient refutation." The first is a paragraph of a special order relieving Wirz from duty at Andersonville, Ga., and ordering him to report without delay to Headquarters C. S. Military Prisons for assignment to duty. The second is a copy of resolutions of respect adopted at a meeting held months *before* the Wirz trial, and signed by Thornburg among others. The third is a receipt to him for nearly sixty-three thousand dollars of hospital funds. Here we have not a word about the court-martial, and nothing to show that the receipt refers to the sum or part of the sum which Thornburg says he was charged with embezzling, and so the writer leaves a charge undisposed of which he probably had it in his power to dispose of fully.

Another illustration of his unfitness to deal with a delicate matter of controversy is his seeming belief that whatever is printed must be true. Thus he prints copious extracts from the *Southern Review*, made up in great part of statements of unnamed persons, and says that that journal (*sic*) is "one that must be taken by all candid men as good authority." His own authorities show conclusively that there was at Andersonville a want of a proper system of police, of proper hospital accommodation, an inadequate supply of tents for the sick, a want of proper drainage; that the prison was located in a section barren of resources; that there was an inadequate supply, for some time at least, of cooking utensils, and of space within the prison for exercise, a crowding of the prisoners around the hospital, producing contaminating effluvia and preventing a free circulation of air, a want of shelter, whether of huts, tents, or trees, for the well, a want of proper protection for the hospital, so that the prisoners made "forays" upon it; that the drainage from the sinks of the prison passed through the hospital grounds; that there was frequent delay in obtaining medical supplies, and occasional deficiency or even total failure in quantity, an inadequate supply of medical officers, want of money to buy vegetables for the sick; that there were low and boggy margins to the stream passing through the stockade till it was drained, and then a large drained surface covered with vegetable mould exposed to the sun; that there was an habitual issue of unbolted meal, which, when baked, made a coarse and irritating food, producing diarrhœa and dysentery; finally, that much of the accessible water was unfit for use, as it contained many impurities from the bakery and cook house, and the stream from which it was taken received the surface-drainage from some of the camps of the garrison situated on it.

* 'The Southern Side; or, Andersonville Prison. Compiled from Official Documents. By R. Randolph Stevenson, M.D., Chief Surgeon of the Confederate States, Military Prison Hospitals, Andersonville, Ga.' Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers. 1876.

With these special causes of discomfort and disease some thirty three thousand men were crowded together, sheltered only by blankets and low hovels, densely and irregularly arranged, preventing free circulation, engendering foul and noxious vapors, and precluding any system of police. Clothing and straw for bedding were scarce, and vermin plenty; all the men in hospital were poorly provided for, and hundreds without any shelter whatever, and hundreds were in the stockade who were helpless and ought to have been in the hospital. Dr. Stevenson says that the hospital occupied such a position that all the surrounding depressing agencies would seem to centre in it. The atmosphere was loaded with the foul exhalations of human excrements, fermentation of bread, and all other imaginable kinds of filth. The flies swarmed over the wounds and over filth of every description. The filthy, imperfectly-washed, and scanty rags, the limited number of sponges and wash-bowls (the same wash bowl and sponge serving for a score or more of patients), were one and all sources of such constant circulation of gangrenous matter that the disease might rapidly be propagated from a single gangrenous wound. The above are not the reviewer's words, but quotations from the book before us, and very largely from the reports of the Confederate surgeons. It is no wonder that death was common among prisoners subjected to such physical influences; and the usual influences of home-sickness, hope deferred, disappointment, and apprehension were powerful predisposing agents in the direction of enfeebling resistance. Dr. Stevenson very properly lays much stress upon these moral influences. In less than eight months from the establishment of the prison more than ten thousand Federal prisoners died—that is, nearly one-third of the entire number confined. This is the official report to the Confederate Surgeon-General.

The proper object of a book which tells so sorrowful a story as this should be to prove that the evils confessed were inevitable, and to show what efforts were made by the Confederate officials to mitigate them. To some extent this object is kept in view, and so far the work is useful. Thus, the orders reproduced show that hospitals for prisoners of war were placed on the same footing as other Confederate States' hospitals in all respects; that the hospital ration was fixed at the same rates of issues made to soldiers in the field, and special requisitions directed in case greater allowance should be required of any particular article; that the Confederate War Department and Adjutant-General's Office recognized the fact that the condition of the prison at Andersonville was a reproach to the Confederate States as a nation, and called very loudly for interposition; that the Surgeon-General, in September, 1864, ordered the surgeon in charge of the Andersonville Prison Hospital to visit each station and see that such arrangements were made for the sick as their wants might require, and use all the means for their comfort that the Government could possibly furnish; and General Cooper, the Adjutant General, certified in 1871 that "the President and Secretary of War always manifested great anxiety that the prisoners should be kindly treated, and amply provided with food to the extent of our means, and they both used their best means and exertions to these ends." All due weight is to be given to such official utterances as these, but against them we must set the terrible facts which are not disputed, and we must not forget that the book shows that the Confederate officials acknowledged the existence not only of the evils which they declared to be inevitable, but of abuses on the part of those directly engaged in keeping the Federal prisoners, and that there were "extreme men" who "entreated" the President to inaugurate in the Confederacy a system of persecution.

To determine and apportion the degree of responsibility which attaches to the Confederates, as a nation and as individuals, is a task quite beyond the leisure at our command. This book is not without value as in some degree suggesting and answering enquiry, but the bulk of it is devoted to such matters as the Wirz trial, "Northern bastiles," the question of exchange, and Northern "vandalism." It is as proper for Southerners to complain of our action in these matters as for us to complain of their treatment of our prisoners; but two wrongs do not make a right, and such matter is irrelevant to the declared purpose of the work before us. The following allegations are serious, and well deserve the attention of the student:

That, in our prisons, "thousands died, and many more took the oath of allegiance to obtain relief from tortures they could not endure."

That of 270,000 Federal prisoners in Confederate hands, 22,570 died; while of 220,000 Confederate prisoners in Federal hands, 26,436 died.

That J. C. Gibbs, of Columbia, S. C., in 1864, cashed some ten hundred drafts of Union officers confined there to the amount of over one million dollars in Confederate currency, and that up to 1874 he had never received a single dollar. Lieut. G. H. Rowley, Second Infantry; Lieut. O. H. Nealy, United States Infantry; and Lieut. G. E. Saber, Second R. I. Cavalry, are mentioned among the drawers of these drafts; and if such men are still living, they would do well to answer the charge.

It is pleasant to be able to conclude this notice with the statement that the book seems to us to prove that the Confederate surgeons, at least those in higher positions, were humane and faithful men, and strove to lessen the evils which were beyond their power to overcome.

OSTRICHES AND OSTRICH-FARMING.*

THIS is an attractive volume made up of two distinct works. The first describes the African ostrich and his South American and Australian cousins—the rhea, cassowary, and emu. The second gives an account of the ostrich-farming industry of South Africa. Both works have an unusually small amount of padding, and give in an honest, straightforward way just the sort of information that one would seek who is either curious about or interested in their subjects.

These birds belong to the order of *Ratitæ* (raft-like), having no keel to the sternum. As they do not use their wings, they have no occasion for the keel-like projection of the breast-bone which serves for the attachment of the pectoral muscles in flight-birds. The different members of the family under discussion are peculiar in having a small head, a short, straight, and depressed bill, a long neck, and very small wings, entirely useless for flying. Their legs are enormously strong, with an articulation that adapts them especially for the leaping stride which gives a speed far beyond that of any horse, and a kicking power hardly inferior to that of the most accomplished mule. Their habitat is confined almost exclusively to the southern hemisphere, though their fossil remains are found much farther north. The race is supposed to have existed before the period of carnivorous animals, and to owe its present restriction to the increasing numbers and strength of these destroyers. There seems to be no other reason for their having withdrawn from the northern hemisphere, for they bear the rigors of northern climates without shelter, and, indeed, some species are abundant in Patagonia, even to the Straits of Magellan.

The ostrich proper is found throughout Africa and Western Asia, its range being always in open ground. This bird has a downy neck and a well-feathered body, the body color being black, and the pendulous feathers of the wings and tail often pure white. It has two toes pointing forward and outward, one of them much larger than the other. Its appetite seems to be quite catholic, and restricted only by its capacity for swallowing; even injurious and fatal substances are swallowed with as much avidity as the choicest tidbits of food. It is patient of thirst and even of hunger, and this, coupled with its wonderful powers of locomotion, enables it to wander far from its base of supplies, so that it is sometimes encountered in flocks thirty or forty miles out on the arid desert. Dr. Livingstone, counting its steps by a stop-watch, found that it takes three strides to the second, covering twelve feet at each stride—a pace of over twenty-five miles an hour. Its general appearance and its movement, when seen from a distance, are singularly like those of the camel, and it is called by the Arabs the "camel-bird."

The breeding peculiarities of the ostrich are curious, and but little understood. The popular notion that the eggs are left lying about to be hatched by the sun is fallacious. The bird is polygamous, one male associating with two or three females. The females are very careless concerning their eggs, taking little pains to lay them in their nest, which is but a shallow depression in the ground. The male bird immediately rolls home such as he finds, and it is he who does the chief work of incubation, sitting patiently most of the time during the six weeks required for hatching. During the heat of the day he may safely leave them to the care of the sun's rays and to the negligent sitting of the mothers, but at night he covers them closely—twenty-five to thirty eggs, each weighing about three pounds. These are probably about half the eggs laid by his hens. The remainder are dropped at such a distance from the nest as to escape his observation. The fresher of these eggs often serve as food for the young brood. The cock continues the duties which are usually considered maternal after the young have left their nest, taking entire charge of them, brooding them, feeding them, and defending them against danger.

The inaccessible regions to which the ostrich has retired do not serve to protect him from the greedy hunters by whom he is pursued. Even in the heart of Africa the feathers of each bird are worth from thirty to one hundred Spanish dollars; his flesh is a much-esteemed food, and his fat is an acceptable substitute for butter, as well as a serviceable medicinal

* 'Ostriches and Ostrich-Farming. By Julius de Mosenthal and James Edmund Harting.' With Illustrations. London: Trübner & Co.; New York: John Wiley & Sons.

ointment. The hunting of the wild birds is always arduous and often ill-requited. They are killed on the nest or from an ambush, or are caught in pitfalls, or, when the hunters are numerous, are run down by relays of horsemen. One method practised by the natives is to dress themselves in ostrich-skins, being thus enabled to approach a flock quite closely, sometimes despatching several with poisoned arrows before being discovered. When pursued by horsemen the ostrich raises its wings and runs before the wind at tremendous speed. The great value of the bird consists, of course, in its ornamental wing and tail feathers, and this is the object chiefly sought in their domestication; but enthusiastic ostrich-farmers believe that their flesh will become a valuable source of human food, and even that they will become serviceable for the harness and saddle. Their great strength, speed, and endurance, and the cheapness with which they can be kept, fit them especially for such work.

The information given in the volume under consideration concerning the rhea of South America and the emu and the cassowary is as complete and satisfactory as that concerning the ostrich proper. An interesting chapter is also devoted to the apteryx or "kiwi" of New Zealand—a wingless bird with struthious characteristics, but weighing only about four pounds. It may perhaps be regarded as one of its rudimentary ostrich characteristics that it lays an enormous egg of nearly one-quarter its own weight.

Ostrich-farming promises to rescue the ostrich-feather supply from its threatened extinction. The birds were becoming more and more scarce and difficult of capture. Several attempts were made in Northern Africa and Italy towards domestication, with sufficient success to warrant the experiment being tried on a larger scale under more favorable circumstances, where the necessary broad ranging-ground and sufficient food-supply would not be too expensive. The first successful attempt to cultivate the ostrich as a business enterprise was made in the Cape Colony hardly more than a dozen years ago. The measure of success obtained is sufficiently indicated by these statistics: In 1865 there were in the Cape Colony 80 domesticated ostriches; in 1875 there were 32,247. The chief requisites for the business are a large tract of level, open country with an alkaline soil, this element being necessary to their good condition; and fences to keep them from straying. The fence need be neither high nor strong, as the ostrich never attempts to leap an obstruction, but the scarcity of timber makes this one of the serious items of outlay. The food is mainly vegetable, most breeders giving only lucerne and Indian corn. The plumage is at its best at the sitting time, and is much injured by the sitting. This has led to the adoption of artificial incubators, which have gradually been improved until they hatch the eggs with quite as much certainty as do the birds themselves. Another chief advantage of the artificial system lies in the fact that the feathers may be plucked when in their best condition, while those which are not yet sufficiently developed may be left to grow. Plucking sometimes produces an irritation-fever, which injures the growth of the remaining feathers, and it is now becoming the custom to cut off the shaft of the feather with a sharp knife, the stump being easily removed after a few days if it has not fallen out of itself. Full-grown birds may be plucked twice a year, or, in any case, three times in two years. The yearly product from each bird is about sixty feathers. The tame feathers are somewhat inferior to wild ones, being coarser and stiffer. It is hoped, however, that by introducing crosses of the North African bird and by modifying its conditions of life, the soft and flexible character may be given.

Something might be said, perhaps, concerning the introduction of this industry into our country, and we have doubtless much soil and climate suited for the work. Considering, however, the extent of the losses which attend the introduction of any new agricultural industry in a country where there is such an utter absence of system and scientific training for the work, any possible success seems to lie on the other side of such a wide sea of failure that the recommendation is not rashly to be made. The whole subject is interesting in its scientific, its useful, and its merely amusing aspect, and it is seldom that a new subject receives such fair and judicious treatment as in the volume before us.

Roman Legends. A Collection of the Fables and Folk-Lore of Rome. By R. H. Busk. (Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1876.)—By Rome Mr. Busk means the Roman States, and, for what concerns the present collection (which is but partial), Palombara, Capranica, Loreto, Sinigaglia, Viterbo, Cori, and Palestrina, in addition to Rome itself, the chief source of the delightful *favole*, *esempj*, ghost and treasure stories, and *ciarpe* with which the volume, to the number of about a hundred, is filled. *Favole* are simply fairy tales; *esempj* are stories conveying a moral or religious lesson (legends); while *ciarpe* describe the doings of witless and stupid folk like "the idiotic couple [in our English tale] who wasted their three precious chances in wishing three yards of black pudding on each other's noses, and then wishing it off again." While all of these categories are amusing, the *esempj* have perhaps at once the greatest freshness and the most marked Roman flavor. Like the generality of Catholic legends they seem a little shocking to the Protestant mind, not only in the series "When Jesus Christ Wandered on Earth," but in the stories of certain saints, to which there seems no end. Padre Filippo furnishes some of the drollest of these, and we wish we could quote freely from them. The following is told concerning another father, "who wasn't much less than Good Philip himself":

"Padre Vincenzo worked so many miracles that all Rome was talking about him, and the Father-General thought he would get vain, so he told him not to work any more miracles. Padre Vincenzo therefore worked no more miracles; but one day as he was walking along the street, he passed under a high scaffolding of a house that was being built. Just as he came by, a laborer missed his footing and fell over from the top. 'Padre Vincenzo, save me!' cried the man, for everybody knew Padre Vincenzo, and he had just seen him turn into the street. 'Stop there!' said Padre Vincenzo; 'I musn't save you, as the Padre-Generale says I'm not to work miracles; but wait there and I'll go and ask if I may.' Then he left him suspended in the air while he ran breathless to ask permission of the Father-General to work the miracle of saving him."

The *favole* contain many of the universally diffused fairy-tales and *contes* of which every country in Europe furnishes a version, and in "How Cajusse was Married" we have the story of Aladdin distinctly borrowed from the 'Arabian Nights.' Mr. Busk aims first to record, as no predecessor has done, the legends obtainable from the illiterate Roman people, next to be entertaining, and lastly, in foot-notes, to gratify the linguist and the student of comparative mythology. With his admirable narrative powers, his no less admirable tact, and his wide familiarity with his subject, he has succeeded in making a book capable of interesting all classes of readers. By far the larger part of it may safely be read to children—it could hardly be placed unreservedly in their hands; the fine print can be skipped by parents not curious to learn the niceties of the Roman speech or to trace the parallel legends in other languages; and, as we have said, the scholar can glean after them. Higher recommendation than this the ordinary bookbuyer will not demand.

History of French Literature. By Henri Van Laun. Vol. I. From its origin to the Renaissance. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.)—Mr. Van Laun is already known for his excellent translation of Taine's 'History of English Literature,' and for the version of Molière's Plays now in course of publication. In his introduction to the present work there are some eloquent remarks as to what a history of literature ought to be. If the author could carry out his ideal we should have a literary history of France such as has never been written for any country. Even though he should fall far short of that ideal, and not always show how "facts and the history of facts are perpetually wedded to thoughts," he would have produced by far the best history of French literature written in English. In the early chapters much space is given to Latin culture in Gaul. The Panegyrists, the ecclesiastical writers, the chroniclers, the contemporaries of Charlemagne are all dwelt upon. Nor are the Celts and Iberians, nor even the Greeks of Massilia, forgotten. For all this portion of his work the author relies upon Ampère, who by no means deserves all the confidence thus reposed in him. It is only at page 136 that Mr. Van Laun really enters upon his subject. About fifty of the preceding pages are devoted to the Langue d'oc and the Troubadours. Setting aside a few strange statements, some of which, at least, are repeated after Fauriel, the pages devoted to the Provençal poets are good, and interspersed with beautiful translations. But even here the author follows too blindly a bungling and ignorant writer on the subject of Provençal poetry—namely, Baret.

And here we have to touch upon Mr. Van Laun's weakest point. He does not work at first hand. He takes his information almost wholly from previous literary historians, at least for the period preceding the Renaissance. Nor does he seem to be acquainted with the best that has been produced. He does not know sufficiently what Gaston Paris, Paul Meyer, and all the modern school of careful scholars who write for the *Romania* and the *Revue critique* have done. His book, with the exception of a phrase here and there, reads as if it might have been written years ago. He talks of the so-called Turpin, of Eginhard, Gregory of Tours, Hincmar, as if they were all equally authentic. He might, for instance, in the section beginning on p. 193, on the Trouvères of the fourteenth century, have avoided writing several vague and unsatisfactory pages about Guillaume de Machaut and Eustache Deschamps had he used the edition of 'Le livre du voir dit' published by the society of the French bibliophiles. As we ad-

vance in the history this absence of personal knowledge of the author treated is less perceptible, and when we come to the period of the Renaissance we begin to feel that the author will soon reach a part of his subject with which he is more familiar. But in the early chapters of the work the condensing of the opinions of previous condensers is painfully evident. Thus J. J. Ampère, in two of his three volumes upon literature before and under Charlemagne, published in 1839, did little more than condense in brilliant style what was dryly detailed in the thick quartos of the literary history of the Benedictines. Mr. Van Laun further abridges Ampère, and the result is pleasant but very unreliable reading.

When we reach the chapters devoted to the early French writers we find some startling assertions, as when the "ardent poetic genius of Froissart" is spoken of as "exclusively in the lyric vein." Nor, though it is very clear to him, does Mr. Van Laun express himself otherwise than as if Villehardouin, Joinville, and Froissart were all contemporaries "nursed by the grand epics" of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet there is an interval of nearly two hundred years between the first and the last. This looseness and vagueness of manner is felt throughout the work. The author goes back and says the same thing in other words over and over. You cannot tell where you are historically for many pages, in spite of the theory developed in the introduction that literature and history must go hand in hand.

Upon the whole, the work is well planned. Mr. Van Laun is so clever a writer that it is not easy to convict him of gross error. He has the talent of wording a phrase so as to make it uncertain whether his own idea is undefined, or whether he is merely attempting some original generalization. For Mr. Van Laun *is* an original writer. What he says is not hackneyed, even though he has to deal with facts that have been repeated in every elementary book in French literature. His style, it remains to note, is remarkably free from Gallicisms, although occasionally a word appears which would not be understood by one unacquainted with the French language. Thus, on page 245 we find "Margaret of Anjou appears to have *accaparated* the spirit which ought to have belonged to her father."

Goethe's Prosa. Edited by James Morgan Hart. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.)—German readers contain little connected prose, and dramas constitute chiefly the reading beyond that. To remove this "one-sidedness," as it is justly called in the preface, Mr. Hart gives us the present volume, the third in his series of "German Classics." It is a prose reader with the extracts limited to Goethe. The editor wishes at the same time to give the student an idea of Goethe's life and character, and his selections have accordingly been made with that end in view also. The first extract describes Goethe's student-life in Leipzig; the second his love-affair at Sesenheim, when a student in Strasbourg. Both are from 'Aus meinem Leben.' The third is from 'Werther.' The fourth is a letter from Switzerland. A quarter of the whole volume is made up from the 'Italienische Reise,' and another quarter from 'Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre,' books i., iii., iv., and v., treating of his study of the theatre and of Shakspere. All these extracts are excellent and varied. If we criticised them at all it would be for the predominance of descriptions of scenery. In fact we believe many readers would be glad to spare "Ein Brief aus der Schweiz," in spite of its brilliant sunset-painting and the editor's minute geographical notes, as well as the Sicilian letters, for more of Goethe in Venice or 'Wilhelm Meister.' The introductory remarks to each extract, taking the place of a more formal general introduction, are, without qualification, excellent. The notes are chiefly biographical, historical, and geographical, very little grammatical. In fact, we wish they were more so for a text-book. There are only two grammatical references in all. In this respect the notes are inferior to those on 'Die Piccolomini,' though far superior to those on 'Hermann und Dorothea,' which is almost disqualified for a text-book on account of the many uncalled-for translations, paraphrases, arguments, and the entire absence of grammatical references. Notes should be suggestive, by hints and references inciting the student to analyze a difficult point or passage himself. But if the editor translates, the student takes his word for it and makes no further effort for a thorough grammatical understanding. The notes suffer somewhat from profuseness and the abundance of facts which the reader does not care for just where they are introduced; *e.g.*, on page 189 we find the dimensions of St. Peter's. The geographical notes are too profuse. In general the editor is a little over-anxious about the matters "with which the American reader cannot be familiar."

As a text-book the volume has one technical defect—the lines ought to have been numbered either as in the other volumes or on each page. Its absence is a source of annoyance and loss of time to teacher and scholar, and to the general reader. On page 12 "grosse Burgen" must be a misprint for "grossen Burgen." We can find no text with that reading. On page 32 "dasz" should be "das."

The Land-Birds and Game-Birds of New England, with descriptions of the birds, their nests and eggs, their habits and notes. With illustrations. By H. D. Minot. (Salem: Naturalists' Agency. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1877. 8vo, pp. xvi., 456.)—This volume is post-dated, according to a custom of the trade, which, in the cases of scientific treatises, is against authors' interests, as it decreases the chances of priority, dear to every investigator. Bound copies of the treatise are in circulation this month (Dec., 1876), and the new genus, *Muscaccipiter* (p. 291), should acquire this date instead of 1877. Probably, however, it never will, for no bibliographer capable of so nicely adjusting the "record" is likely to arise. The author betrays the novice in book-making by other signs, needless to specify, as they fly in the face of the expert critic, and labors under some disadvantages which nothing but his proficiency in his favorite study, his qualifications as an expert and faithful observer, and his large experience in the field of practical ornithology, have enabled him to overcome. His previous publications are few in number, unimportant, and scarcely known beyond the small circle of professional readers; but the present treatise puts Mr. Minot foremost among the "local" writers on ornithology in this country, and fairly in line with the fewer ornithologists whose works are citable as authoritative on the general subject. It is not a complete treatise on New England birds, even with the limitation given in the title. The "Land-Birds" are indeed included, with very few exceptions, evidently due to inadvertence or insufficient acquaintance with the records of rare and casual visitors; but there should have been no exceptions. The definition of a "game-bird" by which the author seems to have been guided in restricting the scope of his work is too narrow, besides being contrary to current acceptation of the term. "A 'game-bird,' though exception may be taken to almost any definition of this term, is generally understood to be a bird that lies to a dog, and that can be shot only when on the wing" (p. 400). But any bird that flies can be shot on the wing; and a game-bird, as generally understood, is one that is ordinarily killed for the sport of killing and for food. Few sportsmen, probably, will assent to a definition which excludes plovers, geese, and ducks from the objects of their legitimate pursuit. However, if all the water-birds and nearly all the waders are omitted, the land-birds proper are certainly fully treated, in accordance with the author's plan.

A brief diagnosis rather than a description of each species, and a statement of its geographical distribution in New England, are followed by a description of the nest and eggs, a general sketch of habits and manners, and an account of the song or other notes the species may possess. The introduction is chiefly devoted to instructions for the formation of oölogical collections, and includes a very sensible and humane protest against unnecessary destruction of birds and their eggs. Mr. Minot's advice is generally sound, though we cannot agree with him "never to fire a gun" in our ornithological pursuits. The appendix contains an ornithological calendar for Eastern Massachusetts, and an entirely novel feature—namely, a "Key to the Eggs of Massachusetts." This is an analysis of the character of the eggs of those birds which breed in that State, by means of which a given specimen may be identified. It is prepared upon the plan recently adopted by Dr. Coues for the determination of birds themselves, but is the first instance of use of the method in studying eggs. Another key of similar character analyzes the birds, giving good results; though an infallible analysis, based like this one on color alone, is, in the nature of the case, scarcely practicable. The illustrations are the worst we have seen in recent ornithological literature, and the book would be much better off without them; otherwise its appearance is a credit to the publishers and worthy of the Salem Press.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	*Publishers.—Prices.*
Francillon (R. E.), Rare Good Luck, swd	(D. Appleton & Co.) $0 50
Gray (E.), Long Ago: a Year of Child Life	(Lockwood, Brooks & Co.) 1 50
German Home-Life	(D. Appleton & Co.)
Gladstone (W. E.), The Turco-Servian War, swd	(Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.)
Grandineau (F.), Le Petit Précepteur	(A. S. Barnes & Co.) 75
Gregory (Rev. D. S.), Why Four Gospels?	(Sheldon & Co.)
Gunning (W. D.), Life-History of our Planet	(W. T. Keen, 4 ooke & Co.) 2 00
Hoffmann (Prof.), Modern Magic	(Geo. Routledge & Sons)
Holmes (Dr. O. W.), Der Tisch-Despot, swd	(A. B. Auerbach)
Hope (A.), Manual of Sorrento and Inlaid Work	(J. Wilkinson) 1 50
Huidekoper (F.), Judaism at Rome, B.C. 76-A D. 140	(James Miller) 2 25
Christ's Mission to the Underworld	" 1 00
Hutton (R. H.), Essays in Literary Criticism	(Jos. H. Coates & Co.) 1 50
Is That All? a Tale	(Roberts Bros.)
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ERRATA.

Page 22, col. 1, line 21. Insert "not" before "bought."

Page 56, col. 1, line 40. For "Reuland" read "Reuleaux."
Page 70, col. ii, line 19. For "1873" read "1863."
Page 71, col. i, line 58. For "ninety-one" read "thirty-one." Col. ii, line 25. For "Bass" read "Buss."
Page 111, col. ii, line 3. For "Belknap" read "Babcock."
Page 138, col. ii, lines 18, 19. For "Ways and Means" read "Appropriations."
Page 133, col. ii, line 8 from bottom. For "human imagination" read "humor and imagination."
Page 167, col. ii, lines 11, 13. For "Fancher" read "Faucher."
Page 255, col. ii, line 34. Omit "*Quarterly.*"
Page 299, col. i, line 35. For "agnosity" read "aquosity."
Page 331, col. ii, line 40. For "law" read "land."
Page 350, col. ii, line 5 from bottom. For "December" read "November."
Page 358, col. i, line 11. For "Mme." read "Maître."

REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

DURING THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1876.

Theology, Metaphysics, and Ethics.

Baumgarten (Dr. M.), Das Kampf um das Reichscivilstandsgesetz in der deutschen protestantischen Kirche, swd..... (L. W. Schmidt)
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